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# **CONTINENTAL INDIA.**

**VOL. I.**

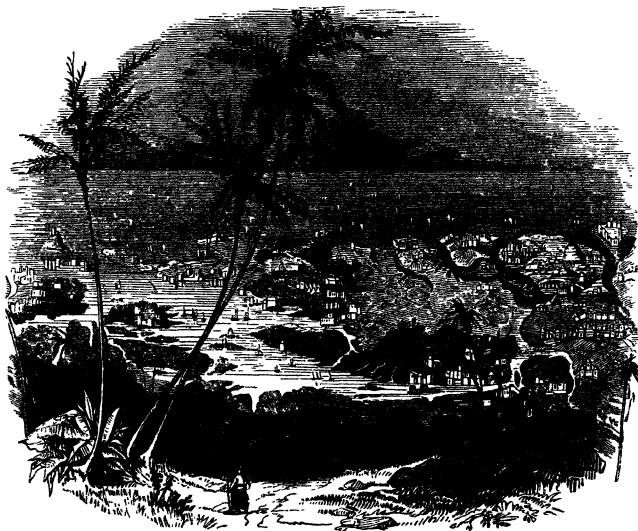


# CONTINENTAL INDIA.

TRAVELLING SKETCHES AND HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS,  
ILLUSTRATING THE ANTIQUITY, RELIGION, AND MANNERS OF THE HINDOOS,  
THE EXTENT OF BRITISH CONQUESTS,  
AND THE PROGRESS OF MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

BY

J. W. MASSIE, M.R.I.A.



BOMBAY HARBOUR AND ISLANDS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON :  
THOMAS WARD & CO. PATERNOSTER ROW.  
1840.



## CONTINENTAL INDIA.

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THE MOUNTAIN PASS IN THE GHATS

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### THE TRAVELLER AND HIS READER.

TRAVELLERS have, in all ages, formed a sort of privileged class; but like most other professions, they have in modern times so multiplied, that the trade is overstocked, and a *traveller's story*, whether a Munchausen or a Trollope, meets with only a

dull market. Competition is, however, the life of commerce; and the spirit of enterprise may be carried into the manufacture of the commodity as well as into the adventures and hair-breadth escapes of the foreign pilgrimage. The style and the incidents which diversify the narrative of one writer, though devoid of all literary embellishments, may find favour in quarters in which the more elaborate and finished productions of another have proved unacceptable. Men who think for themselves, and who write as they think, will generally exhibit an independence and individuality of mind which will afford variety, and possess attractions for the rational and reflective reader. If the resources and facilities for informing the inquirer have been increased by enlarged and extending intercourse; if books of travel and works conveying information of foreign countries have accumulated; the appetite for information, and the number of inquirers, have more than kept pace with them. The demand is quite equal to the supply.

“Keep your piece nine years,” was a Horatian precept; and to have learned to *blot* is deemed a primary acquisition in a candidate for literary fame. The blotting operation is certainly less irksome when the piece has acquired some age; but a degree, and not a little, of the freshness which a book of miscellaneous observation should possess is in peril by such temporizing calculation: and if we have the mellowed flavour of the full ripe autumn

by the one, we may lose the sparkling and picturesque attractions of a verdant spring, which would have been insured by the other. We should, therefore, be inclined to say, with the Scotch aspirant for a mitre, when requested to choose between Bath and Wells, "baith is best." Where the vivid painting of Nature as present to the eye of the artist, and the first impressions, can be conveyed to the canvass; where the generous enthusiasm of a first-love can be traced; while the grouping and delineation are matured by reflection, and the description is connected by long and intimate acquaintance, and the endearment of an ardent and continued association; the picture may possess both a similitude and a vivacity, which will alike instruct and please. Without being guilty of presumptuous egotism, or a boasting unwarranted by facts, the Writer ventures to introduce himself as having possessed opportunities which, if duly improved, and turned to a just advantage, ought to enable him thus to gratify and inform.

He has travelled by "flood and field;" he has sailed to the torrid regions of Africa, and the sultry climes of Asia; and, as a sojourner in the camp and the garrison, has wandered through the wide solitudes and among the populous cities of the East. As a witness of their gorgeous scenes, and their appalling desolations, he has mingled in the domestic circles and the solemn feasts of Asiatic nations, has visited their rude and rural habitations, and their splendid temples—the pagoda of Brahminism



and the mosque of Islam, and engaged in controversy and in social intercourse with the disciple of the Arabian impostor, and the followers of Brahma, with the votaries of Rome and the sectaries of the Protestant faith. He has associated with the voluntary "exiles of Erin," with the enterprising sons of "the North Countrie," and "the Southern over the Border;" with the republican of America, and the noblesse of old France; with all ranks and conditions—the men of arms and the children of commerce; with those who jealously regarded the progress of the christian faith; and with others who rejoiced to witness and to aid in achieving the triumph of the Cross. If, therefore, from journals, or other aids to memory, he can introduce his reader into occasional intercourse with such characters: if he shall succeed in portraying upon the imaginary canvass the sons of Britain, as they move and mingle in distant climes; or the sable and subtile tribes of the East, as they are admitted to the converse, or the confidence of the European, or are sought after by the christian evangelist: if his attempt shall succeed to present, in vivid and real colours, the motley circumstances of our oriental possessions; and though it be not in "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn," but in the artless language of one's own converse with himself, in that diction which may be found in the loose leaves of a long used *porte-feuille*; the reader will give meet audience. If he can add the illustration of facts—those arguments which dare

not be disputed—the number of his friends, who will not deny a hearing, or withhold a patient interview from one who has no desire impertinently to obtrude, will not on that account be diminished.

Fictitious signatures are common; and heterogeneous productions are numerous. Battle scenes, military sketches, tales of the camp and field, have been so often passed on the public, though, perhaps, not from the pen of literary adventurers, yet by authors who at first were great, because unknown, that a natural curiosity may be felt as to the identity of the Traveller, and the credit of the author. It will indulge this curiosity to assure the reader that the writer has officiated in the services of religion on board East India ships, and at the drum-head among British troops in distant colonies; has preached in barracks and cantonments from week to week, and visited the sick and dying soldiers in their quarters and in hospitals; that, by pastoral visits and correspondence, he has watched over their spiritual concerns in remote stations, seeking to counsel and instruct them; and has received the most gratifying proofs of thankfulness and affection. He has, moreover, occupied the judge's bench and the table of the civil magistrate as a place for worship; has preached in the dwelling of the civilian, and to the suite of the ambassador at a Hindoo court; has carried the tidings of the gospel to the prison-house crowded with hundreds of Hindoos, and to the streets of the idolatrous city, to the way-side traveller, the Brahmin

and the Pariah ; and has traversed the Peninsula from the Coromandel to the Malabar coasts, from Fort St. George, by the base of the Nielgheries, to the Gulf of Cambay. If to be honoured and rewarded for this work—if to be welcomed and delighted in such exercises, constitute a title—then no further doubt need rest on the appellation herein employed, or the incidents recorded.

He only professes to gather *loose leaves* : it will, therefore, be of little advantage to the reader that the number of the page, or the day of the month, should be quoted ; indeed, that is, perhaps, more than could always be done. From the position which he now occupies, and the reflection he is able to cast upon the whole course of a life of vicissitudes, and even perils, he can mark many a chequered scene, many a moving incident and affecting episode, many a dark hour, and “ the clouds returning after the rain ; ” many an impassioned moment, and many a heaving sigh. He can discover pages written when the associations of boyhood and the hopes of vernal youth, now cut down by the scythe of time, or more recently swept away by the ruthless hand of death, came over his soul, unmanning his energies, and absorbing his thoughts—written in solitude and sorrow, with the tear-drop, as it fell, not effaced from the paper ;—aye, and it tells more than if volumes had been written at the moment, or than if a tongue had been put into every wound of the bleeding heart. And, as it is only a “ stray leaf ” which can be promised, there will

occasionally be perceptible a blending of sorrow and joy—the *cloud* and the *bow*—and, it may be neither light nor dark, but a sort of *chiaro-scuro*. Incident may creep into the labyrinth of discussion, and funereal sadness be mingled with life's light dreams; the sober gait and the demure step of cold philosophy, with her bald pate and a plain tunic, may encroach upon the enjoyments of the social board and the merry-makings of ardent friendship: but so is life—and such was the life of him who sits down to trace these recollections of distant wanderings.

How reversed is the tide of events, when India is classed as one of the British colonies, and the fairest portion of Asia is become an appendage to the English crown! Time was when Britain was the habitation of a few rude and scattered savages, and India was the well-peopled, richly fertile, and generally civilized region. The countries of India were known to the merchant and the scholar, to the religionist and the politician, the philosopher and the warrior, when Britain remained a *terra incognita*; a land over which the thick shadow of Cimmerian darkness was cast; to which only the sea-bird had winged its adventurous flight; and toward whose shores the scarcely less daring mariner had not yet steered his bark.

Works less characterised by minute research than elaborate histories—lighter works, serve a useful purpose in the circle of literature. They are the *entertaining* knowledge, by whose attractions the volatile mind is awakened to inquiry, and

settled down to more unwearied application ; they are the green meads and verdant landscapes—the sunshine and the shade—which tempt to wholesome exercise, and lead onward through the lengthened journey. But more profound and elaborate productions must be prepared, investigation and study must be employed ; and the sober and grave realities of this world must be detailed and understood for the businesses of life, the upholding and welfare of society. Books of travel and voyages of discovery, when read with all the vivacity of youth and with the effervescence of a rich and lively fancy, generally so excite the mind, that in imagination the reader participates in the adventures of the heroes, and shares with them their perils and success. But when added to this, have been personal adventures and wanderings in distant regions, and deliverances from dangers by land and sea, a writer may communicate a more lively interest to his descriptions and narratives of scenes and incidents ; the pleasures of memory will thence acquire a force and intensity amidst the reminiscences of former events and the musings of a warm and buoyant imagination. Thus, though our wanderings may have long since ceased, and our connexion with foreign countries at length depends chiefly on the associations of the mind, we may enjoy facilities and resources superior to either the novelist or the gifted and eloquent sons of song.

The traveller, and student of books of travel, derive emotions very different from the feelings

and interests of the merchant, the philosophical inquirer, or the formal annalist : to whom the physical peculiarities and mercantile commodities of the countries respectively under consideration, or the current events of each year, are the matters of research. The gain which may be derived from commercial speculations ; the laws of nature, or the phenomena of society, which may be discovered ; the lessons of political science, and the principles of national intercourse, which may be deduced and applied from the statistics and history of kingdoms and empires ; the battles which have been fought, the conquests which have been made, the laws which have been enacted, and the statesmen which have appeared or passed away ; present wide and varied fields for their investigation. But the traveller is spell-bound to the regions of his wandering, the romantic incidents of adventure and discovery, the sweet fields and swelling floods, the hoary remains of ancient time, the ruins of faded greatness, and the illegible fragments of former generations : to such there is full scope for a glowing fancy and fantastic combinations.

Imagine, and what delighted wanderer in the fields of adventure has not imagined, the traveller returned from his toils ; and, though *laid up*, as the once tempest-tossed mariner in a haven of rest, in the flitting and chequered reveries of his ever active mind encountering again his perils, recalling the modes of thought, the excitement of passion, the alarm, the tumult and commotion of an awakened

consciousness in the midst of some unforeseen danger, which are all painted in the retina of the memory, and are occasionally subject to the contemplative faculty. But this is not imagination merely; it is reality—the faithful delineations of truth. We picture the wanderer of Nubia, who with one proud step strode across the fountains of the Nile, who saw and told many wonders more than were believed—the ill-used Bruce—who, having risen superior to the morbid sensitiveness which chilling scepticism had created, has composed himself by the glimmering fire under the peaceful and soothing shades of twilight. The aspect of his countenance betokens a mental effort to comprehend and survey at once the recollections which are localized in the regions of memory, and haunt his thoughts in solitude. The iron grey visage becomes deeply furrowed with the traces of anxious reflection, while he summons the visions of departed days. His object is not now to recount their vicissitudes to the family circle, or relate them in familiar strains for the perusal of a correspondent: either process would involve delay, unwelcome to the magical disclosures of an active spirit. It is a longing and selfish struggle that he may grasp and quaff the cup which he has often drunk; that he may unrol, and at a glance review, the exciting scenes, in the drama of which he bore a chief part. Varied, indeed, and mingled must be his emotions. Were they only the fantastic combinations of a fitful and flitting fancy, they might bewilder or entertain the imagination, and leave it

to roam at leisure in the regions of a pleasing reverie. But the convulsive features and the fiery glare of that dark eye, which lightens and flashes from his wan and livid countenance, prove that the visions have assumed so much the character of *vraisemblance*, and every incident has so exactly and spontaneously fallen into its own place upon the extended scroll, that the fantasy has acquired a reality far too great to yield indulgence to the mind; and the magician starts, like Prospero, at the spectres invoked by his own enchantment; or like Saul, who sought refuge in the necromancy of the sorceress of Endor, through which he should consult the deceased seer, he is appalled by the success of his daring ambition, and covers his face to escape from the eye of the prophet, whom he has troubled and brought up.

But again, the mental reverie is peopled and animated with other forms: the shades of entombed thoughts, the spirits of long departed scenes, are re-embodied and clothed, not with the terrors of impending danger, but in the attractive attire of benign and composed security, which invites intercourse and welcomes investigation. His countenance holds up the mirror to philosophy, his application is earnest and composed, and his analysis of mental phenomena is minute and clear; his vicissitudes are brought out, his excited and ardent expectations, his contending emotions of joy and fear, are portrayed; a thousand shadows pass over his reflective visage, in which we may distinguish



the relative influences of past events and their moral bearings,—their new, imperious, and leading impulses are developed,—speculative abstractions, opening vistas of expansive thought, discovering untrodden regions, the rapid excursions and luxurious musings of the mind in such regions, are traced with delight; while the almost creative, the suggestive operation of a broken expression, a fragment of thought, or an unfinished illustration, associated with, or aroused by unexpected coincidences, excites, or implants new mental energies; till at length the doctrines and principles of philosophy constitute the elements of his spiritual being, and become rather a part of himself than the mere reminiscences of his mind. The different sources from which information has been drawn; the diverse agency which contributed to the formation of opinions, prejudices, or predilections, such as the plaintive melody of the maniac's midnight music, the harsh dissonant sounds of idolatrous, or barbaric worship; the discussions with one, the conversations with another, and the correspondence with a third; the once accessible, the now sacred, because sealed, fountains of solace and of joy; all present themselves as having erewhile powerfully cooperated to develop the resources, to cherish the powers, and to animate the affections of the man. They come before his scrutiny at his summons, and marshal themselves in his presence as the members of a well-organized community, associated by common interests and relations; they pass in

review as if memory held the spring of their movements in her control. The well-told and harmonious numbers of the *automaton* music-box do not afford more pleasure by their melodious strains, than does that obedient mechanism of mental vision, by which we can survey and combine the scenes, emotions, and transactions, though remote and long overlooked, in our past history.

In a fainter, yet similar manner, may the reader of travels, if he has eagerly pursued the track of the traveller, be affected; but though not so strong, his impressions and recollections may be more varied; he may recall consecutively and place in order the traveller's tale, his adventures and discoveries, which have engrossed many a lone hour. Travelling and books of travel may be made, as they are calculated, to serve two ends: the former the most pleasing, the latter the most profitable; the first to inform us of other men and countries; the last to expand our own minds, and make us more acquainted with ourselves. The gratification of curiosity has power enough with most men to lead them from home: there is equal alacrity—it is almost a constitutional propensity of the mind—to depart out of itself; while the salutary exercise of analyzing the powers, agitations, and attainments, of the inward man is neglected. How soon the eye is satisfied, and almost wearied, with a glance of itself! how soon, too, will the combination of shades and the expressions thereof be driven from the recollection! So with the eye of the mind—as

a man looking in a glass : he beholdeth himself and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was. It is a happy coincidence if, when we gratify our taste for what is foreign, we see in others what we ought to find in ourselves, but which we have yet to acquire ; or discover in them an exemplification of the baneful tendency of those habits which distinguish ourselves, and which, as unsuitable and unworthy garments, we ought to throw aside. Therefore, although that species of travels and researches, which have moral observation for their object, is liable to error, and has many difficulties to overcome, before it can arrive at excellency, it is by such travels and inquiries, conducted on correct principles, that the wanderer will be profited, and the student of his pages benefited and enlightened. It has been conjectured by an eminent essayist that a child, growing up in Switzerland to manhood, would have acquired incomparably more of the cast of his mind from the manners, actions, and events of the next village, though its inhabitants were but his occasional companions, than from all the mountain scenery, the cataracts, and every other circumstance of sublimity or beauty in nature around him. A controversial amateur of natural grandeur might feel disposed to dispute the full amount of the premises, and then deny the conclusion. But it is a remark become almost trite by observation, that children will instantly turn their attention from any of the more ample aspects of nature, however varied or striking,

if human objects present themselves to view in any active manner. Hence the kindred associations and personal attachments of every clime.

It is man then, and not mountains merely,—the developments of moral character, and not only the stratification of rocks, or the classifying of trees, those outward lineaments of unintelligent nature,—the energies of mind ; the peculiarities of temperament ; the ebullition of passion ; the existence and influence of principle ; the actions, the sentiments, and the resources of intelligent agents ; the associations and enjoyments of life, and the relative influence of moral character ; and not simply the cataracts of the mountain stream ; the arid plains of a parched land ; the produce of soil ; the temperature of atmosphere ; the elevation of mountains, and the extent of the country ; the variety of the landscape ; the palaces of the great ; the number of the armies and the battles they have won ; which will secure improvement to the observer, benefit to those with whom he holds converse, or permanent and increasing interest to the contributions of his pen. The importance which not only the dictates of philosophy, but also the common sense of mankind, have attached to such investigations, warrants two or three further observations and illustrations.

Lord Bacon says, “ Travel in the younger sort is a part of education, in the elder a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school and not to travel. It is a strange thing that

in sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it: as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation." The prevalence to which the opinion was entertained that travel was useful, induced the practice, almost constantly pursued by the sons of gentlemen of the olden time, of proceeding to complete their studies by a tour through the Low Countries, and among the seats of learning on the continent; and occasions still the general resort by moderns to other lands, and the interminable succession of tourists and books of travel from the press. But the good to be derived will not be found in the measurement of leagues by the wheels of a *Diligence*, or the calculations on a ship's log: for however grand external objects, a familiarity arising from vicinity and permanence are requisite to engrave the ennobling impressions. Hence the recommendations of the book of a traveller should include more, and something better, than a few weeks in a strange country; rapidity in traversing its regions equal to the speed of the swiftest locomotive machines; a mixture of national prejudice and prepossession, and a corresponding proportion of consummate conceit and dogmatism. We have, somewhere, read of a gentleman sent from France to acquire a knowledge of our common law, who declared himself thoroughly informed on the subject, after remaining precisely two-and-thirty minutes in the Old Bailey. The

evil consequences of his precipitancy would be experienced by himself, and any who trusted in him. A little more reflection might have led him farther, till he should perceive how superficial was his knowledge, and how much of caution was required ; that the same expressions, though translated into a common language, are in different countries of so different and variable value ; the same actions are excited by such different motives, and produce results so dissimilar, that a judgment of foreign nations founded on rapid observations will almost certainly consist of a mere tissue of ludicrous, unjust, and disgraceful mistakes. Such observations are doubly applicable to the wide regions and multitudinous people of India ; the prolix idolatry and obsolete commerce of the Hindoos ; the widespread conquests and consolidated empire of Britain in Hindostan ; the impediments to the progress and ultimate triumphs of Christianity in India.



THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA.

THE VOYAGER AND HIS COMPANIONS.

IN the month of May, 1822, I first received my destination for a foreign land, and instructions to make all possible despatch in the requisite preparations. It may be better here to shade with the veil of obscurity, many relative affections and domestic sympathies which this exciting notification called into operation. Had the grave closed over my ashes, perhaps some kind friend might with less impropriety revive and portray such hallowed scenes. The journal of some of our deceased contemporaries,

whose career was finished among moslem tribes or among savage hordes, and for whom the fond and indulgent friend has performed the office of biographer, does not contain more heart-stirring appeals to the sensibilities and sympathies, than I might be warranted to write over an entombed father, a widowed but generous mother, afflicted kindred and mourning friends. But seeing I live to relate the tale, brevity shall be the soul of wit; since either few would believe, or fewer still would sympathize with the author.

Notwithstanding the haste which was urged, many delays interposed; the winter months had set in before our voyage was commenced; and finally, after six weeks' farther delay, when the Thames had become navigable, the vessel, loosened from the effects of a long protracted frost, began to clear her way down the river. I received a laconic, but summary direction to join the ship's party next day at Gravesend. As a matter almost of course, affection's tear trickled from the eyes, and many farewells were mingled with these warm gushings of the heart, while the more sacred and hallowed relations were bound the firmer by the expression of devotional sympathy and christian converse. We were yet able to embrace the cheerful anticipation, that if no more again permitted to join each other's society on earth, we should meet in a better and in an immutable state. When the parting hour came, the lines of the Brethren's poet had more than once been recited, written, repeated and felt:—



“ When shall we three meet again ?  
When shall we three meet again ?  
Oft shall glowing love expire,  
Oft shall wearied hope retire,  
Oft shall death and sorrow reign,  
Ere we three shall meet again.

“ When in distant lands we sigh,  
Parch'd beneath an eastern sky,  
Though the deep between us rolls,  
Friendship shall unite our souls ;  
Still, in Fancy's wide domain,  
Oft shall we three meet again.

“ When the dreams of life are fled,  
When its wasted lamp is dead,  
When in dark oblivion's shade,  
Beauty, wealth, and fame are laid—  
Where immortal spirits reign,  
There shall we three meet again !”

Though the severing moment had arrived for many, it had not arrived for *one*. Her joys were now to be mine almost exclusively, my sorrows to be hers—and reciprocally were they interchanged. Happy union—bright morning—bow of promise—resplendent vision ! But was it a vapour—a gourd ? Ah, how transient ! it departed. I may be permitted to interweave that leaf hereafter in a cypress wreath, for one whose name is enshrined, and whose memory is embalmed, in the sanctuary of fondest attachment. Strong is the affection which lingers in the fellowship, and finds solace as in the presence of the dear departed shade ! Two friends continued to display as well as exercise their affection, after we had torn ourselves from every other, and they “ accompanied

us to the ship." It was well they did—for our comfort. We had supposed the vessel still at her moorings, and that she would continue so for some hours; we stayed on shore to take dinner, apprehensive that the ship would not prove so comfortable as a hotel for such purposes. A boat had been engaged to convey us on board. The watermen professed to know precisely where the vessel lay, and steered accordingly; but when they had been toiling and rowing for a long time, the ship remained indiscernible. One vessel was hailed, and another was hailed; but none of them answered to our description.

The midnight hour was now at hand; the stars shone, they sparkled in refulgence upon the water; the river, to my excited imagination, seemed to be swelling to a sea—and who could expect to discover a ship on the wide ocean! "Now," I thought, "our passage is lost; and that is not the worst—how will it appear?—such negligence!" The darkness of my imaginings thickened upon me, but the cheerful presence and assurances of our friends tended to prevent the gloomy forebodings which might have overshadowed the mind, till we reached the vessel; when fears and agitation passed away, as they had all proved unnecessary. For two hours more we lay with our sails unbent. But then the notice was given to all persons going on shore. Our friends left us; and now we felt as if the chain extending to the place from which they came had been snapped and separated, and all personal communication with

home brought to an end. What a sensation this produced! Few, unless those placed in similar circumstances, can realize the sinking back upon one's-self, and the apparent desolation and entire abandonment by all those whose friendship had been cherished by reciprocal endearments, whose counsel had been sought with confidence, and whose presence made one feel that he was not alone. What a solace to possess a beloved associate, whose heart, though poignantly alive to all these severings of kindred ties, almost instinctively, but fondly, turns to her companion with a countenance ready to utter, "*Now, I have only to live for thee!*" Even her tears and emotions, her sorrows and distant relatives, become one's own, and mingle and neutralize any personal and particular causes of excitement.

The night of our embarkation passed quietly enough—no agitation of the water; but the next morning the scene was changed, the wind had arisen and gone quite a-head, and the vessel rolled and pitched without abatement. We had not been able to secure the services of the carpenter, and the sequel was "confusion worse confounded." Added to the usual concomitants of a first week at sea, the loose pieces of furniture in the cabin seemed as if they were in pursuit of each other, while we were unwillingly embroiled in the affray. First, the couch on which we sought shelter went *adrift*, while we were pitched far enough from the centre of gravity: then down toppled a chest of drawers, followed by the medicine chest, the writing desk, and all the

*et ceteras* of a cabin. A series of such disasters lasted for a week, at the end of which the seamen had succeeded in steering the ship back to Deal. Ten days after our departure from Gravesend, we were visited by a favourable wind, and steered our course.

“We are crowding all sail, and stretching our canvass to the breeze, while the vessel skims along, passing one head-land after another. The coast, studded with towns and villages, presents the busy haunts of our countrymen. A ship at sea is no uncommon sight to them, and they do not flock to the beach to gaze upon the sea monster, with his snow-white wings, his beard of foam, his bellowing sounds, and the rapid and gigantic strides he takes across the rolling wave: it is now an every-day occurrence; and they hasten each one to his merchandise, to his farm, or to his rural sports, leaving that immense walking wonder with its many inhabitants to career upon the wide waters in solitary and unheeded grandeur. And truly, they that go down to the sea in ships, ‘these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.’ Now we are a little recovered from our confusion, and the vessel more steady in her movements, and by the aid of the carpenter, our cabin in better trim; we are less in fear of evils and accidents, and venture upon the deck. The good people of England, ‘who live at home at ease’ in their ceiled-houses, with high roofs, spacious halls, numerous apartments, and their thousand conveniences, would marvel to witness how comfortable passengers can make themselves in their

cabin twelve feet square, and something less than six feet between decks, with the prospect of four or five months' permanence in such circumstances; however, so it is, when the mind is conformed to the condition, and any little sacrifices are made, from a principle which recognises Divine claims and duty in all engagements. To read the complaints or implied regrets of some concerning their lot; or, what is more to the point, to look for only a moment into the busy little kingdom within, and detect the conspirings of rebellion there, the murmurings of sedition ready to break out against the lines which have fallen to us; we may be startled, and think of 'Paul a prisoner' bound with a chain on board a vessel, such as they had then to sail in, with such a company, for such a time; and then remember how much he endured, when he filled up in his own 'flesh that which was behind of the affliction of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church.' How many comforts have we which he had not, and how much less than he are we deserving of them.

“ Passing through the Dover Straits, Hastings, originally a monument of Danish daring and piracy, but subsequently more celebrated as the scene of Norman invasion and conquest, presents itself to the observing mariner. We look upon its bleached sands and surrounding white cliffs with a mixture of callousness and reflection; but ere a return to simple elements is effected, another and more modern object bursts forth. Its bright rocks

and white beach, and steep cliffs, all perhaps indicated by its original name, attract our notice to the place where the Royal Pavilion is, and where majesty and imperial luxury, and the gay retinue of those who hang on princes' favour, exhibit a splendour more refined than Rome or Babel ever displayed; where the riches of those Indies to which we go, are poured more profusely at the feet of royalty, and the fruits of the East are better known and enjoyed, than they were at the table of Alexander in his farthest invasion of Asiatic regions. Well, we are past Brighton now—the shades of evening are drawing over us, and we are hastening towards the 'Wight,' where our pilot will leave us—the last opportunity, it may be, for many weeks of sending letters to our beloved friends—so to them I shall turn."

When reflecting on the many farewells we gave to the head-lands and fore-lands as we left the shores of our beloved country, the emotions experienced when doing so, and the very inadequate expression in which language can clothe them, I am, when possessed by the passion called Romance,—and who is not so sometimes?—almost ready to regret, that I live to tell the tale—that my journey was not terminated on the banks of the Muddoor, the Cauvery, the Coleroon, the Taptee, or the Nerbudda, when some eloquent friend, perfumed with a spice of sentimentality in his composition, and who had the pen of a ready writer, might have recounted the sorrows felt, the bitter tears, and the often repeated causes of excitement, agitation, and

renewed recollections. Then it is probable I should be honoured with many more—readers, I was about to say, but I mean admirers, than I can now expect; and this simply, because one would feel and grieve, and tell how she or he felt, and so the interest would become epidemic: and the journal of ——— would grow as popular as the *Waverley* novels *in their own circle*. But the plain truth is, I like to be the narrator, the auto-biographer: it is only a reminiscence, and my sorrow cannot be exceedingly acute now, though I went through the same seas, saw the same coast, and cherished the same fond recollection, and mourned similar separations. How truly sophisticated are many of our *finest* feelings—how subject to contagion—how cautious we should be, that it is not mere sentimentalism which inspires us with energy and develops our resources, when we fancy it is the force of principle, the zeal of love, the inspirations of conscience, and the fear of God.

“We have been out now eleven days from the Land’s End, during which we rolled over the big waves of the Bay of Biscay—no very agreeable process for untaught mariners; but since that we have enjoyed more sea-room, quieter waters, and more pleasurable sailing. The cabin company, as well as the ship’s crew, have been employed in looking out upon the island of Madeira. It is a rich, fertile spot to behold, and, perhaps, may seem more so to our eyes, which have been gazing upon the waste of waters before us. It appears to be

adorned with large, and so far as we may judge, splendid edifices. The more conspicuous are, we learn, monasteries and ecclesiastical buildings. It was toward evening as we neared the island. I occupied a solitary retreat in the ship's poop, endeavouring, till the grey twilight had settled into the shades of night, to single out the various features of the scene, and ruminating on the nature and extent of that corruption which has spread like a leprosy over the face of Christianity. It was the first territory of a foreign power I had ever seen—it was the first time I looked on convents, monkish convents—on the abodes of Popish indolence and superstition. It was not the rich vines and orange groves, the antique structures of foreign architecture, the sultry vales or their produce, to which my mind recurred; but I thought of the religion which lowered over the people, the apparatus by which they are enthralled, and the cruel guilt of those who make merchandise of the souls of men. That among a population of 64,000, there should be 1300 clergy, as is computed, or one ecclesiastic to fifty souls, of whom the bishop alone has 3000*l.* per annum as his salary; and yet that such ignorance should prevail, that ‘an endless number of mountebank tricks’ could be played off with approbation, is often characteristic of that system, whose prototype, or mystical symbol, was ‘drunken with the blood of souls.’ How significant and truly descriptive of the temple of cruelty and injustice, is the chamber in the Franciscan convent



on this island, 'the walls and ceilings of which are completely covered with rows of human skulls and human thigh bones, so arranged that in the obtuse angle made by each pair of the latter, covering each other obliquely, is placed a skull. The only vacant space that appears is in the centre of the side opposite to the door. A figure, probably intended for St. Francis, the patron saint, seems to be intent on trying, in a balance, the comparative weight of a sinner and a saint. A dirty lamp suspended from the ceiling, and just glimmering in the socket, serves dimly to light up this dismal den of skulls.' I have heard it said, that the way to hell is paved with good resolutions; but I fear it may be asserted, that the way to bigoted intolerance is paved with skulls, and that its sanctuary is the spiritual Golgotha! O, when will He come, whose right it is to reign? We are now bearing off from the port of Funchal; may the day soon dawn, when these islands shall be visited by the heralds of the truth, and when the mercantile spirit of Britain shall become subservient to the propagation of that gospel, the clear light of which has made her so great among the nations, and the responsibilities of which are so graciously laid upon her sons and servants."

In the limited circle of a ship's company there is abundant scope for scandal and small talk. Pent up as we were within the compass of a few feet, frequent as our intercourse must be, and oft as our selfish fancies or humours must cross each other's

path, there was required great exercise of prudence, caution, and restraint, if no jarring element interposed, no collision of sentiment occurred, and no strife of words was heard in the little floating sphere: and shall I become the annalist of the occasional bulletins of gossip which may have been issued, whilst a *fever* or a *cold* affected the usual good feeling which prevailed? No, no: let the page of my portfolio lack lustre, rather than that it should be enlivened with the style of reproach. Our dinner company usually consisted of about twenty, of an equal proportion of males to females, and the majority of the latter were married. Of no one of the party shall I attempt a description, and of only one shall I venture a sketch, a true son of Erin, and one of the Roman Church, a merchant and a man of the world. He had travelled, and frequently by sea, for the purpose of commercial speculation; and having realized profitable returns in his previous adventures, he was now attempting it on a larger scale. A principal share of the ship's cargo belonged to him, with which he purposed to establish himself in one of the free British settlements in the East. Generally, he was well informed, he had read much, and observed more; nor was he ignorant of the antiquities, native language, and history of his own country: many portions of the sacred Scriptures, too, were familiar to him, and especially such as were involved in any difficulty, apparent or real. There never was a stagnation in argument or lack

of discussion if he were present; nor did he shun the points of most delicate debate connected with religion, nor exhibit any ill temper after the most ardent controversy. He seemed indued with a patience which was obstinately proof against all assault; his good sense never forsook him, while on all occasions he was the life of the lighter society. If the ladies wanted music, his flute was at hand; and if they called for a dance, he was their musician. If a sickly passenger required the attendance upon deck of a steady companion, he was secure *in equilibrio* from all reeling and motion of the ship; or if his own wife needed help, he was ever at his post. I had never been before in such close intercourse with an enlightened or well-informed member of the Church of Rome. It had previously been to me a perplexing enigma, and difficult of solution, how men of large and well-cultivated, philosophical minds, could attach themselves to, or remain connected with the popish communion, since the Reformation and the spread of vital godliness had thrown such a light upon the gross superstitions, the priestly usurpation, and the debasing influences of priestcraft.

Even in France, after that the demon of persecution had been glutted with the blood of the Huguenots, under the infamous policy of Charles IX., whereby the light of Protestantism in that country was for a time almost extinguished—its influence perverted or annihilated, and the contrast between the two religions, for two they are, rendered im-

perceptible to the people; even then, when human learning, unsanctified philosophy, and the venturesome mind of man, pushed their inquiries into the pretensions of religion, as presented under the mysteries of that system, its glaring absurdities were detected; and as its restraints appeared a yoke of tyrannous bondage, the people threw them off. Both laymen and clergy, the gay noblesse, and the interested hierarchy, abbés and priests, as well as the wily philosophers, all mingled in the public renunciation of the religion of their fathers: and since they concluded, most precipitately and presumptuously, that the system which prevailed before them was Christianity, they spurned the authority of Jesus, trampled his word under foot, and brought all the influence of their talent to bear against the ordinances and institutes appointed by high Heaven. They had learned much, but they had not been taught as yet to distinguish the things which differ in the affairs of religion. Such was the fate of Popery in France during her revolutionary career; and although, by subsequent events, the Gallican Church has been restored to her predominancy, it will not be disputed by those acquainted with the state of that country at this day, that a large proportion of the people are the disciples of infidelity, and regardless of the doctrines of Revelation. The consequence is one which might rationally be anticipated; but how are we to account for so many of the English and Irish nobility and gentry, members of the learned

professions, respectable merchants and tradesmen, remaining subject to a spiritual domination so oppressive, and yielding their homage and services to a church so characterised by priestcraft, and which requires and produces such prostration of will and understanding upon a topic the most interesting and animating that can excite the rational mind? It would be a brief, though vague answer to pronounce, that the Romish doctrines are suited to the corruptions of a depraved heart, and to the pride, self-sufficiency, and perverted judgment of a fallen nature; but greater preciseness may be attainable, and is certainly to be desired, for it would be satisfactory, and may be useful.

My friend and fellow-passenger may serve as an illustration and pattern of many others of the same school: and in him there appeared a strong aversion to the humbling doctrines, peculiar to Bible Protestantism, of man's insufficiency, the perversion of the human heart, and the penal culpability of all mankind before God. This, too, was accompanied by an extreme and unwarranted confidence in the moral resources and energies of man; in the meritorious claims of benevolent actions, of the services of devotional formality, and of mere poetical or sentimental excitement, which sensible representations produce. It required no prying curiosity or uncharitable censoriousness to discover an entire absence of all spirituality of mind, the fruit of gracious influence, and of that relish for

divine and devout converse, which is the food of the heaven-born and sanctified soul. There was no concealment of this deficiency, because there was no regret caused by it; since it was a recognition which he had never attained, that the religion of Christ in its essence and influence is purely spiritual, and regulated by principles as a concern of the heart, and a transaction between the creature and his God: indeed, he regarded it as substantially consisting in external forms and services. It would not have been difficult to gather the elements of that oft revived and as oft exploded theory of a personal advent and a Pales-tinal glory, in his conceptions of a temporal reign and a visible dominion as belonging directly or vicariously to the Head of the church: for he had not learned how to regard the necessarily spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, the moral and relative character of the work which he accomplished—the entire change which he requires in the heart, and the inviolable and intransferable authority which he maintains as Prophet, Priest, and King. And perhaps it was a legitimate progress which I sometimes discovered in our discussions, which indeed I might have anticipated from a carnal mind under no priestly or ghostly restraint,—that, though it was not avowed, and perhaps hardly perceptible to himself, a great degree of scepticism prevailed toward the representations of the Bible, whenever especially they were at war with preconceived opinions, or at variance with present interests,

pleasures, and pursuits. A regard equal to this, or of the same nature, might almost innocently be yielded to creeds and confessions, to the canons of popes, and decretals of councils. And since, by the unregenerate, religion is never accounted a matter of the first importance, and is generally the object of a very callous indifference—since, in too many instances, God is not in all their thoughts, while the things of this world usurp and engross a very large share of their time, their affections and their expectations—it is no strange thing, that the god of this world should succeed in blinding the mind of them that believe not. And hence, it is not such a great marvel as it once appeared to me, that counsellors, statesmen, and philosophers, should be found among the members of the Romish communion.

“We are now sailing before the wind, having entered the ‘Trades;’ bounding over the surface of the buoyant wave, our progress is rapid, and the ship’s motion barely perceptible. The party have all recovered from the oppressive sorrow and the saddening influence of recent separation. The shyness and distance of the suspecting stranger have been exchanged for familiarity and confidence, excited by the interchange of sympathies and kindnesses. Our climate is milder than the south of France, our atmosphere soft as the halcyon breeze; and though laved by the briny waters of the western waves, we are all like the lilies of the field—we toil not, neither do we spin, and yet every one

is well, and some of us gaily dressed ; and though far, far at sea, and as improvident from day to day as the fowls of the air, which neither reap nor gather into barns, yet are we each daily and comfortably fed. And what has essentially contributed to a transformation from the woe-begone countenance to the cheerful smile of hilarity, and the brisk and animated converse, is, that our familiarity with old Neptune has engendered, I had almost said, a contempt of his dangers. I mean, that his sportive and freakish up-liftings and down-tossings, and the giant-like and expansive form and continued motion of his countenance, do not now provoke that giddiness of the eye, or excite that agitation of the nerves and other internal organs, which are so unaccountably unpleasant, and make a whole cabin's company look and feel so uncommonly queer. To those, whose marine excursions have extended only from Dover to Calais, from London to Dieppe, or even from Dublin to Bordeaux, and have continued, during all the *pleasure* sail, subject to such qualms as are very obnoxious to the savour or the sound of culinary preparation, it must often appear a puzzle, how four or six months can be endured, unless, like some other aquatics, the passenger can become used to it. But now we find it is almost worth reeling through the Bay of Biscay, to enter at length these regions, where morning, noon, and night, are passed in such serenity. If the queen of the South had presented the phenomenon suited to her regions, corresponding to the magic structure



exhibited by the queen of the North, instead of the icy palace we should have witnessed here a temple worthy of the residence of Hygeia, furnished with ambrosial nectar, and illumined by the genial sun-beam ; it would have been an Elysium deserving our admiration ; its gates would have been perpetually thronged ; and Consumption must have clothed himself with Uriel's garments to have gained access, even as a wayfaring stranger turning in for a night. This is now the season of general enjoyment, and we witness even the labour of the hands which tends to profit ; the ladies are knitting, sewing, reading, walking, and gossiping ; then, when the sun has gone down, both for amusement and for exercise, the young and the old, the calculating merchant and the light-hearted cadet, the grave and the gay, the man in authority and the man under authority, all join and mingle in the sportive dance. The pale moon looks forth upon the cheerful group with a smile, and lends her light to aid in the revelry—‘ the Pleiades and Orion’ too, and ‘ Charles’s Wain,’ seem to twinkle with delight ; while silvery Venus, the vesper star, though far in the deep sky, sends her last ray to brighten the scene. Though they be all so busy ‘ tripping it on the light fantastic toe,’ there seems so much innocency in the *present pastime*, that even the —— has been sitting as a spectator, nor would he utter one jarring or dissonant note.”

But say, reader, had not the studious and silent observer of the mirthful recreation also other and

responsible occupations? Sailors are often shut out from sacred ordinances and gospel privileges, when launched upon the waves, tempest-tossed, and steering toward a far distant strand: but should these things be always so? They are too commonly, and far more frequently than is necessary, engaged upon the work of the six days on the seventh; and if unemployed, their attention is not always directed, as it should be, to the events and realities of the christian faith: but should this be the invariable rule when opportunity for another order of things is presented? Certainly not: on board many ships a service is conducted by the captain or purser; and it sometimes occurs, that one of the passengers is inspired with a zealous desire for God's glory and a pious benevolence toward his fellow-men; while chaplains and missionaries are passing and repassing in such numbers, that their services are repeatedly enjoyed. Yes, the voice of prayer is many times offered by the *unvested*, within bounds consecrated alone by the smiles and the sweet breath of heaven, wafted upon the sea-winds, and heard by him who sitteth King of Floods. Pleasing reflection! that at the same hour of the hallowed day, when the tribes are thronging to the house of prayer, on the ocean too, and under many latitudes of the mighty waters, the hour when prayer is wont to be offered is realized; and solemn assemblies, summoned by the sounding bell, are engaged in addressing supplication and praise to "our Father, who is in heaven," through Him

who is the way of access and acceptance. It does not always, though, alas ! it may still too often happen, that the faithful messenger of the cross is deserted, and his message spurned, when he stands forth to announce that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, and that through the shedding of his blood is preached the remission of sins.

During the week-days I had free intercourse with the crew for the distribution of tracts and instructive books, and communication of religious knowledge ; but on every holy Sabbath, unless when storms prevented, the quarter-deck was furnished and prepared, the passengers were seated to the right and left ; and the sailors, cleaned and arrayed in their best, were duly arranged immediately before the capstan. Nor was it without many pleasing symptoms of improvement, that these services were conducted. Emotions, tender and gratifying, often accompanied attention and sobriety during a plain, and at least heartfelt statement of the “ grace of God which bringeth salvation.” To witness the big tear trickling down the deep furrows of the hoary mariner’s cheeks, when the love of God was declared, under the assurance that the word of Jehovah “ shall not return unto him void,” was felt encouragement enough, not to shun to make manifest the whole counsel of God ; and to know that a value was set upon the prayers by those who stood most in need of them, was an excitement always to pray and

not to faint. What positive benefit accrued from these engagements is not our province to know, far less to relate; but the day shall declare, even that day on which the sea shall give up the dead which are in it. Sufficient unto God's servants it is, that he hath said, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

From the mountain's top I have gazed upon the opening day, and watched the streaming heralds issuing from the gorgeous east, and introducing to a darkened world the orient sun, while he appeared as a bridegroom coming forth from his chamber, and rejoicing as a strong man to run a race; and truly splendid have been the rays which emanated as beams of glory from the majestic orb. How insignificant is the pride or pomp of kings, compared with the lustre of the rising sun! Yet, overpowering as I have been wont to consider this display of the great creation, there was something far more softened and inviting in the sun-setting, as at evening he appeared to return to rest upon the bosom of the illuminated ocean. Fleecy clouds hovering onward gradually accumulated toward the gates of the West, where they assumed the form of pillared portals, a deep vestibule for the palace of the sun. There was no mixture of pestilent vapour or corrupted exhalation, it was an assemblage of—

"Illumin'd shoals that gleam

Like drifted gold in summer's azure beam."

The wide waves reflected back the gorgeous scenery

as the sun reached the declination of the vaulted canopy "just o'er the verge of day." The clouds, which erewhile shifted and were divided into multitudinous groups, now lay like "piles of gold with burnished peaks;" the whole mass then separated, and presented one broad base as a shining throne within the ethereal tabernacle; around this the lighter and more fantastic forms flitted or assembled—a richly splendid train, as if to wait in all their pomp at the ceremony of their abdicating monarch. The sun broadened by degrees, the air and ocean expanded around him, while he still lingered seated in his radiant car, and surveyed in one moment the regions of his circuit over which he had rolled. There is something in the aspect of a setting sun which approaches nearer to moral excellence than to physical greatness—it is the eye of beaming benevolence moistened with affection, directed toward the sharers of his bounty, which closes gradually till, with one bright glance, he disappears so suddenly and completely, as if he would refuse the votive offerings which a selfish and short-sighted gratitude would dictate:—

" In calm magnificence the sun declined,  
And left a paradise of clouds behind ;  
With pomp of pearl and gold  
The billows in a sea of glory rolled."

"But how inadequate are words to describe that which no pencil can imitate, and no contrivance produce! If, too, the glory of the creature

be so magnificent, what must be the majesty and the power which spake and it was done; which said, ‘Let there be light, and there was light!’ ‘When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, (the sun in his glory) the moon, and the stars which thou hast ordained—what is man, that thou art mindful of him!’ But if even all this glory be but a vapour, an evanescent cloud; if the sun himself shall grow dim with age, shall fail from his place, be wrapped up as a faded garment; if even his greatness only assumes something like moral worth, as he is obedient to the laws of creation, and declares the glory of God; if, too, a description of his glory requires the borrowed rays of moral greatness to confirm his claim to admiration; how desirable are the beauties of holiness, which shall never fade away! how omnipotent should be the demands, how irresistible the invitations of wisdom and truth, which lead into the path that shineth more and more unto the eternal and perfect day! and how inestimable, how precious, with what earnestness and faith should be desired, that robe of glory with which they shall be clothed, who live under the beams of the Sun of Righteousness, and which shall render all those who attain it, for ever fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terribly glorious as the hosts with banners!”

“During a lengthened monotony, when every vicissitude is the recurrence of a previous day’s incidents, time seems to slacken his pace, and to linger

with him whose mind has not been trained to studious pursuits : and not infrequently it happens, that *idle* communications corrupt good manners, especially in so compact a circle. *Ennui* broods upon the mind, or fruitless speculations occupy the thoughts; and longing desire insinuates itself, directing the affections towards the busy world, from which we are so far distant, and from whose immediate intercourse we are inevitably removed and excluded. This leads the more communicative to discussion, and the more reflective to letter-writing, or melancholy musings: the latter are soon *poised* upon the wings of imagination, and are wafted, swifter far than the fleetest winds, to the dwellings of absent friends, for whom fancy rapidly delineates circumstances, expression, and pleasure; reviving the scenes of other days, or realizing communion with them in kindred engagements, and fondly believing that their thoughts have *wings too*, with which they traverse ‘the way of our ship in the midst of the sea.’ The communicative, who have employed themselves, perchance, arranging the affairs of the empire, deciding the merit and measures of statesmen, or anticipating the events of future days, or of the countries to which they go, cannot help sighing for more direct and recent intelligence from the world, on whose utmost margin they seem to be cast. Under these auspices we hear—and how soon do we catch the sound from the top-mast head—‘A ship in sight!’ How opportune the intelligence! The most listless become animated;

the speculatist, the noisy patriot, the home-sick maiden, in one melange of curiosity, start on the *qui vive*; every eye is on the stretch, every aid to the limited compass of human vision is in requisition; spy-glasses, long and short, old and new, good and bad, are all employed; those who have *not* such help, impatiently stand by those who *have*, till they shall have caught a glance of the floating wonder. The question passes from one to another, *Which way is her head?*—it is a doubtful point, and not easily resolved; but at length the experienced mariner, the ship's oracle, pronounces that she is bearing upon us. It remains yet only a conjecture for which port she sails—if to any, even the most distant, of our favoured land: every arrangement is made for immediate telegraphic converse with these our nearest, but altogether unknown neighbours. The Union Jack, that pride of the Englishman's heart, is hoisted—the ship's colours are made ready—her number, all the signs of words—her speaking trumpets, &c. are placed on deck—the boat tackle is made clear, for it is a quiet sea, a gentle breeze, and a fine day, and we have long been separated from other men.

“ The vessel, at first only a visible speck upon the farthest horizon, gradually becomes more discernible, and expands into shape and magnitude; the white sails glisten to the sun, the flag floats in the breeze, and, to the joy of every heart, the discovery is promulgated that she carries British colours, and is undoubtedly bound for the shores



of our loved isle ; and there can be no hesitation in preparing communication for sweet home. She is yet probably five or six miles distant, and we are only sailing three or four knots an hour ; it will be some time before the vessels can be alongside each other. There is an evident strife in the bosom of some of our party, whether to forego enjoying the magnificent sight, for the pleasure of making a further addition to the already folded letter, or writing another letter to some still unnoticed friend. The ladies are all busy at their bureau ; they linger not ; *their* ‘heart, accustomed to cling like a tendril,’ or still *untravelled*, turns to the endeared affections of a parental roof. Nor are they alone influenced by these recollections : the stronger nerve, the firmer heart of boastful man are chastened into emotion by this unexpected opportunity of soothing the mind, and relieving the anxieties, and cheering the heart, of a fond mother or a tender friend ; and there is more than the heaving of a sigh ; the dewy drop bursting from the eye-lid is hastily brushed away, when the farewell is again written, and the assurances of affection are expressed. But this is no season for indulging these reflections—the notes of preparation on deck remind that time is most precious at this moment ; and one after another conveys his messengers of kindness to distant friends into the captain’s cabin. Now the two ships have a full view of each other : the deck of both is thronged with the motley group of young and old, male and female ; and the eye of *critical*

*inspection* can perceive a change of costume; the white or undress jacket is displaced by the full-dress coat, the golden epaulets, and the gilded spurs, as if a levee were now to be held in the hall of Neptune. Every appearance of a *gala* day is discoverable; excitement and joy sparkle in the countenance; and the light laugh, and unrestrained tones of pleasure, burst forth from the grave and the gay.

“A fourteen-hundred-ton ship, equal to a full-sized man-of-war, at sea, is no mean spectacle sailing before the wind; it is calculated to inspire man with pride, that such majesty should be associated with utility and comfort, by human skill and labour. The masts are like tall pines, rearing their lofty heads to pierce and sweep the clouds; while to their highest points the crowded canvas is stretched and bent to either side, as expanded wings poised upon the winds.

“Broad to the sky she turns her fearless sail,  
And soft on ocean's lap lies down to rest :  
Thus, free as clouds the liquid ether sweep,  
The white-winged vessel scoured the unbounded deep ;  
From clime to clime the wanderer loves to roam,  
The waves her heritage, the world her home.”

“Now we are within the lines of converse—the sails are clued up—from each ship there is a mutual anxiety and readiness to offer the salutation of kindness, to inquire of each other's welfare, the port from which they sail, and whither they are bound. After preliminary inquiries and congratu-

lations, a boat from each vessel is lowered upon the fathomless abyss; the waters which once were broken into a thousand waves, and rose tumultuously in mountainous ridges to the high heavens, now bear upon a glassy surface the light and fragile skiff, as if they were on an inland lake. The tidings from home are eagerly sought, and the news from the foreign ports are given in return; letters for home and abroad are delivered and received; the observation of solar declination and of lunar altitude are compared; the memorable notes from the 'log' are communicated, and an interchange of eastern luxuries, for the more homely and not less useful produce of western regions, is made; two or three visitors from each ship honour the respective companies as guests at dinner, for the purpose of mutual information. Who would pronounce man an unsocial animal, after this display of hospitality and converse?—Now the sun has approached his going down; the sails are bending; a few more packets are handed over from each ship; the visitors retire to their several walking domiciles; the last salutation is given; both vessels are under weigh, and the same wind, by the nautical management of our navigators, conveys the ships on opposite courses; and as the distance between us increases, we are forcibly reminded of the metaphor by which the sublime and inspired poet illustrates the transition of our days—'they are passed away as the swift ships—the ships of desire—as the eagle that hasteth to the prey.' And such is life, and

such the intercourse of the dearest friends! thus evanescent are all pleasures which arise from things seen and temporal, and are composed of vapour, air, and sunshine; unstable as the wave, fluctuating as the wind, as a ship that passeth over the waves!"

It might prove an interesting inquiry, in how many more cases solitude has been sought than it has been enjoyed; and how far the number of those who have read, comes short of those who have possessed the Anglicised German classic, "Zimmerman on Solitude." How many laudatory strains have been poured forth in praise of retirement, it would not be easy to reckon, nor is it important to know. It was not a symptom of a healthful state of mind, or of a prosperous state of society, when monkish and ascetic seclusion was panted after by men claiming the characteristic of devotion, and when the hermit's cell in the lone wilderness was deemed the only or the best sanctuary for heavenly contemplation. And had our poet obtained the reality of his dream, "A lodge in some vast wilderness, remote from war's alarms;" disgusted as he justly was with human delinquency, and diseased as no doubt was his mind, he would soon have experienced, that cessation from reciprocal duties does not insure happiness; and that being set in solitary places will not give peace to the troubled mind. It could only be during the night of intellectual barbarism, that monasteries, thronged with recluses, were established in the

western world; as it was only among the superstitious and ignorant enthusiasts of the East, that the custom of mutilating their bodies and besmearing their faces so long prevailed. But gloomy and morose as was the mind of the Egyptian Therapeutæ among the mountains of Nitria, and fanatical and mystical as was the Monachism of the Eremites and Anchorets of Syria,—there is a scripture rule, which cannot be duly observed without advantage, “Commune with your own heart—Examine yourselves—Prove your own selves—Let a man examine himself.” To comply with these, requires abstraction from mingled society; nor is such occasional separation from the converse of fellow-men incompatible with our most social propensities. With all the natural love of society, and the delight which a refined mind will experience in the “feast of reason and the flow of soul;” still, the hour of loneliness, and the undisturbed retreat, will be relished, and sometimes sighed for, by him who seeks an acquaintance with himself, and communion with the Father of spirits: neither will such employment render him less fit for returning to profitable and social intercourse. What discoveries may thus be made both in philosophy and morals, of man himself and of his God, the *Horæ Solitariae* of many worthies would tell, were we admitted to the perusal.

In some situations, however, peculiar difficulties exhibit barriers apparently insuperable, and require patience and discretion to obviate them. On a

primary and hasty consideration of first appearances, it will hardly be anticipated that the limited range of a ship, on deck, or in the cabin, will afford the requisite facilities for retirement and meditation. This is nevertheless an erroneous and precipitate conclusion.

“How agreeable, after all the passions and emotions which have been excited and agitated during the day are hushed—after the stir and animation of the company have subsided—after the evening walk has terminated, and the cheerful *coterie* have distributed themselves each one to her and his cabin—to sally forth for a midnight musing—an hour of excursive and elevated meditation! How instructive to dive into the depths of the human heart; to revive faded visions; to reinstate the mind in her intellectual sovereignty; to summon back her legions of fugitive thoughts, and subject them to her revising scrutiny! And how profitable to soar into the lofty heights of divine knowledge and fellowship, and to anticipate the relationship, the engagements, and the feelings of an eternally glorious exaltation and blessedness! The whole company are mute; even the buzz of confidential converse is silenced; and only the officer of the watch, solitarily and unobtrusively employed in his own reflections, and his eye carefully directed to the movement of the vessel, or the course of the wind, perambulating his limited bounds upon the quarter-deck. There is an expansion of the mind corresponding to and borrowed

from the wide circle formed by the almost boundless and unbroken horizon. There is an exaltation and a dignity of thought derived from the boundlessness of the glittering canopy : there is a heaven-attracting influence imparted by the glory, the order, and the subserviency of those stars which shall shine for ever : and there is a humiliation of soul, a gratitude of heart, and a joy of hope, inspired by the connexion which is sustained by man with those upper and brighter worlds. ‘What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou dost visit him!’ Man was made only ‘a little lower than the angels;’ and, as a heaven-appointed sovereign, was ‘crowned with glory and honour:’ but alas! how emphatically hath the crown fallen from his head; how abject has the monarch of this inferior creation brought himself; and how degraded from his pristine excellency has he become! Yet, because a wise and good God regarded him in compassion—provided for his restoration and re-establishment in honour, and for his attaining even more than was lost by his fall; and revealed that this should be by a sacrifice for sin—a sacrifice of infinite value, whereby the sinner may be justified before his God—justified freely from all things; therefore there is hope—there is a way of access made known unto glory, honour, immortality, and eternal life. It is denominated ‘an high way, the way, and the way of righteousness; the unclean cannot pass through it, but it is the path of the just, which shines more

and more unto the perfect day ;' and therefore those who walk therein may take courage ; they are directed to look up, for their salvation draweth nigh :"

" For see on death's bewildering wave  
The rainbow Hope arise ;  
A bridge of glory o'er the grave,  
That bends beyond the skies !  
From earth to heaven it swells and shines—  
The pledge of bliss to man :  
Time with eternity combines,  
And grasps them in a span."

" There is not a spot of the whole heavens on which the eye can remain fixed, where we do not discover the light of some distant luminary, showing forth the glory of the Great Creator, as if the furthest firmament were only a paved work of sapphire stones beneath the feet of eternal majesty ; and, as it were, the body of heaven in his clearness. A most rich and splendid pavement are these heavens for the palace of the Great King ; but God's throne is above the firmament. How glorious then is He, who being clothed with light as with a garment, only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto ! What a change must take place in our visual perceptions, before we are fit to dwell in the midst of such glory ! No doubt there is a substantial reality, suited both to the nature of spirits, and to the capacities of glorified bodies, in the representations of that glorious high throne which hath been from



the beginning, as well as in the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But there is also in the application of such terms a moral excellency portrayed, which in spiritual things synonymises with material representation; and parallel to the light of his glory, is the holiness of his nature; and corresponding with the spotless splendour which he hath created, is the righteousness of his spiritual administration. If, then, a change so decided must be effected on the human body before it can dwell in the light of his presence, how total must be the moral transformation in our nature and character, ere we can become the objects of his holy complacency, or hold immediate, joyful and uninterrupted fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost! Therefore he saith, “Be ye holy, for I am holy;” and “Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.” Hence it becomes us to acquaint ourselves with our God, and to seek those seasons of contemplation which he hath promised to honour with his presence and his Spirit; to enter into the closet, and shut the door behind us, and pray to our Father who seeth in secret; to withdraw from the very attachments of domestic intercourse, or at least rise superior to them; to offer unto God the sacrifice which he requires—the soul, body, and spirit. Then, however separated and abstracted from the world—or cast off and deserted by friends or lovers, we shall be enabled to sing with devoutest gratitude and joy,—

“ Is not his voice in evening's gale ?  
Beams not with him the star so pale ?  
Is there a thought can come, or fly,  
Unnoticed by his watchful eye ?  
Each fluttering hope, each anxious fear,  
Each lonely sigh, each silent tear,  
To mine Almighty Friend is known,  
And say'st thou ' I am all alone ? ' ”

“ Such have been my meditations ; but shall I record no memento of sympathy or concern for that youthful mariner, who as ‘ the lonely watch patrols the deck ; ’ whose prospects of eternity are so obscure, and whose mind is so perverted from the divine purpose of its creation ? Because he exhibited a roving propensity, and a disinclination to the engagements of study or of the office, after a few feeble and ineffectual struggles by his natural guardians, he was early in life thrown upon the wide world, as a ship without a compass or a chart, and committed to the doubtful discretion and volatile direction of a sea captain, whose only recommendations were, that he had a ship, was a distant relative, and might have the opportunity of training the youth as an officer, and of elevating him to that capacity.—If we sow the seeds of hemlock in a congenial soil, can we expect any other than a crop of hemlock ? but how sad and dreary are the consequences to him, whose cup is filled with the poisonous juice ! The heart of every man is sceptically inclined ; it desires not the knowledge of God or of his ways : though the dictates of his conscience, *that heaven-descended monitor*, if followed

would direct to an opposite course, a course of which the judgment must approve. A thousand deceitful forms will this scepticism assume, but still, if closely inspected, the family likeness will be discovered. In a community where the truths of Christianity are familiar, and her observances regarded, there is a general influence that is peculiar to that system, and which keeps infidelity in check, subdues the tone of her hostility, and constrains her to the adoption of another mode of warfare.

“ The language of Canaan is employed; even the *shibboleth* of a tribe is acquired, the form of godliness is assumed, and the enemy transforms herself into an angel of light: then the wells are poisoned, the trumpet gives an uncertain sound; or the watchmen mistake their friends for their enemies, exhaust themselves during the day in a mere logomachy, and when the night cometh, the people wander each one after uncertain lights, till they find themselves in quagmires or on the brink of destruction. Still there is much profession—there are many prayers—there is a moral restraint, a religious decorum, a cold orthodoxy, a strict adherence to the *formulae*, a great zeal for the church as by law established; and nothing more, at the very most, than a *suspicion* insinuated, that *such* a passage is not correctly translated, or it should not be *generally* read, or it is a pity it is in the Bible; and a hint is dropped about certain zealous and extraordinary Christians, that they do not appear to be guided by the prudent maxims of the wise

man who said, 'Be not righteous overmuch.' Such is the mask under which the general influence of Christianity constrains her enemies to appear; and such the yoke to which she compels them to submit where she has asserted her native dignity. But the isolated mariner puts on a bolder front, and is less restrained by the opinion of man, and is more reckless of consequences. There is an air of frankness and of ingenuous candour, on which the sailor reckons much: 'Thank God,' he says, 'I am no hypocrite.' It is true he is in general an unsophisticated character; his habits are formed from the society to which he is limited; and his visits homeward may be described as those of a *rara avis in terris*—every thing has become a stranger to him, and he is a stranger to every one: even his fond mother looks upon her son Jack, as he rolls before the wind, with a mingled feeling of surprise and affection, accompanied by a suspension of her very faculties and parental influence. He returns again to his long voyage and the distant clime, exposed to passion as well as to storms; habituated to the loud bellowing oath which rises above even the howlings of the surly blast, as much as he is to the voice of a superior; separated from the soothing and instructive communion of the house of God, as much as from the softening and improving intercourse of domestic life; while his only employment of a literary nature consists in comparing his charts, taking the time, and entering the results in his log-book, the ship's journal. The division

of his time, too—four hours on watch, and four hours below—affords not any great facilities for mental improvement or religious attainment, nor does it present any great inducement to employ the opportunities which are afforded. Hence it is not difficult to account for the frequent avowal and baneful effects of infidelity among seamen, and the levity with which they treat religion when its realities are urged upon them personally.

“ The seaman is, nevertheless, a creature of many and lively sensibilities : he has a heart to feel for other’s woes ; he is faithful to his trust ; indefatigable in the discharge of his present duties : exposed to all weathers, under every climate, and at each hour of the day, his bosom is bared to every danger, and his feet are ever ready to carry him into the most perilous position. In the calm hour of his midnight watch, while sleep is banished from his eyes—while by his care the whole company repose in comparative security, and the ship, the messenger of commerce, speeds her way over the main,—his mind is not inactive, nor are his thoughts bounded by the limits of his present duty. Friends and kindred—the associate of early boyhood—the dreams and visions of ardent youth, are present to his mind. He pictures in livelier colours than reality itself, the features of intense interest which mark the countenance of a beloved parent, doting over the remembrance of her absent child : by the power of imagination he feels, more fervidly than ever he felt in fact, the burning lip of

fond affection, and the big rolling tear of friendship's ardour: he dwells upon the last look, he hears again the last expression; and he is only recalled from his reverie to the realities of his present condition, by the sound of the ship's bell, which reminds him of the time to call the watch; and he finds himself pausing on the quarter-deck, to look back upon the waving handkerchief, the signal of a sister's abiding anxiety, given as he left the home of his parents:—

“ Night is the time to watch  
On ocean's dark expanse,  
To hail the Pleiades, or catch  
The full moon's earliest glance—  
That brings into the home-sick mind,  
All we have lov'd and left behind.”

“ How soon may the brightest visions be obscured, and the fairest sky overcast! From serene weather, a favourable wind, and the lambent wave, there is often but a brief hour, a transient interval of gathering clouds and veering blasts, as a prelude to the darkened heavens, the tempestuous gale, and destructive storm. We have now passed through the longitudinal meridian, and within three degrees of the latitude of the most southern promontory of Africa, once named Cabo Tormentoso, but now better known as the Cape of Good Hope. I have read, and often imagined descriptions of the stormy Cape; but reading and fancy have never reached the reality of what we recently experienced. It is not every season of the year, nor

every year at the same season, that such tremendous exhibitions of the discordant and agitated elements are witnessed; nor is it when dependent alone for security upon the skill of the mariner, and the strength and fitness of the best built ship, that I would desire to watch the motions of those tumultuous seas and threatening winds; for surely the strength of oak is mere fragility itself, and nautical skill is boastful vanity in such circumstances. But when, after the experience of three centuries and a half, and the improvements of navigation, we were so baffled, what must it have been to the first discoverers, who were exposed in these unknown seas to a succession of such violent tempests; and to what can we ascribe it, that they braved all the dangers, and succeeded in reaching the Indian Ocean, and sailing to its peaceful strand? To what, but the purpose of Him who meteth the waters in the hollow of his hand, as a drop in a bucket, and who holdeth the winds in his fist! He was thus opening a passage for every ship which is—

“ Charged with a freight transcending in its worth  
The gems of India, nature’s rarest birth ;  
Which flies like Gabriel on the Lord’s commands,  
The herald of God’s love to Pagan lands.”

It is happily now no idle dream of the poet to apostrophize “ the missionary ship ;” for on this, as well as on other seas, the gallant bark has unfurled her banner as the *Herald of Peace*, and set her sails

to catch the panting breeze, which shall waft her precious cargo to the most distant lands. Thus sings the poet—

“ How gallantly thy pinions kiss  
The sportive gales which waft thee on ;  
Which seem to whisper songs of bliss  
In solitudes so lone !  
Away, away, thou beauteous thing :  
No tempest o’er thy path be driven !  
Away, thou ark of peace, and bring  
A world estranged to heaven.

“ Go, and may Heaven be with thee while  
Thou journeyest o’er thy lonely road :  
Go, and to every land and isle  
Proclaim the word of God.  
And you, ye frail and erring throng,  
Awake, and be no longer dumb !  
Rise ! and pour forth a joyful song,  
For now the light is come.”

“ Our storm continued during an entire week, and came on in shorter time than we should consume in describing its approach. The face of the sky gradually, but very quickly, assumed a rugged aspect, with cloud heaped on cloud ; the winds increased in strength till they became a howling blast ; the waters of the deep had not yet become violently agitated—the furious wind seemed to repress their rising, and chafed only their surface into foam ; but as the storm advanced, the waves became billows, and the billows mountains, till the clouds and mountainous surges mingled together. Looking around and before us, we saw huge waves



which impended over us, as if ready to engulf the ship, and through which it seemed impossible to pass, while we were enclosed in a deep valley. ‘For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves: they mount up to the heavens, they go down again to the depths.’ I stood upon the quarter-deck when the storm approached. We had been enjoying a favourable wind, and all sail was set to the highest point, so that we had much to take in when the weather so suddenly changed. All hands, however, were called; both *watches* were employed; and the farthest yards were manned, *reefing* the larger, and *cluing* up the smaller sails. The alacrity with which every one hastened to his post, and almost strove who should first reach the most hazardous part of their duty—each officer directing the men of his particular department; the creaking of the cordage, the flapping of the sails, the howling of the wind, the scowl of the whole heaven, the vivid and forked lightning, and the roaring thunder, filled me, not with alarm, but with a feeling far beyond fear of personal danger. I looked to the utmost and to the highest yards, and saw my fellow-men at such a distance as to be diminished to the size of an inferior race, suspended over the deep by the most imperceptible and insecure tenure; while the elements raged round them—and a vibrating, elevating, almost electric motion passed through my whole system. How great is God! and with what self-command

has he endued the creature man ! A moral agency in a position so perilous, braving the war of the boisterous elements, gave me the sensation of sublimity without the philosophy of abstraction, though I could not but reflect afterwards on the peculiar feeling with which I had witnessed the whole proceeding.

“ The vessel, after being trimmed for the gale, yielded to become the sport of the storm ; alternately ascending and descending, as, borne on by the troubled waters, sometimes she apparently laboured to scale the wall of waves before her ; then again she reeled round from the unstable heap, staggering as a drunken man ; now she drove forward, as if she would shoot into the secret chambers of the deep, while the waves swept over her deck, and occasionally from each side they met, and lashed each other into foam.

“ ‘ In this part of the voyage,’ says Osorius,\* ‘ the heroism of Gama was greatly displayed. The waves swelled like mountains in height ; the ships now heaved up to the clouds, and now appeared as precipitated by gulfy whirlpools to the bed of the ocean. The winds were piercing cold, and so boisterous that the pilot’s voice could seldom be heard ; and a dismal, almost continual darkness added all its horrors. Sometimes the storm drove them southward ; at other times they were obliged to

\* The enlightened, liberal, and patriotic bishop of Sylves, contemporary of Camoens, the author of the *Lusiad*.

stand on the tack and yield to its fury, preserving what they had gained with the greatest difficulty.”

“ With such mad seas the daring Gama fought  
For many a day and many a dreadful night ;  
Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,  
By bold ambition led.”

And yet it is surprising in how brief a period, even the most delicate will become habituated, or almost reconciled, to the violence and tumult of a raging sea. On the first day we had but a small party to dinner, and still fewer on the second day ; while those who came were not able to sit—they might rather be said to hold by the table. It was a vain effort for the cook to attempt more than a *sea pie*—something as miscellaneous as the Yorkshire dish of a similar denomination ; and of this, while each one endeavoured to take his share, we always had enough ; during which many a serio-comic attitude was exhibited, when, by the sudden roll of the ship, the plate and its contents were tossed to the other side, or under the table ; and the consumer, in pursuing his prey, was brought to the floor in a posture of humility not always consonant with the character or disposition of the prostrate sufferers. But notwithstanding the cold, the heaving of the ship, and the gloom which prevailed without, our company again gathered, and various were the devices employed to secure a sitting posture. I occasionally visited the deck during the storm ; not to walk, for that would be a difficult task, but that I might gaze upon the troubled sea

and behold God's wonders in the deep, and learn the feeble frailty of man. Above, below, and around, nothing but the face of storms ! and these are but a part of his ways ; and how small a part compared with what shall be revealed at that season of wrath which shall overtake the wicked and consume them, when " he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, as the portion of their cup !" How all-sufficient is he to take vengeance on them that know not him, and obey not his gospel !

" From the northern region of the globe in which our own Ultima Thule is situated, we have sailed to the west, to the east, and to the south—over the Tropic of Cancer into the midst of the Torrid Zone ; we have traversed that section of the world surrendered by the ancient geographer to fire, and to such animals only as could endure that element ; we have loitered, too long for our pleasure, upon the bisecting line which distinguishes the southern from the northern hemisphere ; and here we have found that the ancients had not turned far aside from the truth in their allocations of the fiery regions.—Not a breath from the four corners of heaven would the winds blow upon us for a succession of days ; till the faces of those who dared to encounter the radiance of the sun, were either ready to peel their skin, or present a second edition of the nut-brown maid. On one day our progress was announced by solar observation to be forwarded, and on the next our course had assumed a retro-

grade direction. This vacillation continued for nearly a week, during which we made a practical discovery, to which, but for experience, we might never have directed our thoughts—that twelve feet square under decks, when the sun has no shadow, is a space sufficiently limited to afford a foretaste of Indian exhaustion and lassitude upon those who were born on the verge of the frigid zone. Henceforth our navigators used all diligence, and pushed our adventurous prow into the latitude of the south: we passed the line drawn by Capricorn, and entered that temperate zone in which so little is land, and where the tribes of men are so thinly scattered; and reached almost to the ice of the southern pole, which, perhaps on account of the great body of water, prevails much nearer to the equator than in the opposite hemisphere. We found on this waste of water the hardy sons of the north, as spermaceti whalers, pursuing the great leviathan, subduing him in his own element, and restraining the fire of his wrath and the rage of his power, as effectually as if they had put ‘a hook in his nose, and a bridle in his jaws,’ to lead him whither he would not. We steered again toward the north, with our bearing in an easterly direction; and bidding farewell to the African coast, we sailed as if our course lay toward the China Sea, but it was that we might secure a ready entrance and passage up the bay of Bengal. Again we crossed the Line, and sailed along the spice-cultured isle towards Madras. Nine hundred miles in circumference is the

extent of this island, which is situated near to the most southerly point of peninsular India, and separated by Adam's Bridge—a strait almost fordable, as if it had once been an integral part of the continent. Its soil is the native bed of the cinnamon tree, and its shores are found peopled with the pearl-oyster. I am now approximating to the country of my destination; and though Ceylon does not form a part of the district in which I am called to exert myself, I cannot but direct towards it a favourable regard—a feeling of interest. About A.D. 1510, as a reward for repressing Arabian piracy, the Portuguese acquired a claim on the native princes for an annual tribute and ultimately secured to themselves the possession of the maritime districts of Ceylon. They faithfully served the religion which they professed, and introduced a system of proselytism among the inhabitants. Their power was overturned by the Dutch in 1656, who so far regarded the interests of religion, at least in form, as to divide the island into 240 churchships, with three native teachers to every such division, and to erect the walls of many parochial churches; but these buildings were never finished, and the object was forgotten in the more urgent demands of a worldly merchandise, and many of these *remain unto this day* without a roof. In 1795 the British arms subverted the Dutch power, and have finally obtained the supreme jurisdiction of the whole island. Have they, as individuals, or in societies, proceeded to finish the churches? have they cared for the souls of the

native subjects? May it not be said to any who have represented British enterprise in this country, ‘Where is thy brother? the blood of thy brother crieth unto me from the ground!’

“We are now drawing towards the shores of India; have passed Pondicherry, the only French settlement in Asia of any importance; and the Sadras hills are perceptible by the glass. It might well gladden the hearts of the first navigators from Europe, when their eyes rested upon the mountains of Hindostan—when they saw, even as far as the sight could reach, that land, to visit which they had sailed so many leagues, and encountered so many dangers! And how grateful to all of us, who have been fifteen weeks tossed upon the waves of the ocean, and have been delivered from so many perils, and have enjoyed so many comforts, is the view of the same land! But to one who has come forth to tell the worth of the Saviour of sinners to his countrymen, and to the idolatrous Hindoo,—who has eagerly longed and prayed for this eventful day,—what expressions can equal the feelings of joy—of devout gratitude—of supplication—of praise—of devotedness—of renewed dedication, which ought to flow from his heart! May it be no vain wish that his future days be not spent in vain, and that the golden sands of life may not run out unobserved and unimproved!

“But what buildings are these which jut out into the sea, and attract the gaze of the stranger from a far country, which seem to welcome our

arrival? Can they be a place of worship? Are they sacred to religious service? Oh, yes! but not to the true God. They are temples of idolatry; they are the sacred—the seven pagodas at Mavalipuram, in the environs of Sadras and Covelong. Let us turn aside, then, to inquire concerning them.”

Any local examination may appear, if introduced just now, an anachronism; but my reader will recognise it as a *stray leaf*.

“ They might originally have been seven pagodas, (else whence the name?) but they rather look now as the vestiges, the ruins of some decayed city, partially destroyed by an earthquake, and gradually overwhelmed by the encroachments of the sea. Several of the buildings are still standing, surrounded and washed by the waves; and not many years ago their cupolas, or roofs, reflected back the rays of the sun, from a species of metal with which they seemed covered. Upon the shore, and within a few yards, is a rock, or hill of stone, of whose size, position, and structure, the artists have availed themselves—a practice discoverable in various parts of India. It has the appearance of an antique, romantic edifice, and works of sculpture and imagery are crowded around it. Between it and the sea there is a pagoda rising to a considerable elevation, of a single stone; the top is arched, and the whole seems to have been cut out of a *detached* rock. Beyond this a numerous group of human figures, in bas-relief, and larger than life, present themselves: a perishable monument, pro-



bably, of the exploits of characters eminent in their day ; for while some of them, being protected from the sea, are still unimpaired, the greater number being exposed, are rather the decaying symbols of the corroding power of time. Ascending on the northern side of the hill, which forms so prominent a feature in the whole scene, by a stair cut in the rock, the antiquarian inquirer is led to a kind of temple, excavated from the solid rock, the walls of which are adorned by idol figures, made to stand out in full relief from the natural stone. On the opposite side is another excavation, seemingly designed for worship, containing various sculptures of Hindoo deities, one of which represents Vishnu, their saviour, in a gigantic form, sleeping, and his head laid upon a coiled and voluminous serpent as his pillow ; this, doubtless, representing one of the principal *avatars*, or incarnations, of that fabulous deity. About a mile and a half further south, other works, more stupendous, but less prominent than these, are found. Here are two pagodas, each originally consisting of a single stone, and hewn out of the primitive rock, thirty feet long, and twenty feet in width and height. Contiguous to them stand two immense figures ; one of a full-grown elephant, and the other of a lion, of a size much larger than life, each well executed, and chiselled out of a separate stone. No fragments of the rock remain to testify the amount of labour bestowed by the deluded artists, or the zeal of their devout but erring employers.

They are sheltered by a high bank, which has been cast up from the sea; and though, I believe, the lion is never found in this part of India, the form is exactly symmetrical, and a just representation of the real lion, while the name, Singh, given, is the word in the Hindoo language most appropriate, and which is always understood to mean a lion. These sculptures and pagodas differ in their architecture from modern buildings designed for the same worship. The former approach to the Gothic style; they are surmounted by arched roofs, or domes, composed of two segments of circles, meeting in a point at the top: the latter resemble the Egyptian order; their towers are pyramidical, and the gates and roofs flat, without arches. In one of these latter-named and more southern pagodas, there is an inscription in a character not at present known by the people who live there, but similar to certain obscure symbols of language which I have seen in the caves of Elephanta, and which are even more numerous in the caves of Salsette. It is a species of uncial character, and shaped almost after the form of the square Hebrew letters; it is not derived from the Sanscrit, nor does it bear any apparent affinity to the Deva Nagree. Alas! with what labour of the hands, patience, and application, have these votaries of an idolatrous system testified their zeal for false gods; how slavishly faithful has been their adherence to the worship of their worthless deities; and yet what has it served them? Has it made them better members of society? Has it

bound the links of brotherhood, and cherished the sympathies of humanity? In the distressing hour, or during the convulsions of nature, could their gods save them? No, truly. They had eyes, but they could not see; hands had they, but they could render no aid; nor could they keep alive their own name—their memorial has perished with their worshippers; the very language has become a dead letter. And may we not welcome this as a token for good to those lands, as calculated to shake the faith of the people in their merely nominal gods—to make way for His coming whose right it is to reign, and to whom, in a covenant ordered in all things and sure, all the kingdoms of this world are promised as his heritage, and placed at his disposal, when he is pleased to take possession? All the idol temples, all the influence of their priests,—all their principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickednesses in high places,—shall be brought down as the heat in a dry place, even the heat with the shadow of a cloud. When he shall make rivers to arise in the desert, and streams<sup>1</sup> to water the thirsty ground, then will the people, casting their idols to the moles and to the bats, turn to the Lord with a pure language, and will praise him for the mountain of his holiness. Let Christians remember these things, and be stirred up to honour their God with their substance, and with the first-fruits of their increase; for will a people rob their God, or will Christians fail in gratitude to Jesus?"

“ We have, during the early part of this day, been stretching our eyeballs to catch the first, even the most distant, glance of our destined port ; and, at length, to the satisfaction of every one, the vessels in the roads were distinctly discerned, and gradually the buildings on the shore opened to our view—a sight of no ordinary interest under any circumstances. After the confinement of months to the narrow limits of a ship, with such uninterrupted succession of sea and sky, of wind and water, almost any terrestrial object would afford relief to the eye : but a land so distant from our own, and whose record is so replete with eventful incidents connected with the history of our native country and her sons ; inhabited by a race so singular in their manners, their history, their religion, and their relative distinctions—a people so far from the true God—so deceived and infatuated in the objects of their worship, and yet so capable of being formed for a higher destiny—of being led to embrace a purer faith, a nobler service, and a more glorious reward ; to look upon such a land as about to become the scene of my future sojourn, and the sphere of my most desired and congenial pursuits, makes the heart feel unutterable emotion—fills the mind with thoughts so crude, and yet expanded, as will not bend to the limits of common expression, and casts such an uncertainty upon all the calculations of probability, as puts arrangement, anticipation, and sober reasoning, into an attitude of momentary delirium.”

Not more surprised by wild visions can the imagined hero of fiction be made to feel on the new territories of romance to which he is introduced, than I have been in looking out upon the diversity, the natural collocation of separate parts, and the mingling features of the *tout ensemble* presented upon shore. Individual objects, when made to sustain their place as features of the *whole*, assume altogether an unexpected character, diverse to all I had painted in fancy's rich domain. What an enchantress Nature is! She sets the pencil, the canvass, and the imagination, at defiance. I muse upon the realities of which I had formed but a partial estimate, and which representations could not convey: the feathery cocoa-nut, the tall palm, and the yellow beach, are signals of a land different from all which I have ever seen; of a path in creation new to me—the heritage of a family of mankind whom I have not hitherto seen, but with whom my interests and future responsibilities shall be intimately and inseparably associated.

The appearance of Madras from the roads is imposing and grand. Fort St. George lies upon the margin of the coast, and its walls are washed by the flowing tide. The buildings along the shore have all a stately aspect, and seem rather the palaces of great and wealthy princes, than the habitations of stranger merchants in a foreign land. Bentinck Buildings, of which the supreme court, and other law offices, form but a part, are in the first style of splendour. In the same line is the

custom-house on one side, and the post-office on the other; constituting a range contiguous from the southern point of the fort to the black town-gate, with a slight and barely perceptible interval of nearly three miles. The walls of the houses are overlaid with a composition called chunam, susceptible of the highest polish; which, at a distance, when the building is new, is as pure as alabaster, and, by age, acquires the colour of a greyish marble. Madras is situated on an extended plain. A low range of hills, to the north, rises in the distance, extending to the interior; and another line of low mountains, which we have already singled out from Sadras, reaches southward. The former you see to the right, and the other to the left, as you look upon the town from the deck of the ship. Thus the chief objects of attraction are the town and its environs, and especially the European villas. There is all the luxuriance of an eastern clime discoverable in the face of the surrounding country; so that, casting your eye beyond the foaming surf, the low sandy beach, and the city buildings, with their lofty verandahs, columned piazzas, and terraced roofs, the spires of three or four churches, the dome of an Armenian convent, and the crested minarets of the Moslem faith, you fix upon the waving acacia, the sweeping, drooping bamboo, the broad-leaved plantain, the aspiring, tufted palmyra, and the stately and wide-spreading hospitable banian—all wooing the zephyr, which is scarcely strong enough to excite vibration in the lightest

tendrils, while not a cloud intervenes between them and the clear blue ether in the mid air.

We had no sooner dropped our anchor, than the ship was boarded by—men, they were, but whether their habitation was on land, or in the water, a stranger could hardly decide. We were two miles from the shore, we saw no boat coming along-side, neither was there one on the larboard or star-board. Our visitors were not shaking their black locks as if they had passed through the waters, neither were they wringing their garments—they were *in nudibus*; yet, more surprising, they handed a document of an official character from the shore to our captain. And who were they, or how could they come there? The sailors called them Catamaran Jacks; men who plough the billows and the raging surf upon two, and sometimes three planks, six or eight feet long, with a short paddle in their hands; they sit on these planks cross-legged or astride, as suits their convenience, striking the water first on one side, and then on the other, with their solitary paddle. These are our first medium of communication with the shores of far-celebrated and long-civilized India! Now all is bustle and preparation, anxiety and anticipation. The sun has gone down—the day has closed; and prudence dictates a brief delay. This exercise of patience is necessary, and is yielded to—more of constraint, than of a willing mind. Another night must be passed on board—then the daylight will be before us. A new country, a strange people, and our

ignorance of both, prescribe the morning as the period of our debarkation. And now, how many mercies should be recorded,—how sincere the gratitude, how devout the praise, how enduring the memorial, here presented,—since a thousand opening waves have not swallowed us up ; since the storms, with all their fury, have not overwhelmed us ; and since all the billows of the mighty deep have not gone over us : but even in the midst of the storm—on the verge of the heaving gulf, the throne of prayer, the ear of a Father, have been accessible, and the fountain of mercy has been open, and the love of God has been shed abroad.

“ Now safely moored, my perils o’er,  
I’ll sing, first in night’s diadem,  
For ever and for evermore,  
The Star, the Star of Bethlehem.”





PORT ST GEORGE, MADRAS

MISSIONARY SCENES AND SKETCHES AT THE  
PRESIDENCY.

ON the morning after we had cast anchor, there was no instance of lethargy on board ; our orisons did not remain to be performed by the light of day, and there was no disposition any further to indulge suspense ; we felt that with truth might it be said, ‘ we could not tell what a day would bring forth.’ Within the tropics, the grey dawn, that isthmus between day and night, spreads itself over only a brief space of time ; but speedily as it passes over,

the shadows of the night had not gone down upon the verge of the horizon, when many of us were on deck, looking out upon the strange shores, and longing for the boat which should transfer us to *terra firma*, and the immediate intercourse of the peculiar people who have been for four thousand years the unaltered inhabitants of Hindostan. The coolness of the past night ; the freshness and elasticity of the sea air ; the clear and unclouded sky when the sun had arisen ; the silence which pervaded the whole atmosphere ; the mingled feelings peculiar to our position—on the margin of a new world ; the religious reflections arising from the season—it was the morning of the hallowed day ; the stillness of devout composure become, in a Christian, almost habitual to that day ; the gratitude for past favours and mercies, and the mixture of anticipation with apprehension inseparable from such a crisis ; the entrance upon new and untried engagements among a people, strange, and of a hard language ; will account for, but will faintly explain, the inward emotion and external excitement of the hour of debarkation. About six o'clock, I secured what is called a masulah-boat. This is a vessel found most suitable for the Madras surf, about twenty or twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and of an equal depth—stern and prow nearly square, planks an inch thick, with cross-bars, on which the rowers sit. There were eight men to row, with a steersman. His helm consisted of a pole nine feet long, and a piece of thin board

at the extremity, nine or ten inches square; and such was the oar of each rower. Upon minute inspection, not a nail could I discover in the whole vessel—the several planks lashed, or sewed rather, together, with a cordage indigenous to the country, produced from the cocoa-nut tree, and termed coyar. With a boat so constructed, I quitted the firm-built sea-boat, “the good ship P——,” and launched forth to buffet the rolling surges of the Coromandel surf. Having adopted the precautionary measure of making in person preliminary arrangements for the accommodation of my family, I proceeded alone, leaving the object of fondest solicitude on board. Ah! how did my heart beat and my imagination revel, as I approached the shore; but shortly the poetry of sentiment was expelled, and the dreams of fancy were interrupted, while the demon of disorder seemed to brood over our stern. The waves which come rushing up the bay of Bengal, and find their current impeded by the straitening shores, fret themselves against the beach at Madras, which in a very doubtful contest, barely succeeds in resisting their invasive struggles. As we drew near the land, these waves pressed singly, yet, precipitately upon our rear, while the billows which were passing, or had gone before us, were dashed back again by the resistance of the coast, and threatened, if not the swamping, at least the twisting of our pliant bark. Added to which, the rowers, a class of people singularly unique, a species of Mohammedanized Papists, who

had been singing a boat-song, which will ring in my ears for many a day, now began simultaneously, but without concert, vociferously to ululate a demimoslem exclamation, “Ullah, ullah, al ullah.” Their object is to agitate the stranger, to magnify the perils, and to obtain a *douceur* as a reward for their skilful pilotage, in landing him high and dry. Without any catastrophe, or any adventure, more than a partial drenching with the sprinkling spray, I landed; and then again sensation, strangeness, emotion, bewilderment, and an unaccountable rolling, as if the ground were bounding beneath my feet, so totally banished all presence of mind, that I went forward, and saluted the only European to be seen on the beach, with a squeeze of cordiality equal to a seven years’ friendship. I found afterwards, to my great mortification, that he was the son of a tavern-keeper—one of the most prominent conveniences of European life, but, strange to say, one of the least reputable employments in all India; and still more strange to say, an accommodation which it is almost disreputable to enjoy: the man who avails himself of this Englishman’s castle must have no friends, no introductions.

There were, comparatively, but few natives on the beach: it was yet early. However, I had scarcely planted my feet on the soil of India, when one of its suppliant inhabitants saluting me by a profound salaam, offered his services in the capacity of a personal attendant—a Madras Dubashee, clothed in clean white cotton garments, with a web

of muslin round his head, gold rings in his ears, and a silver signet on his finger. I had neither purpose nor occasion to accept his aid, further than to obtain a palanquin, and give the bearers directions to convey me to a friend's abode. My tongue had already become familiar with the professional epithet used by them, and borrowed from the Portuguese, to designate a clergyman. My inquiries for Padre T—— and Padre L——, were soon met by satisfactory replies, and I was placed after their fashion of travelling, as in a litter, and carried on the shoulders of six men, who, at the pace of a chairman, trotted along with me to the house of my friend. Here, though an unexpected visitor, I was kindly welcomed, and entertained in the true style of hospitality, which has become a national trait of Britons in this far-distant clime. Every convenient arrangement was made for my family, which, by the kind attention of friends, was speedily transferred from the limited confines of a quarter-deck, and received to the spacious mansion and one thousand comforts of British economy and kindness in India. My friend's house was situated beyond the inland boundary of Black Town; at least so to me it appeared, from the intricate maze, the multitudinous throngs, and inexplicable novelties, through which I was conveyed. My mind was too sorely agitated, and my feelings wounded, by the sad contrast between the sacred day and the surrounding scenes, to permit a deliberate inspection of strange features, sable

countenances, unusual costumes, singular buildings, and extraordinary manners of the people. The Dubashee escorted me through the labyrinth of lanes and streets, and, as it seemed to me, over an extensive tract of suburban scenery, until he had conducted me to the abode of my friends, and was well pleased with a reward not exceeding the value of sixpence. How suitable was the day for the engagements, which ought, under such circumstances, primarily to occupy the mind, the Christian will instantly perceive. We went into the house of God, and in the midst of the congregation of his saints paid our vows, made mention of his loving-kindness, and were joined by the people in thanksgivings for the care which, through so many vicissitudes, we had experienced from a beneficent and gracious God.

There is a tendency in the constitution of our frame, whether moral or physical, which whoever has sojourned at a distance from his birth-place, and has met in the region of his travels fellow-citizens, or even countrymen, cannot but have observed; though its origin be not easily traced. We refer to the cordiality and readiness with which the inhabitants of even distant provinces of the same empire enter into the feelings, interests, and comforts of a stranger who has come forth from their own land, to associate in their pursuits, and especially to share in their toils and pleasures. But when united to this source of sympathy is the bond of brotherhood which pervades the christian family, how many are the kind acts, how pure the enjoyment,

and how generous the interests, which are experienced when brother meets brother upon the high places of the field; or when, under the hallowed influence of christian principle and affection—more refreshing than the cooling shade of the hospitable banian, and the limpid stream, flowing from a perennial spring in a sultry land—fellow-labourers and fellow-travellers hold converse on the things of the heavenly kingdom, and recount their undeserved privileges—the boon of a Father's love:—

“ O days of heaven, and nights of equal praise !  
Serene and peaceful as those heavenly days,  
When souls drawn upwards in communion sweet,  
Enjoy the stillness of some close retreat ;  
Discourse, as if releas'd and safe at home,  
Of dangers past, and wonders yet to come,  
And spread the sacred treasures of the breast  
Upon the lap of covenanted rest.”

I cannot agree with the philosophers who retrace the progress of the human species through every subordinate degree of civilization, till they find our first father without words to indicate his ideas, or at most, using a language destitute of the common rules of grammar ; I, therefore, am unable to imagine what the unintelligible jargon, or the state of mind from which it proceeded, might be, when the fancied herds of mankind first began to perceive that other creatures, sentient and rational, shared with them the wide domain, and roamed in untamed wildness through the thickets of the forest. Nevertheless, it is a lamentable truth,

that myriads of the descendants of Adam,—who, formed after the image of God, as an intelligent immortal, in the integrity of innocence, and in the power of sovereignty, was no mean companion for angels, and was honoured with the complacency and intercourse of his God,—have reached a depth of degeneracy more frightful and fatal than the gloomiest speculations of these authors ; and when shut up to the frenzy and ferocity of their own degradation, how dark and dismal the desolations of such savages will become, the shores and fertile valleys of New Zealand still exhibit ; and their record will more minutely and correctly reveal at the judgment day. The devoted Caribbee in the islands of the West, and the more ferocious islander of the Southern Pacific, in their earliest interviews with the mariners on board the ships of discovery which first visited their shores, serve as indubitable evidence of the posture of prostration to which proud man may be reduced, when left to the reign of ignorance as well as of sin. It is palpable to even a superficial observer, how singularly moulded will the character of man become to the circumstances in which he is found. And yet that the character which, on a primary calculation, appears the most permanent, will be found susceptible of many and important transformations, under influences equal to the work, might be abundantly demonstrated and ratified by the moral metamorphoses which have passed upon many an untoward subject, as exhibited in the history of the human



mind, and told in the experience of men. To a very late hour in life, a trivial incident may prove a stimulus to the dormant energies, and act, as by the power of enchantment, to change the current of passion, and transform the destinies of future life. There are, undoubtedly, certain sentimental sympathies produced by early association, which secure a *locum tenens* in the mind's demesne, and defy eradication by the most violent vicissitudes: the spreading storm only entwines their fibrous roots more closely with the soil. Thus as the organs of external sensibility are the primary medium of our earliest perceptions, and the objects which first invited them possess, in a mountainous country especially, a permanency and individuality, and are often garnished in colours most congenial to the visual powers of the beholder; it follows, that "where'er we roam, where'er we rest," we never can obliterate the lowly vale and the silent rill—the rugged peak and the mountain flood—the rude hamlet and the woodland scene. And in proportion to the relative greatness and grandeur of the objects, will be the recollections and attachments of the admirer;—hence the *amor patriæ* of the mountaineer. Yet, if secluded from more extended intercôurse, and limited by the bounds of the village hamlet, or denied the society of strangers, and intelligence from other regions, the conceptions must remain contracted, and the progress and enlargement of the mind will be characteristically slow. Hence the slumbering embers

of feudal affection and despotism among Celtic Highlanders, and the long lingering loyalty of the Scottish clans towards the unworthy house of Stuart; which was rather the victory of local attachment over the reasonings of the judgment, than the convictions of a divine right, summoning the energies of the mind.

But if character be modified by the events and associations of an isolated or limited sphere, the operation of extended and expanding influences will produce results of the same nature, but in a proportionate degree more magnificent. It, therefore, must be an interesting subject of inquiry, what influence have the grand scenery of Asiatic regions, and unparalleled perpetuity of residence enjoyed by the Hindoos, produced on the minds and characters of oriental nations; and what are the moral phenomena presented among a population so unmixed and aboriginal in their descent, in their social and domestic relations. But the traveller who proceeds on such an embassy, and becomes the observer of the customs, habits, and institutions of these countries, must have emancipated his mind from the extensive and powerful dominion of association,—must have extinguished the agreeable, yet deceitful feelings of national vanity, and cultivated that patient humility, so characteristic of the inductive philosophy which builds general inferences only upon the repetition of individual facts. Else every thing he sees shocks some passion, or flatters it; and he may

perpetually detect a seducing bias to distort facts, so as to render them agreeable to his system and his feelings. To attain such an acquaintance with their prevalent opinions and propensities, as will enable a stranger to comprehend, in common phraseology, the *genius* of a people, requires a long residence among them, a familiar acquaintance with their language, and an easy intercourse among their various societies. The society into which a transient stranger gains the most easy access, in any country, is not often that which ought to stamp the national character; and no criterion could be more fallible for a people so reserved and inaccessible as the Hindoos, with whom it is almost an impossibility to overcome the prejudice of caste. Eighteen months in India, and a smattering of what others have written, are not sufficient for an authority which is implicitly relied on in such investigations. Monsieur B——, whom I met in the suite of the Viscomte de R——, exploring the arcana of the vegetable world, obtained great *éclat* for his knowledge and collection of oriental roots and leaves. During but a few months, he spent two or three days, or sometimes a week together, at intervals, in the jungle, solitarily examining the botanical productions of the wide regions through which he passed. Another of the illuminati, deservedly esteemed in the same department, and who had acquired the title of D. C. for his erudition in the science of shells, I have found as great a rarity in general society, after a residence

of forty years in a British settlement, as if he were but a stranger of yesterday. They made proficiency in their respective sciences; and well they might; shells and fish, roots and leaves, may exercise the understanding, without exciting the passions.

My readers will perhaps receive these discursive reflections as affording some traits of travels, and be induced to exercise their judgment on what is submitted to them; seeking not so much to humour the imagination by a recurrence of novelty, incident, and gorgeous representation, as to inform their mind, and come to a dispassionate estimate of the moral state of their fellow-men; and turning their eyes within, to inquire wherefore they read, and with what advantage they have received the fruits of others' labours, and the disquisitions of philosophical minds, or the observations, narratives, and representations of travellers, who have written for the information of others, and have served as the reflective mirror—the intermediate moral agency which connects distant scenes and distant observers, and transmits to the latter the modifications and influence of the former.

It often happens that more of the localities are seen by a stranger in a place, or during the first few weeks of a residence in a town, than may be esteemed, or known, by the oldest inhabitant: the eye and the ear are both more curious and more active in their comparisons; and the familiarity which takes off the edge of inquiry, and renders objects less prized, because more accessible, has

not encroached upon the visitor so far as to interfere with his observation. Hence the individual whose habits and prepossessions have been produced and matured by permanent residence, may be a less acceptable guide to the lions of a city, than the mere cursory and transient observer. To the primary survey of the latter, features and points of character not unfrequently present themselves, which will better serve to delineate the outlines of a landscape, or a panoramic view, and to attract the observer, than the laboured and voluminous descriptions of the local and learned antiquary. Early impressions, too, often prove the springs whence flow many of our most permanent conclusions; and even when erroneous, exert a wayward influence upon the future judgments and decisions. It is, nevertheless, to the evidence of the patient and observing resident that we should listen, before we form our estimate of character and moral influence. To serve all purposes, then, I will introduce my readers to an intelligent and benevolent friend, Major Ormstowe, of whom it is enough to say, that he has intimately known Madras, and the proceedings of its municipality, for many years; and that, during uninterrupted intercourse with the people, he has elicited and secured the esteem of the natives, and proved himself their friend.

I should lose all credit with admirers of the *unities*, were I to invite thee, gentle reader, to a *walk* through the streets, passages, and environs of

Madras; but as it will be more in character, we shall order the *palkee booies* to bring a *tonjon* for your accommodation; while my friend the major and I shall each avail ourselves of the like conveyance. Now a *tonjon* differs greatly in construction from a sedan chair, though it also receives the traveller in an upright posture. It is altogether much lighter; and to model the chair to the pattern of the *tonjon*, first, you must remove the close front entirely—respiration requires this—and keeping the top as a protection from the vertical sun, you may place over it a cus-cus mat, almost saturated with water; gradually elevate the foot-board toward the front; take away the close sides, right and left, and in their stead, upon an extended brass wire, hang your green silk curtains, which may be drawn at pleasure; cast away your springing shafts, or poles, as unsuited to the mode of carriage, and supply their place by an oval-shaped, unbending pole, of three feet and a half before and behind; and dismiss your two Celtic porters for six or eight athletic northern or Teloo-goo booies, or bearers, with red muslin turbans, neatly wrapped round their heads, and the skirts of their cotton jackets gathered upon the loins, their cumberband, or girdle, nine or ten cubits in length, bound tightly around their waist. They will elevate you upon their shoulders, three behind and three before; and to secure your equilibrium, they will arrange themselves alternately right and left. The regularity of their motion, the elasticity of their

bodies, and the order of their step, will immediately conciliate you to the perambulations of the evening. Thus mounted, and in such favourable company, we shall visit the chief places of concourse, where the natives congregate for merchandise and amusement, and glance at their appearance, as it strikes a stranger. We may then gratify our feelings of reverence, and mark the bulwarks of Zion, which her sons have reared in this heathen land; and pass, though with no rude step, or unhallowed gaze, through the gates of the daughters of Zion, and among the mansions of the silent dead, and the monumental tombs of those who, in their day, were great, and, it may be, good men, but are now in the dust, low as other mortals. This will serve as a prelude to the illustration of topics more important, and, perhaps, not less interesting. Our estimate, formed upon the observations of successive years, of the native character, the changes which have been produced, and the means by which they have been effected, may probably prove serviceable to the christian philanthropist, while we can hardly aspire to be summoned as a witness before rulers and potentates. Such facts as may be illustrative of the state and influence of our ecclesiastic and missionary establishments,—of the general and moral influence and characters of Europeans, both in the higher and more subordinate classes of the community,—will no doubt be acceptable for the information of the Christian, and we shall adduce them without fear or favour.

Verandahs, ornamented with handsome pillars, and surmounted by the terraced roof, spacious halls, elegant saloons, airy bed-rooms, and retired boudoirs, are the conveniences of almost every European dwelling here ; while kitchen, offices, stable, and go-downs, form a distinct range of buildings, separate by themselves ; the whole contained within an extensive paddock, or what is here denominated a compound or garden, the latter an evident misnomer : its appearance will be better comprehended, when I call it a *field* of one or two acres, very partially cultivated, with an abundance of cocoa trees, and others more umbrageous, and suited to the taste of an Englishman. From such a comfortable and almost princely mansion, the residence of our friend the major, we shall immediately sally forth in our tonjons, for the high-ways and by-ways of Madras.

“ What house is this, Sir, so sequestered, sombre, and extensive, without any ornament, more than a pillared porch, under which a carriage is placed as under shelter ? How many fine old shady banian trees, serving as ‘ a shadow from the heat in a dry place ’ to these slumbering natives who are scattered in clusters through the extensive grounds ! ” These are palkee bearers ; and you perceive their servile precaution in placing their palankeen under the same protection with themselves, for otherwise their masters would find it heated as an oven. Most of them are the attendants of the gentlemen who are officially engaged



within. This is the college of Fort St. George, and it is a board day. The institution differs entirely from every thing of the name you may have seen heretofore; there are no groves of Hecademus, no cloistered cells, no peripatetic lectures. There is a board of superintendence, composed of civil servants of the Company; none among them, however, holding the rank, or discharging the functions, of professor or fellow—they are denominated translators. The younger civilians (writers they are called, when appointed) sometimes continue their attendance for two or three years after their arrival in the country; and before they obtain local appointments, they are required to submit to public and reported examinations in the languages which they have studied. The teachers are native Moonshes; and there is always a class of junior natives, under the auspices of government, preparing for this employment, who also submit to examinations, and receive certificates. These are some of the latter class whom you will observe loitering around the entrance, with uncovered heads; their hair shorn close in front, and a single lock hanging from behind the crown of the head. Within this building the Madras Literary Society has deposited its library, and occupies a reading room. I cannot inform you, however, of any of their philosophical transactions, their scientific inquiries, or periodical publications. Madras is not a literary settlement. Unless it be such as are devoted to, I should rather say, infatuated by, or

involved in, deep play ; such as flit in the gay but meteoric galaxy of a ball-room ; or such as are deeply engrossed in the more responsible duties of the government, (and there are never many of either description ;) all the people here go early to bed, and rise soon, but not for study.—This you will admire as a fine, wide, and retired road ; it is a very favourite ride of mine.

“ What handsome structure do you say that is, Major, to the left, like an areopagus, or other Grecian fane, with façades, porticoes, pillars, and all the *et cetera* of ornamental architecture ?” That is a temple of Thespis, reared by some of our lavish admirers of the buskin, and once bid fair to rival old Drury or Covent Garden. The Pantheon is the character it bears ; a designation of which I cannot give you any history, as connected with this would-be arena of bloodless tragedy or histrionic comedy. There is not talent enough among the descendants of Europeans, or it is yet latent, since they or their masters stand so far apart, that the unmounted heroes of the stage, and the admirers of the dramatic representation, cannot take counsel together, so as to muster a *corps dramatique* ; or, perhaps, it may be, that the most of our travelled Englishmen speedily imbibe a modicum of the Hindoo’s notion, who thinks it strange and out of character for a man to dance who *can* pay for dancing girls, and so save himself the trouble and inconvenience of animal excitement. But from whatever cause, such is the fact,

that except when a few choice spirits can congregate from every clime,—(choice, of course, according to their own principle of selection, which will not revolt at a confederacy with a spendthrift son, who, after breaking his father's heart, has enlisted as a private soldier; or a ruined gambler, whose last shift was to accept a commission in a regiment in the Indies,)—except on such very rare occasions, the stage is hardly ever occupied; and so unsuccessful has the whole speculation turned out, that the scenic habiliments and the curtain representations have, for some time, been advertised for sale, without a prospect of a purchaser, and the house is now in the hands of a wealthy Armenian, perhaps as a very poor *quid pro quo*. *Sic Pantheon transeat!*

“But, Major, what extensive building is this to the right, on the same road, and quite contiguous, where so many natives seem to resort, and where there appears so much the air of business to interest them?” This is the police cutcherry—a well-regulated establishment, whose superintendency embraces Madras and its environs, containing a population of five hundred thousand human beings, where the native obtains justice and protection, and whence the criminal does not go unpunished. Indeed, so impartial is the administration of *right*, that the haughty European is sometimes heard to utter the language of dissatisfaction. The palankeen bearers, and cooly (or hired) palankeens, are here registered and num-

bered, as the hackney coaches of London are; so that every gentleman who would travel with security throughout the presidency, has only to make application by note here, and the fare will be stated, the bearers supplied, and directions given as to stages, accommodation by the way, &c. The police magistrate can take cognizance of every crime, but can only punish for petty delinquencies. But I must defer a history of police jurisprudence till we have done with the *sights* of Madras; and if you will only diverge a little to the left, I will introduce you to a village whose name has become incorporated with the history of our national education, and which, I am confident, will not be destitute of interest to *you*—I mean Egmore. It was here that Dr. Bell first caught the suggestion of *his* plan, and it was from the process of Hindoo education. It is but fair to admit, that the same principle seems to have been almost spontaneously occurring to the mind of another no less benevolent *friend* of mankind—Joseph Lancaster. Dr. Bell had the advantage of practical experiment over the gradual development of the mere theory of the Friend. The village is quiet, rural, cleanly, and contains the houses of rather respectable Hindoos. It may, I fancy, be called a moodeliar (merchant) village; the inhabitants generally appear engaged in the traffic of commerce, according to their *caste*, but many are also employed in other occupations. That plain but extensive building, is the Madras Male Asylum, and contains generally within its

walls 350 or 400 children : not a few of them are the illegitimate offspring of some who are ashamed to acknowledge their sins, and who send their children here as orphans, paying a small allowance monthly. There are also many children of soldiers, chiefly deceased, but almost all of mixed blood and colour. The school is under the superintendence of governors and directors, with a chaplain, a secretary, and a surgeon, besides teachers of various degrees, and is conducted on Dr. Bell's system, or rather, the Hindoo system anglicised.

“ But what low, inelegant, and peculiarly-shaped erection is this, inclosed by a palisade, with a small pond near to it, where these fat natives seem indulging their sloth ?” Why, I am almost ashamed to tell you the history of this establishment, it is so discreditable to the name of an Englishman. But the story will illustrate one of the causes of the small success which these benevolent men, the missionaries, have hitherto experienced. There was an Englishman, I cannot call him a Christian, and it would not serve any special interest to repeat his name ; the natives will tell it to you ; he held the highest rank of any of the territorial civilians—the land collectorate of Madras. Having occasion to visit Bengal, he made something like a pilgrimage to Benares, and brought with him when he returned one thousand bullocks, carrying the sacred water of the Ganges : the distance was more than twelve hundred miles. A tank was dug (what you call a pond) on the ground, secured under his

influence, and here was poured out the water of the deified Gunga. A pagoda was built, the expenses of which were said to be defrayed at his charges, and the whole establishment was devoted to the worship of a Hindoo deity. This is the monument of that impious and execrable idolatry ; and these men, to whom you allude, with their heads shaven of all their hair, except one lock behind, a cord thrown over the one shoulder, and coming under the other arm, their foreheads besmeared with stripes, red, yellow, and white, from a composition, the chief part of which consists of the ashes of cow-dung, and their cotton garments saffron-coloured or unbleached—these are the Brahmins, supported from a fund connected with this pagoda : and these men, with not a few other neighbouring Brahmins, if you address them on the follies of idol worship, will tell you that Dora — built them a pagoda, and became a convert to their religion. He has gone to his account long since ; but the bare recital of the impiety makes my blood curdle. How truly does the cause of pure religion suffer from the folly of those who were trained under its benign influence, and how justly will a jealous God prove himself to such a consuming fire !

“ I am most happy to enjoy under your auspices, Sir, the services of these bearers, but shall we not exceed propriety, and exhaust their strength by the extent of our rambles ? their groans are so piteous, that I cannot but fancy they are too fatigued to

proceed with comfort further." Your solicitude is perfectly natural, and is usually experienced by every tender-hearted Griffin, but quite unnecessarily. These men will carry you twenty-five or thirty miles daily, for a week together, and will run during the last stage, between sun-set and sun-rise, forty miles without much difficulty. They are endowed with great patience ; and it is surprising how, upon merely milk and farinaceous diet, they can hold out under their burdens so long. What you call their groans are certain recognised cadences by which they regulate their step : you must not measure the *utile* in their music, or the influence of their song, by your own taste for harmony. The domestic policy of these men will doubtless appear to you very singular. They are called northern bearers, because they come from the northern circars, near to Vizagapatam and Ganjam, seven hundred miles north of Madras. A party of them, consisting of twelve or fourteen, chiefly young men, will arrange to leave the home of their fathers, and sometimes even the wife of their bosom and the children of their love, to proceed to Madras, where they will engage themselves in the service of one master. They commit their homes and families under a patriarchal guardianship. They are generally found faithful, docile, and obedient ; and often insinuate themselves into the confidence of their employer, by nursing him when sick, and patiently, and with seeming affection, waiting upon his children. They recognise one of their number as

*Peria booy*, or chief, to whom they are subordinate. When they have been absent from their homes eighteen months or two years, two of them, having provided for themselves acceptable substitutes, will return on a visit to their families and country; and these are entrusted with the savings of all the others, which they carry to their friends. After an absence of three or six months, they rejoin their party; and when a similar period has elapsed, two others succeed them in the homeward visit. They maintain intercourse in this manner for ten or twelve years, and then, in many instances, retire to their native country, where, upon the savings of their economy, they establish themselves in the villages of their ancestors as cultivators of the soil. If every European whom these Gentoos serve would strive to communicate knowledge to them, and were only to succeed so far as to give them an acquaintance with the facts and statements of the blessed gospel, might it not prove ultimately as the sowing of the good seed in the vernal season? And what fruit might be gathered, it may not be easy to calculate.

“ But, Sir, pardon the interruption, what do you call this low, crowded, and almost impenetrable mass of ruinous huts and rude sheds, with cotton yarn, unbleached cotton cloth, half-dried and drying grain, grass, and sweetmeats, seemingly exposed for sale; with so many entirely naked, squalid, and dirty children running and scrambling about, that it is almost impossible to pass without going



over them, through the close, dirty, narrow, and uneven streets? The odour is very offensive, and threatens almost to constrain the mere passenger to inhale infection or disease, from the mixture of decaying vegetation with the secretion of animal matter." This is one of the populous villages which almost engirdle Madras. It is named Chinnandrepette; literally, *another little town*. You are now passing along one of the first walks of that amiable and unrivalled youth—an ornament in his honourable vocation—Henry Martyn. It was here he had been when he says—"Towards evening, I walked out with Samie, my servant, in a pensive and melancholy mood, and went through his native village. Here all was Indian. It consisted of about 200 houses (he underrated the extent); those in the main street connected, and those on either side of the street separated from one another by little winding paths. Every thing preserved the appearance of wretchedness. The sight of men, women, and children—all idolaters, makes me shudder, as in the dominions of the prince of darkness." You are furnished with a somewhat different view of it from his record—because we have an earlier hour; it is, moreover, one of the chief bazaar days. The contrast is still greater between your own *western* notions and the reality of an eastern bazaar. It is an illustration of the strange transformation through which the meaning of words will pass; or rather, of the extremes of the species contained in the same genus.

Bring hither the Soho bazaar, or transfer this combination of heterogeneous commodities to the Burlington Arcade, and how will it tell? The grass and gram (a pulse) are sold for horses, and the rest of the grain for human consumption, viz. millet and raggy, as well as rice. This bamboo shed, covered with the leaves of the cocoa tree, is a Tannah, or police watch-house, where two or three peons remain throughout the day; there is such a station in every village district. These are the men called peons, with red turbans, broad shoulder-belts, of blue, red, and yellow cloth, tiger-skin, or of tanned leather, breast-plates, sticks, and swords.

“What are these men, sitting cross-legged upon the ground, a cloth spread before them, upon which are deposited full and half-filled bags, and a heap of copper coins?” These are the Shroffs—money-changers, who will appraise your jewels, decide the merits or value of your precious stones, exchange the gold or silver coinage with the currency of smaller value, or lend you, upon sufficient security, sums of money at usurious interests, almost to any amount.—This, you will observe, is a better built, more cleanly part of the village; the houses are more neatly furnished, and most of them have the convenience of a verandah, are white-washed, and the doors green painted, with a resting-place at either side of the entrance. Here you may witness a village school, and their mode of proceeding, under that verandah to the right,

where these youths are assembled. The teacher is the man seated at the door; the little ones are arranged squatted on the ground, and are tracing with their fingers the letters of their language on a little sand strewed before them: all write the *same letter or word, and as soon as it is written, they simultaneously, from the first to the last, distinctly articulate the sound or word.* You do not perceive any book in the hands of even the elder youths. But those brown, sun-dried, reed-like slips of the palmyra leaf, from ten to eighteen inches in length, and about an inch and a half in width, are their repositories of wisdom and learning. Three, five, fifty, or five hundred of them, cut into equal lengths, and a circular hole perforating each, dividing them into one and two thirds, and, if amounting to the large numbers, protected by two pieces of wood, make a book: in its unwritten state it is a Cadjan; when written, and this is done with an iron style, it is called an Ollah. The elder boys, you may discern, are all divided into clusters, and are all reading aloud. Every considerable village in this part of India contains such a seminary; so that it is not the establishment of schools, so much as the introduction of sound moral and religious instruction, which is required.—There is an object worthy of your attention,—it is an illustration of the patriarchal simplicity so conspicuous in that family called out of Mesopotamia, three thousand five hundred years ago,—I mean that group of native women: they are returning

from the Tank, a place to which they generally repair twice a day; the substance of each family may be told by the description of vessels they carry, not by the servants they employ. The daughters or wives of the wealthy, as well as of the poor, *come forth to draw water*, with their ancient urn-like pitchers, some of clay, and others of a mixture of brass and copper; carried some on the hip and others on the head. You observe how slow, erect, and stately is their walk, even under the weight of the full pitcher. The native women pride themselves much on their attitude in walking; and the female whose gait corresponds the nearest to the pace or motion of an elephant, is the most graceful. You can rarely, even in cases of extreme urgency, succeed in exciting a Hindoo woman to a hasty step. Mark their shining black hair, almost saturated with oil, gathered into a knot at the back of the head. I do not remember seeing a Hindoo woman with curled hair; though this leaves no lack of ornaments. They often adorn their head with a chaplet of pale flowers, a gilded or gold plate on their crown, while nose and ears are loaded with rings, and the arms and ankles with bracelets and bangles. Their garments are wonderfully simple, yet very graceful. One piece of cloth wrapped twice round their loins in the breadth, and passing upward in its length over the bosom, is either disposed mantle-like to cover the head, or thrown tastefully across the right shoulder, and brought under the left arm to the middle.

Going to the Tank is their chief season of recreation and intercourse with their neighbours. Otherwise, the acmé of female enjoyment in the highest circle, is the most perfect idleness, and to sleep as long as they are able. Hitherto, none of them have been trained to reading or habits of thought: the most influential natives have to this day (1823) resisted any attempts to introduce instruction among the females. Upon what subject, then, can the poor creatures employ their minds, or what resources can they look to, that they may be sustained in the day of trouble? The Turks are consistent, for while they deny education, they also deny immortality to their women; but Hindooism is a fabric of gross inconsistencies. O that the light of the glorious gospel of the blessed God would chase away the shades of a dark and destructive superstition from among the inhabitants of these lands!

Such inquiries and such answers so occupied us in our route, that we marked not the flight of time. Our evening excursion had familiarized my mind with many novelties, and extended my knowledge of the localities of the presidency. I was again indebted to the same communicative friend, and shall here introduce his delineations, uttered while he was kind enough to conduct me among the *lions* at Madras; nor do I imagine this can be a disagreeable contribution to the fire-side traveller at home. The familiar sketches of conversation in a land so remote as India, will preclude the possi-

bility of losing any thing by interruption. I shall connect his answers without my leading questions; but shall leave him to speak *right on* in his own person.

“We Madrassesees are proud of this road, and boast that it is equal to any piece of road in India, or perhaps in Europe. Its width, smoothness, and length, shaded as it is too by the banians from either side, present a most agreeable drive in the cool evening. It was Macadamized before the system of that Scotchman, whose name is a synonyme for good roads, became so popular in England. From Fort St. George it leads to a cantonment of the Company’s artillery, at St. Thomas’s Mount, nine miles distant. The ascent is not perceptible till you approach the base of the little hill. The avenue extends the whole length of the road; and in many places, the boughs of the opposite trees stretch quite across, and interweave their branches into a canopy that will shelter the passenger. Four miles from the fort is a cenotaph, erected to the memory of the Marquis Cornwallis; and round this monument the fashionables are accustomed to drive, as the place of chief concourse.

“There are various objects of curiosity which will meet the eye of the stranger, as he passes along the line of road towards the town. The Europeans have introduced generally their own fashions and mode of carriages, and are supplied with horses from Arabia: but the natives have conformed less to the manners of their conquerors at this presi-

dency, than in Bengal or Bombay. This is a specimen of their carriages and mode of driving—that curiously-carved car, placed on low wheels, coming towards us; look at the dimensions of the pole proceeding from the axletree, which gradually tapers towards an obtuse angle, and see the snow-white cupola-like canopy, ornamented with yellow fringe and red cushions—it is called a *hackery*. Though naturally inelegant, and a clumsy vehicle when harnessed for the course; yet the clean cream-coloured, well-fed, glossy sides of the bullocks, their horns ornamented with gilding and paint, their collars surmounted with bells, and their crimson body-cloths, present an air of substance and comfort not to be contemned; while the pace of the taurean steeds, even alongside of the Arabian courser, you will not, after a little usage, consider despicable. That is the driver, placed on the obtuse end of the beam which passes up between the bullocks, and seated on a cushion-like mattress, fastened to the pole. The reins are a cord of hemp, with a knot upon the part which passes through the perforated nostril of the animal, a means of curbing and directing which you may readily suppose the cattle will implicitly obey. To accelerate the motion, the driver is provided with a short whip, armed at one end with a goad. Under the dome or canopy is seated the proprietor, a merchant or money-changer, cross-legged, and reclining in his pillowed carriage.

“ The government-house, a building in which

comfort and convenience are more consulted than display, is enclosed by this high garden wall. At a little distance you might see the house, and one part of the banqueting-room has a truly noble and imposing appearance from its many pillared porticoes : but let us turn aside, and take a survey of this stirring scene to the right. It is the principal residence of the Mussulmans, and is named Treb-licane. We are now in the midst of its bazaar. Here is a mart for every article of native consumption, a *mélange* of every commodity in the raw and in the manufactured state, as also in a state of preparation ; luxurious dainties and absolute necessities ; ornaments for the feet and for the head ; men's slippers, horse-cloths, women's jewels, culinary vessels, carpets, silks, shawls, lace, and embroidery ; sweetmeats and rice, fruits, spices, and vegetables. You have it diversified too, not merely by the hum of business, but the brawl of strife, and the whisper of confidential intercourse ; the stranger from a distant province imparting information, and the venders in two contiguous booths discussing the tidings of the day ; all producing to your ear the confusion of Babel, as far from melody as is the cackle of geese. In one place you perceive lounging in listless idleness, the pensioned adherents of the Nabob of Arcot, haughty looking men, dark-eyed, with olive-brown complexion, and prominent nose, wearing large turbans, muslin vests, gaudy silk trowsers, and noisy slippers, on which by far the largest portion of their income is



squandered. In another you observe a Moham-  
medan priest, or mollah, walking in stately pride,  
as ignorant of that Koran of which he boasts, and  
by which he swears, as the unlettered savage. He  
can, it is true, decipher the Arabic character; he  
has too acquired a fluency in articulating the name  
and titles of 'the Prophet of Mecca;' yet it is to  
him a sealed book. He stands up before the people,  
like many a Roman-catholic priest, who, in the  
middle ages, or perhaps even in later days, could  
mutter the Latin Breviary, but to whom the sounds  
were no index to the sense. His grey beard, his  
bald head, and wrinkled brow, are no indications  
of true wisdom—he is proud, insolent, and bi-  
goted.

“ You mark here and there a native mounted  
on horseback, their horses strangely caparisoned  
with silk and gold embroidery. The unnatural  
pace of the noble animals shows the training to  
which they have been used—an ambling half trot,  
half canter, as the result of a tight martingal and  
hard curb. The occasion of all this resort in the  
vicinity is found in the contiguity of Chepauk, the  
nabob's residence. He occupies this extensive  
building. Its princely character would not be  
learned from the unadorned and naked walls, des-  
titute of even windows: the latter is one of the  
many symbols of Mohammedan jealousy, and the  
unnatural tyranny which man usurps over women.  
These native military, loitering round the gate in  
half uniform, the guards mounted within, and the

ordnance, which is occasionally employed for salutes, are the visible appendages of the palace of Chepauk, added to a royal retinue, a court, and throne, called by the natives the Durbar and Musnud ; but he is merely a nominal prince, a mock pageant, a pensioned relic of former days : it serves to gratify the vanity and soothe the rising murmurs of the Prophet's followers.

“ That is a Moslem mosque, or place of worship for the Mussulman creed, to the right. It is possessed of little external ornament; and within nothing is seen but bare walls, without benches, chairs, or any other description of seats. About one-third of the inner part is raised probably a foot and half higher than the rest ; and just above this is suspended a lamp, with which the house is dimly lighted : but there are niches around the walls to receive other lamps, which are abundantly furnished on any particular occasion. On the elevation, the mollah stands, when reciting the Koran, or offering the prayers of the faithful : there is, however, little show of devotion ; nor is this the country for splendid mosques, gilded minarets, or the shining crescent.

“ You are aware, that most of the Hindoo castes burn their dead, and tombs and sepulchres are, therefore, not so frequently to be met in this as in other countries, though the kingdom of dark death is not less extensive, nor his victims less numerous. The Mohammedans, however, do not conform to the prevalent practice ; and we come now to a place of

tombs. These buildings, like to small mosques, are mausoleums for the dead. You observe the place is neatly arranged, and separated into distinct divisions, or family plots: even the graves of the poor are kept clean. Mourning relatives strew over the ashes of their departed friends, flowers and garlands, and frequently cultivate the soil, adorning it with living plants, which they cherish as fond memorials of past friendship and association. They often visit these silent abodes, as if to hold converse with their spirits, and anticipate a joyful renewal of personal intercourse. Those Moham-medans who are possessed of wealth, in many cases appropriate a fund sufficient for the maintenance of a mollah, who shall not cease to read the Koran in Arabic, at certain hours, from day to day, and offer prayers for the soul of the deceased. Hence, from the place of interment is frequently heard the voice of devotion."

Alas, how vain are those prayers, how superstitious this regard, and how delusive the hopes thus cherished! Yet it is all consistent with the sensual representations of their creed—the corporeal enjoyments of that paradise of which they dream—and their views of the employment of disembodied spirits. A deceived heart has led them astray; and a system of imposture deludes their hopes and confidence. Far, far is the reality from their apprehensions! Sympathy and circumstances may indeed produce sentimental excitement—a naturally hallowed and soothing, and even deeply

religious feeling, and a temporary but fictitious pleasure. But there is no communion, no reciprocal intelligence, nor interchange of affection ! It is not from the Koran that a guilty creature will learn the way of acceptance with God ; and all mankind are guilty and under condemnation. It is not by the power of the *Prophet*, as Mohammed is called, nor by the efficacy of prayers, nor any appointment of man, that a poor, distracted, conscience-smitten transgressor, can obtain peace ; neither is there any other name under heaven given among men, whereby they can be saved, but that of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

“ You are now introduced into the Fort of Madras. It is generally esteemed strong ; and is so, except probably in one point. It is well provided with arms and troops ; not that there is now any need for walled cities and powerful garrisons in this part of India, either to defend against invaders, or to resist or prevent the revolt of the natives. The latter are attached to our government, and know well the security and peace they enjoy under it ; and the former have all been subdued or rendered subsidiary to British dominion. God has given peace in our day, and made wars to cease in our borders. In the Fort, however, are situated most of the public government offices, with which the whole is principally occupied. You may observe most of the buildings are spacious and magnificent. That handsome building on which the flag-staff is mounted, contains the council-room and the secre-

taries' offices ; and this monument, which so appropriately occupies the centre of the square, is a fine marble statue of Lord Cornwallis. To the right, and leading from the square towards the sea, is the Fort Church, St. Mary's. It is plain and neat ; but I direct you to it not for the architecture—my wish is, that we may enter and survey some of the memorials of the holy dead. It will afford you some relief from the contrast with the Treblicane mosque and Mohammedan mausoleums.

“ Over the left aisle you observe two marble tablets—they are a tribute of esteem rendered to christian integrity, personal excellency, and pre-eminent devotedness, by a body of men at the time little disposed to panegyryze the character of christian missions, or to eulogize their agents. These monumental testimonies were erected to the memory of two men, whose memory will long be as the savour of precious ointment poured forth, and whose names will be held in grateful and lasting remembrance by the fathers and the sons in the infant church of India. *Schwartz* and *Jerické* were benefactors of mankind ; the servants of Jesus, they sought to extend the knowledge of his name, and were themselves living epistles of Jesus Christ, known and read of all men. They knew in whom they had believed—were persuaded of his faithfulness—and through evil report and good report, were instant in season and out of season, to declare what their eyes had seen and their hands had handled of the word of life. *Schwartz* had studied

the Tamil language during two years before he arrived in the country where he was destined to labour: he landed in India in the year 1750. Forty-eight years did he spend, striving to hold forth the word of life among the poor Hindoos. He conformed his dress to the costume of the country, from the large turban to the red turned-up slippers. His early fluency in the language, his kindly manners, his self-denial, his constancy and unwearied patience, his parental solicitude, and the fidelity with which he laboured, were blessed, and rendered him the object, almost the idol of affection, and secured for him an influence even among heathens greater than native princes or foreign potentates ever possessed.

“ In the time of war, when the fort of Tanjore was in a distressed situation—a powerful enemy at hand—and not provision enough even for the garrison; and when, to add to this misfortune, the neighbouring inhabitants, who by ill treatment had lost all confidence in the Europeans, and the Rajah had in vain entreated the help of the people, the only hope left was in Mr. Schwartz. ‘ We have all lost our credit,’ said the Prince to an English gentleman, ‘ let us try whether the inhabitants will trust Mr. Schwartz.’ Accordingly he was desired to make an agreement with them. There was no time to be lost. The sepoys, (native soldiers,) fell down as dead people, being emaciated with hunger. The streets were lined with dead bodies every morning. He sent, therefore, letters in every

very affecting to hear the wailings and lamentations of the inhabitants of the two christian villages, on both sides of the garden. The sorrow at having lost him, who had been their teacher, their comforter, their benefactor, their adviser, their advocate, was universal. Not only the missionaries, the congregations, the schools, and the mission, but the whole country had lost a father; whoever had but known him, wept.

“ On the following day, between four and five in the afternoon, his remains were deposited in the grave dug for him in the church. Serfogee, the Tanjore prince, whose tutor he had been, came to see his corpse before the coffin was nailed down, bedewed it with his tears, and accompanied it to the grave. It was intended to have sung hymns on the road to the burial-place, but the lamentations of the people did not permit it.

“ That monument was provided and erected at the expense of the Hon. East India Company; having been designed and sent from England. It represents the closing scene of his life in sinful flesh. He is surrounded by a group of the infant pupils to whom he gave an asylum in his house, and several brethren in the ministry, who attended him at the time. One of the children is embracing his almost lifeless hand, and a brother missionary is supporting his head; but the attention of the venerable man is directed to, and his hand raised towards, an object in the upper part of the bas-relief, namely, *the cross*, which is borne by a

descending angel; implying that the grand subject of his ministry is the chief support of his soul when 'flesh and heart fail.' Over the bas-relief is the ark of the covenant, which was peculiarly the charge of the priests, and was a striking emblem of the constant theme of his preaching. Under the bas-relief are further emblems of the pastoral office, namely, the crosier; the gospel trumpet, distinguished by the banner of the cross, which is attached to it; and the open Bible, on which is inscribed the divine commission, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'"

This is an honourable tribute from his fellow-men, but perhaps too elaborate. Musing upon the scene, it has occurred to my mind, that it might be well to contrast this with the monumental tablet inscribed to Jerické, which serves as its companion, and casts a gospel light upon the design, the labours, and the character of both men.

The memorial for Jerické represents him in the robes of his pastoral office, standing at full length, his hand stretched forth, and pointing to the Cross, upon which is written, in clear characters, the simple word, "*Believe!*" This conveyed to my mind, when I first contemplated these monuments, more, far more, than the most elaborate eulogy. It was a *sermon* to the observer, an emphatic, a comprehensive, an affecting description of his character, his labours, and the object of his pursuit. It described the man, his message, and the salvation he was sent to proclaim.



But their record is on high ; they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them ; and though the fort and church were dismantled, and the fabric become a confused ruin, till the nettle shall have skirted, yes, grown over the face of these monumental tablets, and the moss shall have covered the story of their labours ; though corroding time shall have obliterated the inscription sacred to their memory, and the dust of their remains be absorbed in the ceaseless vicissitudes of their mother earth ; a more durable monument shall be found in the Lamb's book of life, and placed in the record of that goodly company, who cease not day nor night, saying, " Thou art worthy, for thou hast redeemed us out of every kindred, and nation, and people, and tongue, and made us kings and priests unto God ; and we shall reign with thee." And though no friendly foot should tread the precincts where their revered remains have been deposited, angels shall guard their dust ; the Redeemer himself will restore it, and fashion it like unto his glorious body. " Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon his servants, that they should be called the sons of God ; but, beloved, it doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

Great have been the changes within the last twenty-five years ; near to the beginning of that period, a humble and affectionate Christian arrived at Madras, on his way to Surat, as a schoolmaster

for one of the missionary societies. During his uncertain, and, as he judged, limited residence, he began to meet two or three, who alone were disposed to assemble for prayer ; they were the only praying people known at the Presidency. But God knoweth them that are his. So little were they countenanced by the “mighty” in the world, or those in authority, that when the humble teacher had written a small tract in English, inserting in it a few quotations from the Scriptures, and put it in circulation, he was summoned into the presence of one who possessed great influence, and interrogated how he dared to pursue such a plan. A pen was drawn through the passages of Scripture in the tract ; and it was ordered, that before it should be dispersed, the Scripture extracts should be expunged. There are now numerous congregations, composed chiefly of the population born in Madras : a Tract society, now in full operation ; which, untrammelled by the censorship of the press, prepares original compositions in English, Tamil, Canarese, and Telinga ; two Mission printing offices, engaged in publishing the Scriptures and tracts ; and a Bible Society, conducted on the most scrupulous principles of simplicity and fidelity, with a sub-committee, called the committee of translations, strictly and impartially examining the correctness and idiomatic perspicuity of the new translations. Members of government not only lend their aid to build churches, but also patronize these measures ; give the most open and efficient

countenance to general education, and hold out the highest favours to those who shall be zealous for the diffusion of useful knowledge. There is a Samaritan, or friend-in-need society, originated by the same humble servant of Christ, now cherished by the government, and by all classes of the community.\* A branch of the Church Missionary Society is here established in diversified and successful operations; the London Missionary Society, the Christian Knowledge Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, go forth in mutual cooperation for the success of the same work. A Christian Mission has been established by American brethren, and has been welcomed with fraternal confidence. "Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye when the Lord shall bring again Zion."

If the reader will accompany me, we shall now walk about Zion, without the company of Major O. and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof. And let him not stop to<sup>d</sup> dispute the correctness of this application of that hallowed name: since He who is faithful and able to bring to pass the saying which is written, promised, that "the mountain of the *Lord's* house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow into it." We come then to the Church Mission House: that long street down which we have passed is

\* A Christian Instruction Society, and other benevolent associations, are actively directing the energies of all classes who love Jesus Christ.

Popham's Broadway ; the buildings on either side are occupied for shops and offices. On the left hand we passed the principal bookseller's shop in Madras, the owner of which would derive improvement were he brought into competition with other tradesmen. His charges have not been less than two hundred per cent. above the original price : this is selfish ; it displays no public spirit ; it looks like avarice. That heavy, plain building, with a low belfry in the midst of the garden, is the Mission Chapel, built by government. Though it be not well suited for an English audience, it is crowded every Sabbath-day by respectable and devout Europeans and Eurasians. The missionary who has resided here during my time has been a zealous and fervent preacher ; declared the truth in simplicity, and performed the duty of a faithful pastor : his labours have been much blessed among the people who understand English. He had more than enough to do, as the reader will conclude : besides superintending the schools on the premises, visiting the sick, and preaching in English, he was in charge of the mission Press ; where not only all the branches of printing were conducted, native and English, but also all the apparatus of a type foundry was in frequent requisition, preparing matrixes and leads, letters and figures. The Society have since discontinued the Press. The Mission House also was supplied with a choice assortment of good books on sale, which any one might safely purchase, besides tracts, and portions or copies of the sacred Scriptures, in

the native languages. His colleague was not less zealous nor efficient ; but the department to which he was devoted was a seminary for young natives at Perambore, whose labours might assist us in forming an estimate of what advance has been gained among the *natives*. But in the mean time, let us turn to the left, and go up this back lane—it is called Davidson-street ; and here we shall find the London Missionary Society's chapel ; that is it surrounded by plantain trees, and a few other shrubs and trees. It is the first of modern efforts which have been put forth for diffusing the gospel of Jesus among this people. These buildings to the right and left in the garden are the boys' and girls' free schools ; they contain about 150 children, who are generally of a mixed descent ; they are taught on Lancaster's and Bell's plan. To this institution Mr. De Monte, a Roman-catholic gentleman, left about 40% per annum. That building to the south, with bells going ding-dong, is a Roman-catholic chapel, built by money advanced from the same purse. If you will enter with me to the left of the Missionary Chapel, I think you will be gratified.—Now ; first seat yourself in that chair by the door, and parallel with the pulpit—there : do you remember Henry Martyn at Madras ? He says in his journal, “ After dinner went to Black Town, to Mr. Loveless's chapel. I sat in the air at the door, enjoying the blessed sound of the gospel on an Indian shore, and joining with much comfort in the song of divine praise.” And afterwards he says, “ My soul

‘was at first sore tried with desponding thoughts ; but God wonderfully assisted me to trust in him for the wisdom of his dispensations. Truly, therefore, I will say again, ‘ Who art thou, O great mountain ? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain.’ How easy for God to do it ; and it shall be done in due time : and even if I never shall see a native converted, God may design, by my patience and continuance in the work, to encourage future missionaries.” Gracious and honoured youth ! his memory is blessed ; it is as perfume poured out ; and long will it be as a sweet savour to the church. I love to place my feet on the ground which he trod, and to realize myself seated in the chair whence his soul soared in hallowed, pure, and exalted communion with the King of heaven ; but much more dignified, rational, and incumbent, will it be for those who admire, to follow—to trace with their feet the same path, and to seek for their spirits the same exalted and pure converse.

This is just such a chapel as the climate requires—neat, and even elegant, without any gay ornament or unnecessary appendage. That row of Chunam pillars, white and smooth as polished marble, on either side support the roof, formed on the *bungalow*, or cottage style. The benches, with *rattan*, or split bamboo seats and backs, are suited to the heat of the climate ; the wide doors on each side, and thorough draft, are requisite for air ; and the spacious aisles in both wings are found close enough, when the thermometer varies from 90 and

95 to 100. The good man who built the house has been in the country nearly twenty years, supporting himself and family by his own industry, and acting as a gratuitous agent of the Society with which he has been connected. He is now proposing to return to his native land; his constitution is nearly exhausted.\* Connected with the same mission are two other missionaries, and another chapel of nearly the same construction as this, but probably of better materials: besides twelve common schools for the natives, they have established an institution which they call a Central School, for the training of schoolmasters.

We shall now proceed towards Vepery; but between it and Mr. Loveless's chapel, we shall pass through the *Thieving Bazaar*. Probably many other cities have market-places which deserve to be so characterised; yet it is not every place that has the *honesty* thus to divulge its own character. As, in every place, petty thefts are committed, too often, by dishonest servants and hangers-on, this is a place to which they are brought; at least, such was the character of the bazaar, that gentlemen have frequently proceeded to this place and found what they have lost.—It is now more than a hundred years since the first faithful heralds of the cross, members of the Lutheran church, landed on this

\* This honoured and excellent man returned, and still desiring to serve his blessed and glorious Master, he has continued, unobtrusively but consistently, to hold up the word of life as a faithful and humble minister of the gospel in H— B—.

coast; but still an apathy and supineness brood upon the inhabitants concerning their souls' best interest and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ; the possessions of this world, the things of time, engross their minds, their thoughts, their pursuits; they generally regard with callous indifference the most alarming or the most moving representations of the truth of the gospel; and any contrast between their own religion and what the Bible inculcates, is beheld or turned from with fearful levity. The poor people here are truly objects of pity; zealous effort should be accompanied by believing prayer, for they are emphatically dependent upon the agency of the Holy Spirit to arouse and convince them of their ways. Among the villagers and inhabitants of country places, a simplicity of character, a curiosity of disposition easily excitable, and an ingenuousness of mind, are often perceptible—all highly favourable to the preacher who would declare to them the tidings of salvation; but among the inhabitants of the city there is a wiliness of character, an apparent pliancy of disposition, and a very thorough knowledge of the defects of professing Christians, which are calculated to obstruct the unbiassed reception of divine truth. The difficulties in the latter case are great, but not insuperable to a heaven-directed arm; that Spirit that *moved* upon the face of the waters, and brought order out of confusion, and beauty out of the mingled elements, is omnipotent, and able to give a new heart to the very chief of sinners, and



to convert the most hardened characters, so that they shall become a willing people in the day of Messiah's power.

After the many descriptions which have been given of Indian society, the benevolent mind will regard it as a question of anxious inquiry, What will be the probable effect of bringing to bear upon such a population the apparatus of evangelical labour? May we warrantably reckon upon general success? As in the Valley of Vision, "Can these dry bones live?" The gratuitous advice and opinions submitted to the Protestant Churches on these interrogatories by a hoary-haired abbé, a member of that fraternity, whose impious designation, "The Society of Jesus," is a foul reproach upon the Saviour's name, would, wherever they are credited, blast every hope, and paralyze every exertion. "The experience I have gained," he says, "through a familiar intercourse with the natives of all castes, for a period of twenty-five years, entirely passed in their society....has made me thoroughly acquainted with the insuperable obstacles that Christianity will ever have to encounter....and it is my decided opinion, that not only the interests of the christian religion will never be improved among them, but also, that it will by little and little lose the small ground it has gained in better times; and in a short period, dwindle away to nothing. Are we not warranted, on beholding the unnatural and odious worship which prevails all over India, in thinking that these

unhappy people are lying under an everlasting anathema; have for ever rendered themselves unworthy of the Divine favour; have been entirely forsaken by God, and given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship? Under existing circumstances, there is no possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity." Du Bois' system found a help meet for it in the visionary vagaries and extravagant theory of the school of prophecy set up at Albury.

This testimony of one, who from early life had gone in and out among the people of India, as a missionary, "till his grey hairs warned him it was full time to think of his own concerns, and to return to his native soil, to get ready to give in his account to his Redeemer," will only influence those who wish to be excused. It would hence appear that, in the abbé's judgment, India, that foredoomed region, could afford no retreat where his balance-sheet might be prepared, whence he might nicely calculate how much merit there had been in conforming to the customs and prejudices of the Hindoos—in withholding from them the Scriptures of truth—in insinuating among them the dogmas of Rome—in counselling against, and dissuading from all evangelical efforts, those who would place before the heathen the sublime record, the soul-enlivening testimony which God has given of his Son; and in uttering such foul and slanderous misrepresentations as are contained in his writings.

I have obtained some acquaintance with the influence which christian principles exercise over the Hindoo character, and have enjoyed intimate and confidential intercourse with individuals of the nation, whose affections have been enlivened, and whose hopes have been inspired by the glowing representations and exhilarating promises of the divine record. I confess I have witnessed, too, the reproaches which fell upon Jesus in the house of his friends, the baneful influence of mere cold professional orthodoxy, and “the blasphemy of them who say they are Jews and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan.” But wherever I have seen the hallowed doctrines of Christ applied to the conscience of the Hindoos, they have been made quick and powerful as the wisdom of God and the power of God. I have been forced indeed to weep over those who held the truth in unrighteousness; but I do feel and rejoice that, notwithstanding the divisions of caste, the influence of Brahminism, and the destructive operation of a gross ignorance and superstitious idolatry, “these dry bones may yet live.”

To the west of Madras, not a mile from the city gates, were situated the populous suburbs, Chooley, Vepery, and Persewaukum. Every house of any size in these villages, is situated in the midst of garden ground; even the poorer native habitations enjoy their verandah as a shade from the sun, where the listless Hindoo may spread his mat, and pass the feverish hours of noon-day heat. Here, too,

many of their domestic occupations are performed. In a sequestered avenue leading through one of these villages, I first obtained a correct idea of the prophetic intimation given by our Lord, as an attendant on his coming, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill, one shall be taken and the other left." Under the verandah of a Hindoo dwelling, two women were seated on the chunam floor, a granite stone placed between them, twenty inches or two feet diameter, hollowed out to the depth of several inches; within this was placed a smaller stone of the same description, furnished with a handle, and perforated in the centre; through the hole the grain was conveyed, and by the handle the women turned the mill. By this simple process they prepared the flour which was required for their families.

Vepery has acquired celebrity, not from its scenery, its buildings, or its merchandise. No monuments of ancient fame adorn its structures, nor allusions in classical antiquity embellish its history: it is not, it never was, the dwelling-place of the wise men of this world, neither was it desolated by the ravages of war, nor trusted to as an outwork of the city defences. Yet it is embalmed in the memory of many, and its name will be graven on the tablet of ecclesiastical history, when battle scenes shall have faded from the memory, and classical antiquity shall be lost in oblivion; when monumental fabrics shall have crumbled before the feet and under the steps of destroying

time. Yes, when the fairest and the richest of nature's scenery shall be surpassed by the ornaments of Zion, the beauties of holiness, the bulwarks, the towers upon the city of our God, then will it be had in remembrance that in Vepery was planted a branch of the first Protestant mission sent to the Indies, in the earliest years of the eighteenth century: to this spot were directed the steps of the devoted servants of God who went forth as messengers of the gospel to heathen lands. This had been chosen and occupied as a sphere of christian enterprise by the companions of Zeigenbalg, and the fellow-labourers of Schwartz, of Fabricius and Jerické. By purchase, or endowment, from private liberality or royal munificence, had the agents of this mission obtained an extensive property in land and buildings, which formed the settlement of the Vepery mission. A pile of venerable architecture here claims our regard, more from the purposes to which it is devoted, than the beauty of its appearance, or the chasteness of the style. Here stood a house of prayer, whence the sacred melody of divine song was poured forth from Hindoo voices, in strains such as Luther sung; here the wandering feet of the straying idolater have often been directed into the way of peace, and his wayward steps reclaimed into the path of wisdom; here, in their own tongue, have the ignorant and the erring children of Brahma heard the wonderful works and the gracious words of God. That aged fabric has experienced decay; yet

parts of its walls stand, a memorial of God's goodness to this land, a monument of the faith of those who long ago slept in the dust, and a pledge of the coming prosperity, the certain progress of that cause which has been established in eternal truth. Its place has been supplied by a neat Gothic church, a tower, and the other ornaments which English munificence has learned to lavish upon the house of God.

I stood upon the site of the new building, when, amid the pomp and ceremony of official dignity and oriental display, the corner, the foundation-stone was laid, and memorials deposited, which should tell to future ages the era, the power which then reigned, and the treasury from which the resources for its erection were drawn. A yet more grateful sight, than either the pageantry or the ceremonies, was exhibited by the cheerful and intelligent countenances of the many children who had received instruction in the mission schools. They sang a hymn of praise to Him who has said, "My house shall be a house of prayer for all nations:" and "to this man will I look, even to him who is poor, and of a contrite spirit."—The scene was calculated to repress vanity, and to admonish the beholders of the transitory nature of all earthly things; while the believer was reminded, that if the earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Within view of the decayed edifice, which had long served as the

courts of the Lord—perhaps the eldest among the daughters of Zion in peninsular India, and almost upon the ruins thereof, was rearing a nobler and more capacious sanctuary for the worship of the God of heaven ; while both buildings were surrounded by the many mansions of the dead—some graves just opened, and others whose monumental pillars were hastening to decay. Here a leafy palm waved its scanty shade over the tomb of an early convert, whose great grandchildren might now be joining in the song of praise and love ; and there a few clustered cocoa-trees, sheltered the slumbering ashes of a faithful and esteemed missionary, whose memorial was on high, who had ceased from his labours, and whose works followed him ; while here and there were scattered the remains of the poor, but pious dead, whose faith and hope had long ago been absorbed in the heavenly grace of holy love, and who, though unknown to the ear of fame, and undistinguished by the breath of praise among men, had been chosen of God and precious, and over whose sleeping dust angel-guards shall keep their cheerful vigils, till the bright morn of that joyful day when the grave shall give up the dead which are in it, and they shall rise to immortality and eternal life ; while not a few, it may be, of those who lie around them, shall be raised to everlasting shame and contempt.

Within the same precincts are situated the principal school establishments of the mission, semi-

naries wherein are trained teachers for male and female schools ; their Printing-office, also, which is well conducted, and employed almost exclusively in preparing elementary works for the schools, and providing a continued supply of religious tracts and portions of the sacred Scriptures. The whole Bible, and the Liturgy of the Church of England, have issued from this press in the Tamil, being translations by the missionaries of this society. Like a fountain of healing waters, whose streams flow in a thousand channels, carrying fertility and varied beauty, where once stagnant and noxious pools sent forth their corrupting and insalubrious vapours, these sources of intelligence and improvement are a blessing invaluable, and most suitable to a mission establishment. And if they do not secure the immediate fruit of a well-cultured garden, or of a rich pasturage, they will here and there refresh the eye of the traveller, and secure, now and then, a verdant spot, where, under the palm trees, the Asiatic, or other wanderer, may pitch his tent, and be led to anticipate further benefits, till he shall advance from strength to strength, and, finally come before the Lord in Zion. The bounds of the mission premises contain, likewise, the residences of the missionary brethren, who have hitherto been either Danes or Germans. They may be generally characterised as expert linguists, zealous labourers, modest men, and of excellent personal character. The senior missionary, Dr. Rottler, had been in the country more



than forty years, and reached the age of threescore years and ten. His exertions in the department of translations, and other philological labours, had been abundant—creditable to his talents and diligence, and highly satisfactory to those who may be accounted authorized judges. He was an easy, good tempered man, much beloved by the natives; not a rigid disciplinarian, not very exact in a recognition of the extent of knowledge, or of a spiritual and quickening apprehension of the truths of our holy faith, in candidates for the christian profession. Perhaps they found him too indulgent, and therefore was he liable to imposition from self-seeking pretenders, while the greater strictness of his colleagues appeared thereby as invidious and vexatious. He was of the Lutheran church. At the time of the ceremony, to which reference has been made, he had two fellow-labourers, besides native brethren, who were engaged in the service of the mission. One of them, Mr. Falké, died suddenly. Mr. Haubroe, who survived for some years, was truly a Christian—a zealous and faithful man, an Israelite indeed without guile, and whose affection and simplicity of character, motive, and aim, secured him the love and the confidence of all who knew him: if the men themselves be excepted, the mere nominal professors, for whose eternal welfare he was most solicitous.

On the margin, and in the vicinity of the mission property, live the natives who belong to this community; their houses generally provided by, or

rented from the mission. I think there might be three or four thousand of them, including children, male and female. They are part of that mission to which Mosheim refers, when he says, "This noble establishment, which surpasses all that have been yet erected for the propagation of the gospel, not only subsists still in a flourishing state, but acquires daily new degrees of perfection under the munificent patronage of that excellent monarch, Christian, king of Denmark." Their resources are *now* drawn from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Of the whole community at the various mission stations, eight in number, there may be found a population of about twenty-five or thirty thousand natives. There is nothing here, certainly, after the labours of a century, commensurate with the sanguine wishes of pious benevolence, or equal to the specious and boasted success of popish legates, of Xavier, or the Madura missions. But there is a signal and essential difference between the religion of Christ in reality, and mere nominal and only apparent Christianity. Well:—'may it be affirmed that the Danish and German converts are better Christians, and more excel in sincerity and zeal, than the adherents of the popish missionaries?' This is a question which might be answered in the affirmative without much hazard, or saying a great deal in praise of the Vepery Christians. It is far from my purpose to pass an eulogy on the mass of nominal Christians here. I have lived on terms of intimacy with some of them, and have

narrowly watched their conduct, and the influence of their principles among them, and upon individual character ; and though not personally employed in the management of their spiritual concerns, I have become conversant with the trials and perplexities of their pastors and teachers. I have likewise met the sneer of the worldling, and heard, when one of their number offered himself as a servant, the scoff uttered against the name of Jesus in the taunting proverb which was taken up, “he is a mere Chaverimootoo :” a name frequently borne by the Vepery people, and which literally signifies a *sweet Saviour*.

Nevertheless, I must testify they are regular in their attendance upon the means of christian instruction : their children are all scrupulously educated in scriptural principles, and trained to an observance of religious ordinances. Like the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, they have a great abhorrence of visible idolatry ; they are separated from heathen idols and altars, and have no relic of image worship ; they never join in heathen processions, but are in the midst of idolaters a peculiar people. They are, every family, furnished with copies or portions of the Scriptures ; and many of them possess works of a devotional or instructive character, which have issued from their press. I shall elsewhere show it to be far otherwise with the Romanists. I will admit, that from among the descendants and connexions of early converts, and in consequence of the questionable and relaxed

principles of admission acted upon by some of the agents, there have sprung up many who bear the name and who wear the livery of Christ's service among this people, who are unhappily not the real servants of the Redeemer, whose affections are not engaged, or their principles secured by the conviction of the judgment and the love of the heart. It is also probable that there are more glaring derelictions from relative duty exhibited among them, than are perceptible to the eye of the superficial and unenlightened observer in the practices of the mere heathen. The nominally christian community may appear under fewer restraints, seem to enjoy more latitude of pleasure and indulgence ; but paradoxical as it may be deemed, even less restriction of habits among those called Christians, may not always be a proof that they have declined in moral character and sensibilities by their adoption of a creed different from the heathen around them. They are not now fettered by the tyranny of custom or the bondage of caste ; they are called to act from principles which they have but recently embraced ; the divine law is an authority they have scarcely learned fully to recognise ; and the maxim, " Thou God seest me," is yet barely legible on the tablet of their memory ; but they are less under the fear of man as a rule of life, and it is now a matter of judgment whether they will act thus and thus. Is this to be regretted ? The waters of a free, flowing, though troubled stream, may be more cheering, and indicative of a

more generous source, than the peaceful and glassy surface of a stagnant and marshy pool. The impetus which forced the embankment, and caused the confusion, may yet purify and render more inviting the current stream.

It is the peculiar and distinguished prerogative of the christian doctrine, as it was of its Divine Founder and most gracious Teacher, to subdue and reconcile the revolted and rebellious subject to a just allegiance ; to enlist him under the banners of heaven's King ; to furnish him with an armour, whose weapons are not carnal but spiritual ; and to promise, that while he wrestles not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places ; he shall be brought off as conqueror, and more than conqueror, through him who loved him. A power and an authority accompany it, sufficient to break the chains of sin's captivity, and to let the oppressed go free ; to lead captivity captive, to open the prison doors to them that are bound, and to say to the prisoner, Go forth ; to take those who walked according to the course of this world, and whose wayward wanderings were directed by the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,—who fulfilled the desires of the flesh and of the mind,—to wash them, to sanctify, and to justify them, in the name of the Lord Jesus ; and forming them new creatures in him, to make them ready, a holy people prepared for the Lord. Its

cordial and gentle specifics are calculated to soothe the distractions of the moral maniac, to reclaim the perverted powers of the spiritual madman ; to wean and extricate him from his dwellings among the tombs ; to clothe him, and, restoring him to his right mind, place him at the feet of heavenly wisdom, where he may remain a monument of sovereign grace. In fact, christian principles are avowedly competent, by the Spirit of our God, to produce a transformation of moral character in the most degraded, to save to the very uttermost all that come unto God by Christ. The sun cannot show his presence without also diffusing his radiance, conveying his light, and illuminating his sphere ; so neither can the truth shine in the heart without giving the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ : and as personal improvement is an unavoidable attendant upon a reception of the truth in the love of it, so the beneficial influence will be still more perceptible on the face of a community generally actuated by the ennobling principles of christian truth : therefore when an amelioration of moral character is not developed, we are taught to regard the pretensions to christian principle as invalid and hypocritical. Such spurious profession and unsound characters may be expected in every country. I have met them in India, where they prove a vexation to the faithful servants of God, and a grievous reproach to Christianity and to evangelical exertions among the Hindoos. On suitable occa-

sions, however, they are reprov'd, censured, and sometimes removed from the community, as well as from the privileges of christian society. I was once present, and witnessed such a procedure; it was deeply affecting, and seemed well calculated to produce a salutary and sanctifying impression: indeed, all parties were moved to tears, and could not suppress the audible utterance of convulsive sobs, the genuine expression of their agonized sorrow and sympathy.

Appavoo was a native of a southern province. His parents were heathens; and though they had been careful to initiate their son into the customs and superstitions of their idolatry, they sent him to a mission school, superintended by Dr. Johns, a German missionary; and here he enjoyed the literary advantages as well as the salutary influence of christian teaching to appearance in vain, for he left his native province to travel northward an unreclaimed heathen—a worshipper of idol gods. In the district where he arrived, a missionary station had been occupied for fifteen years by the agents of one of the societies. Their labours had been rendered highly beneficial to many natives of India, who were descendants of the Portuguese, of Dutch, or English parents. Their exertions among the rising generation had been assiduous and faithful—their daily schools proved this; they had not left unemployed the means of diffusing knowledge by circulating the Scriptures and christian tracts. But no fruit had followed, no converts had been received

from among the heathen, the objects of their pity and prayerful anxiety. Theirs was a gate which had stood open continually, leading to the temple; their trumpet, too, sounded with an inviting, with no uncertain, sound; they lifted up Christ as an Ensign to the people, and entreated the heathen to seek, as they would surely find in him a rest which should be glorious. But no one listened,—no one entered,—none accepted or seemed to value the blessings or the proffered inheritance; and the watchmen were almost ready to say, ‘We have laboured in vain, and spent our strength for nought;’ till a gleam of sunshine, a ray of hope, lighted up the bow of promise, and recalled to their minds the faithfulness of a covenant God. Appavoo was induced to attend and hear the words of life; his mind appeared to expand, and his heart to rejoice in the reception of the truth. He evinced all the anxiety of a sincere inquirer; his interest increased, and he occupied himself in reading and prayer. Heathen associations and services were renounced; and to the joy of the missionaries, with their friends, he avowed his belief in Jesus—his love to him, and attachment to his service. Naturally intelligent and susceptible of impression, he became animated and enlightened; his progress gratified his teachers, and they fondly hoped he was under the direction of the Divine Spirit. Their joy was as sincere as if this one convert were an abundant reward for all their labour and watchings. They



agreed to admit him by baptism into the fellowship of the christian community, on a day of solemn service and grateful rejoicing. I do not say it was wise, but it was natural, that they should express their thankfulness in this manner. Yet should they have given such confident publicity to the proceeding? "He that goeth forth weeping and bearing precious seed, shall doubtless return again with joy, bringing his sheaves with him."

Appavoo was speedily, perhaps too soon, after his admission into the church, engaged in studies to qualify him for usefulness among his countrymen. He was beloved, probably caressed by the brethren as a brother in the Lord; he was rendered prominent, engaging in the secular affairs of the mission; and as a novice, he was liable to be puffed up and exposed to the snare of the devil. His society was courted by some nominal Christians, whose communications did him no good. The indolence of the native character began to prevail, and an indifference to relative duties, to the wants of his spiritually impoverished neighbours, and to the sacred obligations under which he had been specially brought: a declension too evident to every one but himself and his fond teacher made rapid inroads upon his affections, his religious observances and intercourse. Warnings were affectionately administered; the still small voice of christian reproof was whispered in his ear; but he had ceased to feel, to hearken, or to profit, and his religion declined to the shadow of a name.

He made shipwreck of a good conscience; and departing from christian integrity, he pursued a course so derogatory to the hallowed name, while the many reproofs administered appeared only to harden his neck, that measures more decided were deemed requisite and adopted. Examinations and conferences were held, so as if possible to disclose to himself, as well as to others, the state of his heart. In the presence of his brethren, a detail was given of the course which had been pursued, and the inauspicious results. He was affectionately admonished and reminded of the precepts of Scripture. He had no plea; he seemed to have no desire for delay. A calm, solemn, and heartfelt attention was rendered by every one present; and when he stood up, and the minister who presided proceeded to deliver the sentence of exclusion in the words of the apostle, *In the name of the Lord Jesus, to deliver him unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus*: the whole audience was dissolved in bitter grief, the minister's utterance was choked by excitement, and Appavoo himself melted down in seeming anguish. He who had so long hardened himself and refused warning now wept profusely, and the hope was indulged that the temporary sorrow would become the prelude to the contrition of the returning backslider, and his ultimate re-establishment in the ways of righteousness. But, alas! when we last looked upon him, we beheld only a monument of blighted hopes—a

beacon to warn both teachers and converts to live near to God, and depend more implicitly upon Divine agency in the great work.

The general character of Hindoo converts is decidedly improved. There are not among them the extremes of poverty and wealth which are exhibited among the idolatrous heathen; their families are not ruined or impoverished by the funeral obsequies of any relative; nor are the demands upon them for the support of religion exorbitant and unjust, as are the requirements for the heathen feasts and endless ceremonies: neither is their substance squandered in the gaudy displays which idolatrous pride and vanity require. With marked respect, generally, and gratitude towards their religious instructors, they display nothing of that slavish worship and reverence which Brahma's priests demand, and the superstitious Hindoo renders to the Brahmin. Litigation, of which the other Hindoos are madly fond, is rarely known among the converts; while, if any controversy on worldly, or even domestic matters, arise among them, they almost invariably repair to their religious instructors, whose good offices are continued till a reconciliation or adjustment is effected. The salutary influence of this pastoral interference I have seen descend into the affairs of relative and conjugal life with the happiest success. It may justly be said, that as their code of morals is drawn from a purer source than superstition or idolatry, so their intercourse is distinguishable amid all the

outbreakings of selfishness, for a far higher character in the performance of reciprocal and relative duties than the heathens or Roman Catholics. Indeed, such a conclusion may be deduced under the judgment of their enemies. And though many, too many individuals bear the christian name, in all its high and holy import, unworthily, and the occurrences of backsliding be, alas! too numerous for even a specification; yet there are again men, and women also, whose character has been transformed, whose principles bear the marks of a divine original and a sanctified heart, whose pursuits have been ennobled, whose conduct might cover with shame many a nominal and high professor in favoured Britain, and whose usefulness has been distinguished in the cause of philanthropy and in the progress of the gospel. It fills the eye and the heart of a benevolent man to contemplate with moral certainty the blessings which would descend upon the human race, could we convert the heathen world into even a nominal community of Christians, by the energy of evangelical principles, and subject the people to only an atmospheric influence of that godlike system. There would be gradually perceptible an improvement in their habits and enjoyments, their principles and pursuits, their characters and attainments, which would testify the heavenly origin—the adaptation of the gospel for all the children of men. Moreover, according to the degree of fidelity and spirituality in the agents, and their separation from worldly influence in their

plans and operations, so will be the reality and comparative character of the profession made by christian converts.

Just beyond Vepery, in an avenue to the right, is situated another mission establishment connected with the London Missionary Society. There is not a more suitable nor better-built place of worship in the Presidency than is Persewaukum chapel; and the evening congregation, composed chiefly of the descendants of Europeans, was generally numerous, and gaily dressed, when the service was conducted in English. The prayers of the Episcopal church used to be read here, but this practice was discontinued: the alteration may be traced to the increase of places where Episcopal missionaries officiate, on the one hand; and on the other, to the arrival of some missionaries of this Society, who were rather more sturdy dissenters than their predecessors. The missionary, through whose efforts the chapel was built, did not continue under the patronage of the Society. Envious tongues, or secret backbiters, traduced his name, and slandered his reputation, so that he was suspended from his functions, as his friends thought, most unjustly and injudiciously. Behold how good a thing, and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity! and how sad the reverse! how painful and injurious, when the watchmen do not see eye to eye: when Judah vexes Ephraim, and Ephraim envies Judah. The time is hastening when all the weakening divisions which afflict the church shall

be removed, and the breaches be healed, and the paths to dwell in shall be restored—when there shall be nothing to hurt or to destroy in all God's holy mountain.

After you pass through Persewaukum bazaar, among a few clean native houses, thrown, as if upon the verge of the village, to the left of the road, if you are a minute observer, you will single out one dwelling with signs of greater respectability and more easy circumstances than the others ; seated within the verandah, you perceive a few children occupied with the sand and ollahs, the adjuncts of a village school. This is the habitation of William Roberts, a man of no every-day character, nor will his story be devoid of interest to the reader, if I can only infuse a moiety of what I felt on his behalf into my description of him. It is long since India has been traversed by professed Christians, and many opportunities have been presented, by which individuals have become familiarized with the general statements of holy Scripture, and the opposition which that sacred book expresses toward idolatrous practices. The wide prevalency of European influence throughout the chief cities in India, and the dependence of Europeans upon native services for domestic comfort, have led to more immediate and personal intercourse between Hindoos and Britons than the jealousy of Brahminical caste will recognise. Hence the love of wealth, and the allurements of *worldly* political power, have drawn not a few of the Hindoos of

distinction beyond the bounds prescribed by their ritual, and these constitute a distinct class of Hindoos. They keep up the external symbols of their castes, and are treated as caste men and undefiled, at a distance from the circle in which they were born and first moved; but they are not so swayed by the narrow prejudices of their system, nor so observant of the prescriptive abstinences in food, &c. which their laws require. William Roberts is a Hindoo of what is denominated the *Vullarum* caste, one of the most distinguished divisions of the Sudra tribe. He professes to have acquired a classical education, and to be thoroughly conversant in the learning of his people; he affects refinement in reading, and elegance in his diction. He reads the English and speaks it with considerable fluency; his pronunciation, however, and his acquaintance with the precise import of the language, are defective. So long ago as the latter end of the eighteenth century, he was engaged in the service of an Englishman, an officer of the army, whom he accompanied to England on his return to that country. By such a voyage he forfeited all title to the privileges of his caste; yet he returned again to India, and entered the employment of a Mr. H. of the civil department; with him, about the beginning of this century, he returned to England, and resided for some months in the vicinity of London. The female relatives of his master, he acknowledges, interested themselves much in his improvement, and taught him the Lord's Prayer,

the Creed, and the Catechism. He stated to me, that, upon his being able to repeat those, and expressing a desire for baptism, that rite was administered to him by the rector of P——, whereby he believed himself admitted into the christian church, and entitled to its privileges and blessings.

He must have been always a shrewd man ; his observation and judgment of worldly matters, I should estimate of an acute and ready character. He admits he did not understand the things he professed, and perhaps the adoption of his master's creed had in it some connecting link with secular prospects. His return to India followed soon after, and his engagements continued, such as they had been, for years. A subsequent visit to England brought him into contact with a class of religionists, whose appeals to reason, whose rejection of all mysteries, and confidence in themselves, have brought them to a full and open renunciation of Christ's divinity ; of the doctrine of the atonement ; the existence of evil angels ; and the inherent depravity of human nature. They bestowed some labour upon him, and regarded him as fit to act as their apostle ; he imbibed their opinions, and entered into their plans ; and, accepting their commission, quietly, and without display, entered upon his work ; having returned to his native land, he settled himself in the vicinity of the Vepery mission. It is from among the nominalists of a christian community that proselytes to such a system will be found. He had erected a neat Pukkah



chapel in the centre of his little hamlet: his proceedings show great good sense and tact, worthy of a better cause. He performs a public service every Sabbath, and occasionally during the week. He has organized a society, which contains eighteen or twenty members, besides their children; and one of his people, under his superintendence, conducts a school for the young. He employs agents, on a cheap but efficient plan. The Europeans in the service of the Company retain among their attendants a native as butler: some of these are nominal Christians. When the masters remove from one station to another,—and there are frequent changes and journeys to the north, the south, and the west, over a surface of twelve or fifteen hundred miles,—the servants travel also. Into this circle Roberts insinuates himself, and from habits of early life, finds easy intercourse; he furnishes them with tracts, and even larger publications, in several of the languages spoken in the country: they have been traced at Mysore, Bellary, and at Hyderabad. When these agents are unfit to enter into discussion, they direct the inquirers to “the Unitarian Teacher at Madras.”

It is an affecting consideration, that a man, whose thralldom from idolatry has been broken, whose mind has evidently expanded under the genial influence of revealed truth, whose powers might be rendered eminently subservient to the diffusion of sound, practical knowledge, should be again brought into bondage by a spirit seven

times worse than heathenism itself, and made an instrument of bold and impious hostility to the glory of Christ, among perishing idolaters. We may imagine he has seen the vanity of idols and the grossness of Brahminical delusion, and that he feels the dependence of man upon his God for the light of revelation ; but the pride of his heart offers a daring resistance to the principles upon which alone an inspired standard can be perfectly or suitably established and received. To presume to penetrate the dazzling brightness of the sun in his noontide splendour, and to deny, because they are unseen, the movements of that orb by which the diurnal and annual revolutions are accomplished, comes far short of the folly which would rashly look through a revelation to the character of God, and the higher principles of his operations, and scornfully impugn their infinite, incomprehensible, and mysterious nature. The being who would scan the limits and mysteries of a divine record by his own conceptions, must be a God ; and the man who refuses to receive, or renounces a doctrine of sacred Scripture, because it is above his reason or comprehension, has become a fool : so it has been with some who professed themselves to be wise among the Hindoos ; so it was with Rammohun Roy ; and so it is with William Roberts.

It was repeatedly in my power, while at the Presidency, to afford Roberts interviews and opportunities for inquiry, and, as I hoped, direction. It seemed to me desirable to reclaim him from his

own errors, and at all times to evince a kindly feeling of anxious interest for him, rather than a harsh and distant treatment. On one occasion I introduced my friend Dr. S—— to him, when we had a long and animated discussion. He brought with him “the *Improved Version*,” and his own copy of the Tamil Scriptures; the latter bore evident marks of having been diligently compared. It had marginal references, with which he discovered a ready familiarity. He strenuously urged the Socinian objections to the doctrines of the Cross, and boldly denied the *existence* of the devil as an intelligent being, or the reality of eternal punishment. He asserted that the expressions used in Scripture concerning Satan, only meant the destruction of evil. Dr. S—— urged some passages upon his conscience with peculiar force; he trembled under their sentence; he acknowledged that they possessed a power which he had not previously felt; that he had not yet studied them, but would consider their import. He bowed with us in prayer, and seemed to join in the supplications. There was a lamentable display of the pride of human nature, and the hostility of the human heart to the doctrines of evangelical godliness. But it would have betrayed a conscious weakness in our cause to have shrunk from the collision; and it would have been an unphilosophical, not to say unchristian, though a *forcible* argument, to *horse-whip* the poor man, or bring him within the toils of the civil power, as some injudiciously suggested ought to be

done. The weapons of the servant of God are not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty through the Spirit. At a subsequent interview, he brought eight or ten of his adherents, while he was encountered by several native Christians, mighty in the Scriptures. This opened the way for discussion between him and them, in the presence of his own people and others, which I believe was useful to several members of his community, who publicly renounced the sentiments whereby they had been denying the Lord that bought them. The poor man's principles seemed unchanged : it is not improbable he was flattered, and perhaps inflated, by the attention which was paid him. He afterward reported the conversation in a most distorted manner : at least so it was printed by the Unitarian Missionary Association in London.

When the principles of the oracles of God come in collision with the dark dogmas of heathenism, a moral convulsion must necessarily ensue ; a revolutionary process in things held sacred will pervade the whole community ; and in the first breaking up of a long-established idolatry, in the invasion of prescriptive rights, and the liberation of the human mind from its severe bondage and servility,—when the immortal and intelligent principle has burst the bonds of human authority, and, feeling its liberty, a long-lost birthright, restored, stretches forth a puissant power to grasp the full prerogative of choice and direction,—it will not be wonderful if some daring spirits encroach upon what should be

held inviolable, and venture within the barriers of the sacred mount.

Pursuing a northern direction in front of Roberts's house, by a retired rural ride you reach Perambore. I will invite the company of my reader to this suburban village, that his attention may be directed to two objects. You perceive, then, in this open field by the way side to the right and to the left, small mounds of smouldering ashes, or of recently-ignited fuel, varying from five to eight feet in length, and their breadth and height three or four feet. You see, too, scattered here and there, small blocks of granite bedded in the earth, and occasionally small ornamental edifices, seemingly altars, or monuments. — These mounds cover the remains of Hindoos lately deceased, brought here for *burning*. The evening after, or within twenty-four hours of a Hindoo's death, he is laid upon his bier; and, borne upon the shoulders of four or six men, he is carried forth, preceded by flambeaux and the coolerah horn. This instrument,—a long tube, which, when blown, emits a most discordant and dismal tone,—is a fit but sad accompaniment of funereal processions; the train is closed by the followers and friends. When they arrive at the burning field, the body is taken from the litter and laid upon a bed of fuel, composed principally of the cakes of cow-dung, and is covered with the same material. The fire is not designed to burn briskly—the cremation is slow, but sure. In the darkness of the night, especially

when the wind is boisterous, the funeral fires shed a truly sombre reflection upon these fields of burning : the flickering fire is buffeted by the stormy blast, and it is a melancholy picture of the valley of the shadow of death. At the expiration of two days, or during the third, the whole body has been consumed to ashes, and the relatives then come to gather the remains, and deposit them where the burning has been. These granite slabs and monumental altars are memorials erected by those who, being disposed, were able to incur the necessary charges as a tribute to the memory of departed friendship. I once saw it proposed that this mode of sepulture should be introduced into large cities in Britain. The whole process is certainly not very abhorrent to your feelings, when it is exhibited to your view. How many, from generation to generation, have been laid on this field,—this altar of death and speedy dissolution ! Yet you can pass over it without that sepulchral gloom, that humid air of mortality, which you must breathe in a burying-ground ; and do not the ashes slumber as surely and undisturbed as in the mausoleum, or within the bars and bolts of the silent tomb ? The confused relics of humanity are truly not presented to the moralizing visitor as the memorials of a promiscuous multitude ; yet you may contemplate the scene with profit while you tread the field, whose soil is impregnated with the purified ashes of the rich and poor, the young and the old : without the lines of separation which vain man would draw in

a present world. But to the Christian the spectacle here displayed is peculiarly affecting; so many dead have died without a good hope—no christian dust sleeps here; and yet ten thousand spirits, immortal and responsible, whose clay tabernacle has been reduced and scattered here, have entered upon a vast eternity, aliens from God, trusting to a lie, obnoxious to the sentence of a just and holy God, and doomed, according to the principles of unbending rectitude. O what a ghastly scene would now be exhibited were this the day when death and hell shall give up the dead which are in them!—But turn to the living, and let them know that they must die!

Turn we then from this region of the valley of the shadow of death, and these glimmering fires, which serve only to render the appalling aspect of the destroying enemy more terribly visible; and look towards one of the outposts of Zion, on which the light of the cross is reflected, as an ensign for the people, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of God's people Israel.—Now we are within the compound of the Perambore seminary, connected with the Church Missionary Society. This is certainly the most commodious missionary residence at the presidency; the grounds are planted, and even watered, and are extensive almost as an European demesne. This was previously the property of Mr. T——, a Madras civilian, a christian man, whose attachment to the missionary cause taught him to make sacrifices, and when he

returned to England his house and grounds were rented at a moderate rate to the missionary Mr. S——. This gentleman was in the enjoyment of the comforts of domestic life when I first visited this station; he was afterwards solitary and bereaved: his wife, an endeared christian woman, sailed for her native country, and died at sea. He had acquired a knowledge of Tamil, the language vernacular to the aborigines of this coast, sufficient to qualify him to read the prayers of the Church of England, and to superintend the studies of native youth. The corresponding committee of this Society entrusted to his care from eighteen to twenty-two young men, chiefly natives of other stations, who either by parentage had become allied to the church, or had, by early instruction, been induced to renounce heathenism. He had native assistants for the languages and the routine of religious instruction; but all that a European was supposed to excel in was left for his province. Generally they were merely nominal Christians. Mr. S—— thought the Brahminical divisions of caste worldly, and calculated to obstruct individual progress, and friendly feeling among all.

There are some gentlemen in the country who still think that caste need not be abolished; nor should the abandonment of it be made a *sine qua non* of proselytism: they view it merely as a civil distinction, and harmless as to its bearing upon the christianizing of natives. They do not seem to apprehend that no native can retain caste in the esteem



of his heathen countrymen after abandoning his religion; and that caste among nominal Christians can only be a distinction vexatious to themselves, a relic of an idolatrous state, and discountenanced by every principle of Christianity. They do not perceive that a Brahmin would consider the water of baptism polluted if administered by others than Brahminical hands, and the elements of the sacred supper defiled if previously tasted by an European missionary. Neither do they reflect that it is any thing but a proof of a high state of practical Christianity, when much anxiety exists for maintaining the separating distinctions of worldly society among the family of God's children. This is an important and has been held a debateable subject. The pride of secular distinction is always too predominant among men; it was so among some of these students. Among the corresponding committee were some gentlemen who entertained a partiality for the retention of caste. Mr. S—— wished to uproot it: the students had been previously allowed to retain their notions, and now revolted at the plans of the missionary, complained that their food was prepared by a man of lower caste than themselves, and threatened not to eat it. Their tutor disapproved so far of their scruples as to direct that they should eat *along with* their cook. Several of the young men indulged so far their resentment as to leave the institution and travel homewards. Most of them, however, were reclaimed, and restored to enjoy the inestimable

advantages of scriptural and evangelical instruction from their friend and tutor. Generally they seemed strongly attached to him, and his labours had not been in vain in the Lord.

One of the pupils had been brought to a sudden death at the time of my visit ; but his teacher hoped he died in the Faith. The young man went into one of the apartments allotted for the seminarists, and reaching his hand up to a shelf for a book, he felt a sensation at the point of his finger, as if he had been pricked with a pin or other sharp instrument. In less than a quarter of an hour his body began to swell, especially the glands of his throat ; he was attacked with violent thirst, but could not drink, his eyes rolled in feverish agitation, spasmodic symptoms prevailed, and within fifteen minutes more, in resistance of all remedies that could be applied, the poor lad expired in the greatest agony. The recess where his hand had been wounded was searched, and a small but deadly serpent was found coiled up and ready to inflict a death sting in a similar manner ; but it had already fulfilled its commission, and became itself the victim in its turn. The event was not suffered to pass without instruction ; and it may be hoped that the death of the poor sufferer would become the instrument of life to some of the survivors. They were placed under tuition here, that they might become the teachers of others, and be employed as schoolmasters, or rise to even higher office and greater usefulness as preachers to their country-

men. In such a station Mr. S—— enjoyed advantages, which few ministers at home possess, of being extensively useful, and of diffusing a savour of Christ's love among his fellow-men. He obtained an appointment as a Company's chaplain, and soon after died. Such seminaries seem the most efficient instruments of assailing heathenism in these lands. Should a missionary, out of twenty pupils, succeed in preparing only two native preachers of the gospel, he is conferring a greater benefit on the people and the cause of religion, than if he could draw forth, qualify, and support six European missionaries. And it is one of the auspicious indications of a spreading gospel, and that it will soon cover the land, that these nurseries of piety and sound knowledge are increasing throughout the country.

A plain, arid and sandy, lies between the northern gate of Black Town and Perambore. The path into town is winding, and in some places picturesque; but within the gates the habitations are mean and wretched; mud walls, thatched with palmyra leaves, constitute the windowless and rude hovels of the native poor. A few instances of greater comfort, with something approaching to cleanliness, and a quiet neatness, occur on the line of streets till we approach the Black Town jail. This building is low and apparently of contracted dimensions; but if we may judge of the rest from the governor's apartments, even the prison-house of the Europeans is a palace compared with the neighbouring huts of the Hindoos. Proceeding

along the street on which it stands to the south, we come again on Popham's Broadway. The first object which next attracts our attention is the *Wesleyan Mission Chapel*.

In the whole range of history few public characters ever succeeded so far as John Wesley did in making the most of every thing; in turning to the advantage of his cause existing circumstances, and seizing occasion by the fore-lock. He was not a jesuit, a Xavier, or a Dr. Francia, dictator of Paraguay. He was not a Laud or a Whitefield. It is a phenomenon rare in the history of systems or of economics, how completely he has imbued with his own character the denomination distinguished by his name, and how intimately and thoroughly he lives in the principles and proceedings of his own body. Equally politic with Loyola, more sagacious, and farther sighted than his own kinsman, the martial duke; but more rational and exalted, more intelligent, estimable, and holy in the object of his ambition than either, he has reared for himself a monumental pillar, and wrought for his head a wreath which shall last so long as there is a leaf of history, or a space in time allotted for the records of man and the annals of the church. He addressed a letter to the papists, and complimented their virtues; he respected their saints; he humoured their weaknesses, and gave them abundant credit for all the excellences he could discover in their system, or in the character of the choice members of their church. It is hard to determine whether he would

have refused the unction of *respect* to his “Holiness” the Pope, or the occasional use of their consecrated vestments and *seven* sacraments, had he imagined it would allure the hierarchy and the laity of Rome to listen to his silver pipe, to hear the accents of mercy in the sighs and groans of Calvary, and to learn the value of the soul by the blood of the cross, and the freeness of salvation by the dignity and infinite love of Him who suffered on it.

So far as his system can be embodied in its members, he is represented in all quarters of the globe; and his disciples pitch his standard and fight under his banner in the north and in the south, in the west and in the east: in islands and on the continents, among civilized and among savage men, the *Wesleyan Mission chapels* are everywhere conspicuous. In war and in peace, at home and abroad, in almost every regiment of the British Line, there are class-leaders, and zealous propagators of his opinions. Do I condemn them in this? If I did, they might well say, “Who art thou that judgest? It is a small matter for us to be judged in man’s day.” I mention only the fact, and let it speak.—Besides this chapel,—which, if not elegant, is commodious and respectable,—in Popham’s Broadway, a *Wesleyan Mission House*, with grounds and every suitable convenience for missionary purposes, has been provided in the environs of Miliaporé, between three and four miles from their Black Town Chapel. They have a chapel at Royapettah, and another at St. Thomé. They have chapels and stations at

St. Thomas's Mount, at Negapatam, Melnattam, and Manaargoody to the south, and at Bangalore and Mysore to the west. Madras was chosen as their head quarters for the peninsula, and was first occupied.

Dr. Coke had proved himself an eminently devoted and zealous member of the Wesleyan denomination, and an earnest advocate of foreign missions. With liberality, he consecrated much worldly substance, and his personal services to this work. At the beginning of 1814, he sailed for India, accompanied by six Wesleyan preachers, to commence a mission in Ceylon. The good man died on his passage; but his associates reached the scene of their destined labours. Mr. James Lynch, one of the six preachers, was deputed to Madras, and reached the presidency at the beginning of the year 1817. For about eight years he continued his industrious course, and was the main spring of the subsequent movements. Some of his colleagues remained when he returned to England, but none of them were more willing to spend or be spent in the cause, or could, in despite of his unpolished manner and homely exterior, be more respected by the people among whom he moved. Usually three missionaries with native or country-born assistants occupy this station; their services and itinerancies are frequent, and their intercourse with the European soldiery is quite as extensive as is their strictly missionary labour. While I knew them they had several communicants who had left

the Church of Rome ; one was a Franciscan, who had travelled as a begging friar from a monastery at Goa, and was now employed as a Portuguese preacher. More recently they reckon their missionaries for all their peninsular stations at fifteen, their teachers in schools at twenty-four, and their *members* in society at three hundred and fifty. These calculations include British soldiers, and embrace such as may be only hopeful as well as those who may be "*pressing into the kingdom of heaven,*" or are "*happy in God.*" Some of their members have excited the most lively interest, and seem to have been most wonderful instances of Divine mercy. I shall record the outline of the biography of one, given by himself when he was called to witness a good confession before many witnesses. He was publicly baptized in the Wesleyan Chapel, Popham's Broadway, on the first Sunday in August, 1836. His former idolatrous associates had first attempted to prevent his interviews with the missionary, and it was feared meditated his death by violence, and he fled for refuge to the Mission House. As he entered this asylum he declared, "Now I cast myself upon God's providence and this mission, and hope never to be forsaken. May the Lord Jesus help me !" He was between fifty and sixty years of age, and venerable in appearance. An effort was then made to carry him off, and, as he feared, to beat him to death ; and so long as they thought to restore him to his place as a leader of heathenism, or prevent

his accession to the christian party, they were watchful for any means to remove him. For many years no razor had come upon his beard. He now cut off his hair and beard, and appeared for the first time in the Mission Chapel divested of his heathen robes, on the second Sunday of July. It was ascertained by his heathen connexions that he was soon to be baptized; and having determined to carry him off either *dead or alive*, they were understood to have contemplated an attack upon the Mission House. This led to the precaution of stationing a police force within the premises on the previous night. The service of baptism was next morning performed in the Mission Chapel, Black Town. The congregation was large, and intensely excited: to witness the voluntary and deliberate act of such a man renouncing heathenism, was interesting and deeply affecting. Before them all he surrendered his *yellow robes*, the sacred locks of hair, and the *lingam*, one of the most impure emblems of his heathen attainments and official distinction. He then kneeled down, having received from the minister a copy of the sacred Scriptures and of the English Liturgy in the Tamil language; a person deputed for the occasion audibly pronounced "WESLEY ABRAHAM," and the convert was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

*Arumuga Tambiran* (a religious mendicant), was his heathen designation; and he thus related the circumstances of his early life, his attainments as a



heathen, and his adoption of the christian name :—  
“ I am well known in Madras, having resided in this city since 1824. I was born in the province of Tanjore, in the city of Caroovi. My father was named Sokkalinga Moodeliar, and died when I was eight years of age; my mother had died seven days after my birth. As an orphan I was taken under the protection of Nana Sampanda Pandaram, one of my relations, who was a great Gooroo and teacher of the heathen, an overseer of all the Choultries and houses of hospitality for pilgrims from Ramiseram, in the south, to Casi, near Bengal, in the north. He appointed me, after the usual customs, to the office of tambiran in the sect of Seeva, when I was invested with the yellow robes, neck-beads, holy ashes, and other insignia suitable to that office held sacred. He instructed me for seven years in all the branches of Tamil literature. At the age of sixteen I proceeded on pilgrimage, with ten other persons of the same sect of Seeva, to visit holy places, and bathe in holy waters. For many years I was engaged in travelling throughout my native country: till I had visited every celebrated place in Trichinopoly and Mysore, in Malabar and the Coorg country, at the sources of the Cavery and the Kistna, in Sattara and Hyderabad, as far northward as Delhi, and the sources of the Ganges. At Cashi, as far north as the 29th degree, and as far east as the 83d, I stayed three years bathing in the reputed holy Ganges, and performing all the ceremonies usual at that consecrated

place. Three of my companions had perished by fever, and two had been devoured by tigers. I travelled to the mouths of the Ganges, by Calcutta, to Juggernaut, and along the coast by Masulipatam to Madras. I visited all the places reckoned holy in the south of India, Trivalloor and Tripetty, Chillambram, and Karrikal, with many other stations of sanctity. I went by Ramiseram to Ceylon, and traversed that island, visiting all its celebrated shrines which I could find, and then returned to the continent. Fifty years of my life have thus been spent. Our numbers had decreased by fevers and wild beasts, till at length I am the only one left alive of the eleven persons who set out in these weary pilgrimages, a monument of God's love and mercy. I have as a heathen leader taught many disciples, as is well known. I sought all heathen books, but found *nothing for the soul*. I found nothing in heathen books, in heathen temples, in heathen ceremonies, to *satisfy the mind*. I met with this minister (alluding to Mr. Carver), and he opened to my understanding the way of salvation, the treasures of the Scriptures; they suited my dissatisfied heart. I went again and again to the missionary; I determined to abandon heathenism. By heathenism I got money in abundance, and honour. I was worshipped by my disciples; but my soul began to shrink back at the blasphemy against the God of whom I had heard. I knew not how to escape from my heathen friends and disciples, who were about me on every side,

when this minister offered me an asylum, a place in the mission premises. There I went of my own free choice; there I was when the heathen made violent efforts to carry me away; there I wish to remain, and be baptized in the name of Jesus, to teach others also of this Saviour, as some little attempt to remedy the evils of having taught so many heathen disciples a false way in time past."

It has been already hinted that it is hazardous, and not always judicious, to give great prominence to the conversion or public profession of new proselytes: publicity was not sought, though neither was it shunned, by primitive apostles or evangelists. Cornelius and his household were baptized in the house of the centurion of the Italian band; and the jailer was baptized within the prison at the dead hour of the night. The *éclat* may be followed with disappointment and much sorrow. Every thing should be done that will lead the disciple to walk *humbly* with his God, with lowliness and meekness; so that while he thinketh he standeth, he may take heed lest he fall. A few months after his baptism, "Wesley Abraham" disappeared from the Mission House, and went among a body of respectable native heathens, in whose presence he threw off the dress which he received at his baptism, and resumed the garment of a pandaram—a heathen devotee. Subsequently, however, he returned to the missionaries, assuring them that his departure was the result of treachery and force on the part of others, and that he availed himself of

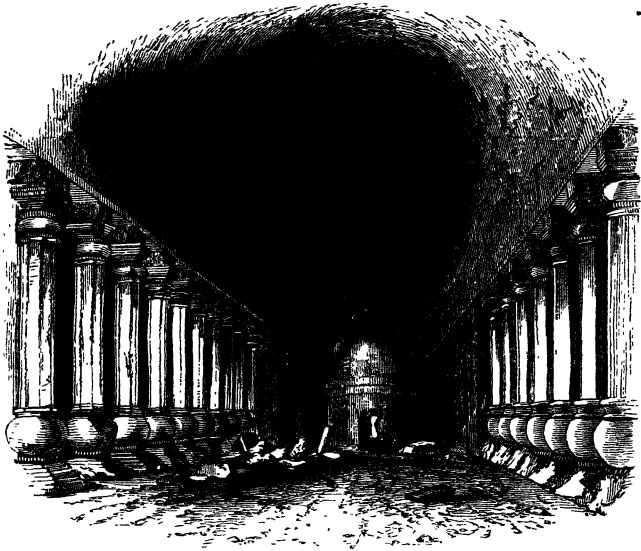
the first opportunity of being restored. He afterwards maintained a profession of Christianity till the hour of his death, on the 7th of July, 1837, when he closed his race, according to the pleasant hope of his missionary friend, in the faith of the gospel of Christ.

In the year 1812 the zeal of American Christians glowed with a holy ardour for the conversion of the idolaters in eastern lands; and some of their most devoted agents went forth to India, that they might participate in the honour of teaching the people of Hindostan to stretch out their hands unto God. Newell and Price, Gordon Hall and Judson, were pioneers in this march upon the dominion of the power of darkness. Mrs. Judson and Mrs. H. Newell have left their memories sweetly embalmed in the records of the church; and though dead, they yet speak for India to many people. The churches of Burmah and Western India will, in future times, commemorate their love and faith. Gordon Hall was the chief speaker of those who lifted their voice for *six hundred millions of perishing heathen*. His is a name too precious to perish: we shall meet him hereafter in our eastern wanderings. The American mission to Ceylon was begun in 1816. Many of the primary agents have gone down to the dust. Another band of gifted and consecrated missionaries joined in 1819; the Winslows, the Woodward, the Scudders, and Spauldings, were men who gave their hearts to the work. A Richards and a Warren, a Woodward, a

Mrs. Winslow, and a Mrs. Poor, were beloved and faithful : all faithful in their lives, and having closed their period of earthly service, have ceased from their labours, and their works follow them, as is the blessedness promised to the dead who die in the Lord. A division of the same band has encamped on the shores of Coromandel. Mr. Poor occupies Madura ; Mr. Apthorp fills a station at Ramnad ; and Dr. Scudder and Mr. Winslow have removed to Madras. It is now almost fifteen years since I had the gratification to welcome Dr. Scudder on his first visit to Madras, to the rites of hospitality and the affection of my heart : he was then an invalid, but not entirely disabled from occasional service. His society was calculated to endear him to the warmest friendship ; his piety was unaffected and unconstrained ; his liberality was truly catholic, and his charity was ingenuous and pure. A cultivated and enlarged mind, enlightened and christian principle, a zeal according to knowledge, and a fidelity and vigilance ever active, perfumed by a rich and odorous unction of the Holy Spirit, rendered his visit a season of hallowed converse, and a means of spiritual refreshing. He joined in some occasional services, and took part in the ordination of the present missionary at Cuddapah. He left a savour of good things behind him ; and warranted the expectation, that, should he ever return, he would come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of peace, his labours would be useful, and, it might be hoped, not in vain in the Lord. It is

well that he should have the management of a large printing establishment at Madras. It is in character with his past conduct that his European colleagues should be able to testify, "Our friend, the Rev. Dr. Scudder, of the American Missionary Society, is an active distributor of Scriptures and tracts, not only in Madras, but in the interior of the country. He takes long tours, with large supplies of these precious books, for the express purpose of scattering the word of God. We printed 10,000 copies of one good tract, expressly for Dr. Scudder, some time ago; and these, together with others, have been distributed by him in the towns and villages west and south-west of Madras. 'Blessed are they that sow beside all waters. They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.' The blessing of the Lord be upon you. We bless you in the name of the Lord. Amen."

The missionary brethren have arranged their division of labour. The American evangelists have occupied Royaporum as their district—a suburb of the presidency lying northward along the shore. The gate leading hither passes by the Monygar Choultry. Ten thousand poor idolaters invite their zealous labours here; while they are also surrounded by many nominal Christians, born in the country, and requiring instruction.



INTERIOR OF A CAVE TEMPLE AT BALSETTE

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ASIATIC ANTIQUITY AND EASTERN COMMERCE.

A LIFETIME might be spent in the study of the vernacular literature and the native histories of India. Some of our most learned linguists, our enthusiastic and extensive oriental scholars, after stripping the veil from antiquity, unrolling and deciphering the mystic symbols and legendary fables of traditionary history, and exploring the recesses and labyrinths of a consecrated language, have confessed, or proved too plainly, that there were facts and dates which they could but dimly

trace, but which lay at the foundation of Hindoo history—which formed in reality the very alphabet of the record they had attempted to read for the information of others, and without a clearer knowledge of which all the imagery and tales in the sacred writings of the Eastern mythology were as so many inexplicable hieroglyphics, a hand-writing upon the wall, which they could not interpret. Halhed and Sir W. Jones, Richardson and Dr. Carey, Ward and Du Bois, have been only pioneers in the literary paths of Asiatic history. The authorities who shall be competent to complete the work must be men raised up in India, trained in native seats of learning, qualified by early and familiar knowledge of Hindoo languages, and stimulated to application and research by the example and encouragement of European coadjutors. We do not pretend to extensive attainments in this field, nor yet of voluminous reading, though our studies, pursued in those countries, were turned into such paths as indicated the nearest approach to truth and certainty. We shall now embody in brief outline what may have been culled in connexion with India, incidentally accompanying it with the results of our personal observation.

The learned and laborious Heeren affirms, that it was “in Asia the first dawn of history broke forth; and during succeeding ages, when Africa was involved in almost total obscurity, from which Europe herself was slowly disengaged, there rested upon Asia a degree of light, which, if it did not



illuminate equally all the great events of which that continent was the theatre, served at least to illustrate their general course, and to furnish important *data* toward the history of the species. The further we advance in such inquiries, the more that we compare the various traditions of different nations respecting their several origins and ancient histories, the better we are enabled to contrast the diversities of their several characters, the more do we find ourselves constantly directed to Asia as the central point, the more are we impressed with the conviction that in that great continent was the cradle of mankind :”—however favourable or unfavourable may have been the influence of remote climates to ennoble or depress the original stock. While he also thinks, that, if we trace the arts and sciences to their primal principles, we shall uniformly be recalled to the East as their place of origin ; and we shall discover in the same quarter the native seat of all religions at any time predominant in the world. Of her physical diversity and profusion the same writer exclaims—“ How vast a variety reigns in Asia ! How different is the face of nature in the wide steppes of the Mongols, in the flowery vales of Cashmere, and the sultry flats of Bengal ; or again, in the perfumed groves of Ceylon, the snowy mountains of Siberia, and the shores of the Arctic Ocean ! Added to all this, Asia is richly furnished with every facility for commerce, by intercourse from without and through her populous regions. Vast gulfs, which stretch

into the interior and receive the embouchures of mighty rivers, are formed by the surrounding seas upon all the coasts, and especially on her southern shores. With the exception of a few arid tracts, or mountainous regions, the whole country now called British India has been blessed with the choicest gifts of nature, not only enjoying a temperate climate in the greatest part, but fertilized by a multitude of rivers of all sizes. The treasures of the vegetable world are there found in the utmost profusion and variety; and the animal creation, whether birds, quadrupeds, or insects, there attain their greatest perfection; the cotton-plant and silk-worm are natives of the soil; the most rare and costly spices and aromatics are peculiar to this region; gold, precious stones, and pearls abound." Such advantages would naturally lead, in the earliest times, to social and cultivated intercourse, instead of the pastoral and wandering habits of the Arab tribes: history proves how speedily and constantly the inhabitants availed themselves of their privileges. It was in Asia that the second parent of the human race planted a vine and became a husbandman; there, too, Nimrod built his city; and thus tillage, and the establishment of civic governments and political communities, commenced in Asia. Generation after generation has rolled on as succeeding waves—revolutions have followed revolutions—conquerors and warlike legions have traversed and desolated these fertile countries age after age. Kingdoms and monarchies

have arisen and decayed ; and yet the same character has been constantly transmitted to every revolving era. Succeeding dynasties, though rising on the ruins of predecessors, have breathed the same spirit, and settled down into the same modes of government, and each successive posterity has borne the image of its parentage, even till modern times. The mighty empires which then started into being, were not founded in the same manner either with the kingdoms in Europe, or with the European dominions recently organized in India.

The general opinion of ancient, as well as of modern, authorities, is unanimous in representing the Hindoos as among the earliest, if not indeed the very earliest civilized nation in the world ; and this universal opinion of their high antiquity is not dependent on their own assumptions, as has been clearly demonstrated by the indefatigable scholar whom we have already cited ; while this antiquity evidently rises to a period many hundred years prior to our era, — as many centuries before as have succeeded the birth of Christ. They exhibited the same refinement and civilization at the time of the Macedonian invasion as they do now ; and their productions and merchandise were nearly as well known, and as much valued during the Babylonish captivity of Israel, as they have ever been since. Dr. Vincent's translation of Ezekiel's eloquent and wonderful denunciations against Tyrus presents to the reader " the tusks of ivory," " the gold and precious

stones" of India, the rich cloths for decorating horsemen or chariots, which were received from the Gulf of Persia; while the Assyrians brought fine manufactures, blue cloth and brodered work, or fabrics of various colours in chests of cedar, bound with cords, containing rich apparel. Dr. Vincent inquires with evident propriety, "May not these be the fabrics of India, first brought to Assyria by the Gulf of Persia, or by caravans from Karmania and the Indus, and then conveyed by the Assyrians in other caravans to Tyre and Sidon?" What are the Cashmere shawls, the Agra cottons, the Arnee muslins, and the Chinese silks, but the same manufactures still? As is their commerce, so is their literature—an unchanging fragment of their early history, and documentary evidence of their high antiquity. The language which is now the depository of their religion, and the organ of their institutes, was a dead language long ere any modern European language was spoken; while the dialects now used by the Hindoos contain works of undoubted antiquity, not as translations, but original productions. The innovations upon religion, which may be traced in the transmutations of their sculptured monuments, in their obsolete temples and their scattered and persecuted sectaries, point to a very remote antiquity. When we visit their grotto temples, excavated some of them from the solid and subterranean rock, others of them partly excavated and partly reared by solid piles of stone, and other edifices, properly so called,

consisting wholly of artificial structures, and each series indicating a progress in civilization and a modification of worship and supposed divine honours; when, moreover, we perceive that the inscriptions in the earliest of their temples cannot be deciphered, while the language of others can with probability be explained; that the deities of the later temples are known by the common people, and worshipped throughout the whole land, while the presumed divinities of the earlier excavations have no worshippers except among expatriated and exiled devotees; we are constrained to confess that the Hindoos must have rapidly assumed their present character, and that many generations *must have* passed away since they were set among the nations of the earth.

The German philosopher, Heeren, has never personally inspected those monuments of ancient India, but he has well studied the writings of others who have explored their ruined fragments; and it is surprising with what accuracy his conceptions have been formed, whilst his reasonings and deductions are usually the most correct and profound. Although as an eye-witness we have explored some of their deepest recesses, and examined their curious workmanship, we cannot enlarge his descriptions, or add to his correctness; though in some matters of opinion we may not fully coincide with him. We are disposed, for instance, to give priority (as to the date when constructed) to the Carli excavations, half way between Bombay and Poona. The details

of that grotto are most finished, though it be smaller than some others; it is, moreover, *exclusively* dedicated to the honour of *Buddha*, and the ritual of the Buddhists, a proscribed sect in India. In the order of time we would fix upon the temple of Kenneri, in the island of Salsette, as a subsequent excavation. Here there is a *mixture* of *Buddhist* and *Brahminical* emblems; the former perhaps the original destination of the cave, and the latter a usurpation by the adherents of the prevailing sect. Elephanta, in the harbour of Bombay, comes next; and here Buddhism is totally excluded. Seeva and his obscenities, the altar of the lingam and all its filthy associations, prevail throughout. When the colossal figures, the monstrous shapes and allegorical or scenic representations of this cave were so deliberately matured, there was no warring element. Polemical strife and the struggle for domination had ceased. Buddhism was exiled, and the worshippers of Buddha were silenced. So far as we could trace the allegories, or follow them into the separate chambers, we could discover only the superstitions of modern Brahminism, which, like the portentous statue of the idol, had already grown to an immense shape, as a tyrannical usurpation. When standing upright on the shoulder of Seeva, the outstretched arm of a man six feet high could not reach the crown of his head. This reference to these temples will illustrate the high antiquity of the Hindoo nations now ruled as British subjects. The temple

of Elephanta has been wholly excavated—from the roof to the floor : the pillars, altars, idols, and scenic representations, have been fashioned from the rock. And though sheltered from a corroding atmosphere, it has long ceased to be hallowed as a shrine for worship, and is speedily losing its identity by the *débris* of the rock and the decay of the sculpture. Modern Brahmins are unable to explain a great portion of the subjects represented in the ancient monuments ; and with all the light of recent researches, the mythology is so complicated, and the acquaintance with their allusions is still so imperfect, that they must be regarded as the remnants of a remote and obsolete antiquity. It is, however, actually demonstrable, that the people who excavated the latter temples, and designed the sculptures, must have possessed the same religious worship and the same mythological system, though probably somewhat circumscribed, as the present : perhaps the whole Brahminical *mythos* was not yet developed.

The Hindoos confess their ignorance of the period when these temples were prepared or consecrated. The Greeks did not come so far south in the expedition of Alexander. The earliest of ancient authors is Porphyry, who speaks of one of these grottos ; it is, therefore, only from the monuments themselves that any conclusion can be come to regarding their antiquity. In them, however, the evidence is strong and demonstrative : their vast extent and perfect execution of detail, as well as the peculiar nature of the undertaking,

sufficiently show that it must have required a great number of years to bring them to completion. The rock out of which they have been hewn is a clay porphyry, one of the very hardest kinds of stone ; and in all probability could only be wrought by that celebrated Indian steel, called *wudz* ; which in the most ancient times was famous for its excellent temper. Is it credible that all recollections, among a people so stationary, of an enterprise so laborious as this, should have been totally lost, did it not originate at a very early period ? Even time itself has impressed the marks of venerable antiquity upon them ; many of the sculptured representations upon the walls we have seen so far gone in the process of decomposition, that they can with difficulty be recognised : legs of the *bas relief* imagery have either fallen, or are suspended by some partial and lingering adhesion, and ready to fall off in splintered exfoliations, so as completely to disfigure the aged relics. How many hundred years must have been necessary to produce such an effect upon a marble rock ? The style itself also of these ingenious works would seem to attest their extreme age ; characterised as they are by perfect simplicity, except where monstrous allegory and deifying fables imposed another law, united with consummate proportion and perfection. The figures of the various personages appear, all of them, naked, but at the same time furnished carefully with their respective ornaments ; their head dress, necklaces, earrings, girdles, together with their proper attri-



butes : presenting no appearance of the excessive surcharge of apparel with which modern Hindoos overload their idols.

Heeren has proved himself an elaborate and patient archæologist, and most of his representations and comments harmonize with the results of our personal inspection. It is therefore with considerable diffidence we dissent from or question some of his suggestions. He remarks that, "the nature of this country (the south-western peninsula) itself would seem to suggest the convenience of *under-ground* habitation, where neither the vertical rays of the sun, nor the impetuous torrents of the rainy season, could penetrate." In all our ramblings over this peninsula, and they were extensive, we never witnessed such places of abode ; and the same circumstances continue now as in former generations : nor did we observe any remaining indications of such having been their mode of living. We have seen huts clustered as nests among trees, the habitations of men, but never any dwelling places under ground. He adds, "the natives of other portions of the globe have adopted similar contrivances ; and in proportion to the more extensive scope allowed by them to the introduction of science, so will it appear less wonderful that a people in such a situation, and not deficient in tools, should exercise their ingenuity in this way. The same kind of habitation which a man would construct for himself, he would also appropriate to his gods. It was a religious feeling which

transformed a hut into a temple ; but an excavation of the rock would seem just so much the more obvious to him, as it favoured his design of rendering these monuments of his religion imperishable : a design which is apparent in the monuments themselves, and which is exhibited still more strongly among all nations, in proportion as we go further back into their antiquity. But the extent of such buildings in India, the vastness of their plan, the care displayed in their erection, the richness of the ornaments which adorn the walls, often indeed fantastic, yet still finished with great taste, all conspire together in exciting the admiration and surprise of the observant traveller, and immediately suggest to his mind the propriety of a remark, which one has often occasion to make when contemplating the gigantic works of remote antiquity, that such stupendous edifices could hardly be the work of one generation, but must have required the peaceable and uninterrupted labour of upwards of a century to bring them to completion." That a human habitation should be either a model for a religious temple, or a means of suggesting what structure is requisite, is only likely in a country where the gods are made of wood and stone, graven by art and man's device, and are like unto those who make them. But He who dwelleth in the heavens, high and lifted up, has demanded, " What is the house ye will build for me, and where is the place of my rest ?" Temples erected for his worship should be constructed to suit the conve-

nience of his worshippers, and the nature of the services which he has required.

British India includes the Deckan and Hindostan Proper: with the former, mercantile nations have from the remotest ages been best acquainted; but the latter has been the theatre of internal and national changes and commotions; while the land of the Ganges may be called the *Holy Land* of the Hindoos, where the confluent streams, the Jumna, the Gogra, and Sona, join. In the last division were situate and known, in earliest times, as cities of note, Ayodhya, Indraprastha, Kanyakubya, Savasena, Palibothra, and Kasi, and in the Deckan we read of Sindu and Sarashtha; the Oude and the Delhi, the Canoge and Mathura, the Benares and Patna, the Sind and Surat of modern history. Ayodhya is represented in the Ramayuna as the capital of one of the oldest Hindoo states; and the genealogical register of king Desavatha is carried back through forty generations to Brahma, whose descendant in the seventh degree was the first king of this ancient realm. Ayodhya had, therefore, existed a thousand years when Desavatha was king, and his son Rama was born. This city is celebrated by other poets of Hindostan, to whose writings is assigned the remotest antiquity; and all tradition holds it, with its dependencies, forth as the most ancient state of India; which gives it an era high in the records of time—nearly 2000 years before the birth of Christ. At Desavatha's solemn sacrifice, rajahs were assembled, invited from Behar and Benares,

from Sind and Surat: here were princes of the Deckan and of a country on the borders of Persia, and princes from another region toward China. In that time, therefore, Hindostan was divided into principalities, separate and independent. Maghada, or Behar, was an ancient principality or kingdom, whose far distant origin is celebrated in the classical traditions of Hindostan. Sir William Jones reports evidence, from the sacred books of India, that Behar had eighty-one kings; the first twenty of whom not being reckoned, and placing the twenty-first about 2100 years before Christ, the last is supposed to have reigned 456 years prior to the christian era. The classical scholar is moreover in possession of absolute proof from history—from the authenticated accounts of the companions and successors of Alexander—that at this last epoch there had existed for a long space of time very flourishing empires in the country washed by the Ganges. The India of Herodotus embraces in part the countries to the north (they were likewise known to Ctesias the physician of Artaxerxes), Little Thibet and Caubul, as well as the southern districts contiguous to the mouths of the Indus, as far as the confines of Guzerat. The correctness of his statement is confirmed by all modern inquiries, and, with the exception of his erroneous *conclusions*, which appearances seemed to warrant, that all beyond the countries he described was sandy desert, his geographical delineations are singularly characterised by truth and propriety, though he

flourished 500 years before the commencement of our own era. His narratives embrace the accounts handed to his time by preceding writers; and therefore intercourse must have been maintained long previous to his time between the East and certain nations in the West.

Cinnamon does not grow in any country but on the western coast of India, and in the island of Ceylon. This sweet spice was used by the Jews, during the times of Moses, in their religious offerings. Pearls are chiefly found on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and on the banks of Condatchy bay in Ceylon. They were articles of traffic in Solomon's time.

The Phœnicians were at first a warlike people, as sacred history represents them. Not improbably, they have been conjectured to have been the Shepherd Kings of Egypt; we know they were, subsequent to the expulsion of the shepherd rulers from Egypt, the Canaanitish and Philistine enemies of Israel. But, subdued first by Joshua's conquests, and afterward by David's wars, they were confined to the sea-coast of Libanus, the inhabitants of Zidon, of the ancient and more modern Tyre; and applied themselves to merchandise and maritime traffic; they enriched themselves by active and free commerce, wherever they found a market and commodities for barter. They settled as colonists, and traded as mariners in the East, as well as in the West, 1200 years before Christ. They so understood the motion of the heavenly bodies as

to regulate their navigation by the Lesser Bear. We find them occupying Isur, Sylos, Dedan, and Arad, in the Persian Gulf, and in the Bay of Gherra. Dedan and the other island served as entrepôts of ships, as emporiums for commerce; and "the men of Dedan went afar off," probably to Ceylon and peninsular India, if not also to the Indian Archipelago; they doubtless traded to the former for "the sweet cane," which was presented in the Jewish offerings. These colonies they had planted, it is probable, in concurrence with the Chaldean possessors of the country washed by the Tigris and Euphrates. A thousand years before the coming of Christ, they united with the prosperous Solomon, and sent maritime expeditions to the farther East, which took three seasons to complete. According to recent and judicious investigations, there is every likelihood that extensive navigation was conducted within the Persian Gulf, and thence to the Indian shores on the one side,—extending its influence to large and distant countries,—before the consolidation of the Persian empire. The Indian peninsula to the west of the Bay of Bengal, and the contiguous island Ceylon, were the principal places of this navigation. Between the extreme points was situated Crocala, the port whence Nearchus, in his exit from the Indus, proceeded. The modern Kurachi and Beroach were then known as places of commerce, and supplied onyx stones; and here the trade-winds would greatly facilitate the voyage out and return of these ships.

The Phœnicians, whose colonies were situated on the Arabian side of the gulf, embarked with more zeal and enterprise in these voyages than their allies the Chaldeans; but they were joined also by the Arabians, who soon became the carriers and merchants to inland countries, of the precious and desirable productions of eastern lands. The chief commodities of this trade were Arabian incense, Indian spices, ivory, ebony, precious stones, pearls, and embroidered cloth. Babylon was subdued by Persian arms. The subsequent policy of the Persians was to prevent invasion by a maritime foe; they, therefore, blocked up the channel of the Euphrates. The trade to India with the inhabitants of these territories failed; but *Hormouse* sprung up, in after times, as a flourishing and free commercial port; and its merchants became the princes of the East. A most active trading intercourse with Babylon was still maintained by the Phœnicians, from the earliest to the latest period, while they severally continued distinct nations, and this commerce was conducted by land caravans; hence arose Palmyra and Balbec. The Babylonians themselves obtained, by land conveyance, from further India its choicest productions. The fondness of that people for magnificence, their costly garments, their public festivals and sacrifices, were attended with immense expense, and would attract the productions of distant lands to their city; and India shared abundantly in the influence and advantage. The raw materials required for their

celebrated manufactures, flax, cotton, and wool, as also silk, though some of them the growth of their own country, were not all, or in sufficient quantities for their consumption; and they could obtain such supplies most conveniently from India.

The chief parts, besides the sea-ports of this country, from which a foreign commerce was maintained, were Oujien, Diogur, and Pultanah. The first, anciently designated Ozene, the capital of Scindiah, was a holy city, and the resort of pilgrims; to which an immense number of people flocked together, and was not merely a large market for internal traffic, but also the emporium for foreign merchandise, in exchange for the inland produce—for the onyx stones, muslins, and calicoes, which were transmitted hence to the coast at Basorah. Diogur, or Tagarah, stood near to the still famous caves and grotto temples of Ellora; and being considered one of the most celebrated sanctuaries of the land, it was not only the resort of devotees, but also of merchants, from the utmost India. Cotton goods, coarse and fine, and muslins, were the indigenous productions of the land, and the staples of foreign commerce for distant countries. Pultanah was the general market for onyx stones, and seems to have lain not far from the present Ahmednuggur among the western Ghauts. Internal commerce in the northern parts was carried on along the course of the Ganges, and from the modern Oude to the Punjab. Nor did the inhabitants of ancient India merely traffic to the



coast. In one of their earliest poems the merchants who traded *beyond* the sea, and brought presents to the king, are celebrated; and in the Institutes of Menu, even shipowners are provided with laws. The Indian Banians, who to this day are in repute throughout the country, have from time immemorial traversed the eastern seas, and monopolized the commerce of adjacent countries, forming colonies for mercantile purposes. In fragments of the oldest poets we find records of a merchant, who, after twelve years of absence, had returned to his native country with a cargo of precious stones; and of another who perished at sea, and whose immense wealth devolved to the king. Serica, or China, to the north, sent them silks, stuffs, and spun silk. Masulapatam was famous for cottons in the days of the author of the Periplus. At the mouth of the Ganges was another city noted for its commerce in pearls, the finest muslins, and betel; while the peninsula of Malacca (the farthest port in the Archipelago to which they sailed, under the name of Chrysa) was visited as an entrepôt for the productions of China from the eastward.

Silks, and skins manufactured or raw, as furs or as leather, were thence received by the Hindoos and other traders. Skins, shawls, garments of silk, and precious stones, ~~were~~, three thousand years ago, the presents at royal marriages. Anga and Chrysa, or Ava and Malacca, served on the one shore; Massalia and Maliarpha, or as it is

probable Masulapatam and Maliaveram, served on the other coast of the bay of Bengal, as ports for merchandise. Three hundred years before the writing of the *Periplus*, that is, two thousand one hundred years since, voyages seem to have been made across the bay between the opposite ports. Different kinds of vessels were then used for coasting or for the more open sea ; the coasting vessels being only of one plank, but the vessels designed for the deep, wide sea being more complex and well built. The southern part of the coast of Coromandel is represented by Ptolemy to have been thickly studded with commercial towns : in his days, the port or city now called the Seven Pagodas was deemed “ a place of commerce ;” and thus the archæologist may account for its yet wonderful relics—its almost mystical fragments on land and under water. The situation of this place—holy among the Hindoos—peculiarly favoured the plans of the mercantile adventurer : and so was it with the Taprobana of the Greeks, the Selandiv of the ancient Hindoos, and the Ceylon of modern times. Ptolemy describes the shores of that island as well furnished with commercial ports ; its interior was also said by other historians to have abounded in great cities, splendid temples, and abundant markets. The western coast of India had been, long before the christian era, occupied by sea-ports, the localities of many of which are easily ascertained even now ; as Nelisserim, on a river running between Malabar and Canara, but then known as Nelkindah ; Mangalore,

also the ancient Musiris, in Lymirike; Calliene, contiguous to where the devoted and desolate Bassien now stands, deriving its celebrity from the proximate temples of Elephanta and Kenneri in Salsette. Beroach was the Barygaza of Phœnician times; Pattala was the port to which Nearchus sailed down the Indus, and may be regarded as the modern maritime city of Tatta, forty miles below Hyderabad, the present capital of Sinde, and lying near the delta of that river: between this port and Yemen commercial intercourse was carried on for many years with great prosperity.

The Arabs were the first to introduce the produce of India into the West. We read of a caravan of camels in the days of Jacob, conducted by Ishmaelites from Gilead, laden with the spices of India, in regular traffic with Egypt. Eight hundred years prior to the christian era the merchants of Sheba and Ramah, who were the Sabeans, men of stature, but who yielded to the yoke of Cyrus, are mentioned by the prophet Isaiah; they occupied in the fairs of Tyrus with the chief of all spices. The author of the *Periplus* affirms, that indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter, oil of Sesanum, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane honey (sugar), were regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka (the Concan) and Barygaza, or Beroach, to the opposite coast (of Arabia). "Some particular vessels," these are his words, "are purposely destined for this trade, others are engaged in it only as occasion offers." Arrian says

“ this navigation was regularly managed :”—testimony, which may be considered indisputable, that in very ancient times a maritime commerce was carried on between India and Arabia ; and that the importation of Indian produce to Africa must have been considerable. Even then Mocha, or Moskha, was wholly inhabited by Arab shipowners and sailors who traded at the opposite port of Barygaza with the productions of their native country. This navigation among the Arabs was naturally conducted at first along the indentations of the coast ; but a pilot, named Hippalus, discovered the direct course across the ocean, by observing the position of the ports and the general appearance of the sea : and this course they were found pursuing in the reign of Nero by the author of the *Periplus*—starting for India from Kaneh or Aromata. There is no history which treats of them that does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea : we scarcely touch upon them incidentally in any author without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian Ocean. Their chief towns on the sea coast are described from the earliest records as the residence of navigators ; and these places, Oman, Hydraumut, and Sabæa, being celebrated in the most ancient histories for maritime commerce, it is reasonable to suppose that they had long previous to any history continued entrepôts for merchandise. Agatharcides, who lived in the second century before Christ, mentions a town at the mouth of the Red Sea, whence, he says, the

Arabs sent out colonies into India, who formed their factories, and to which their large ships with merchandise came from India. In the time of Pliny the Arabs were in such numbers on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon, that, as he states, the Hindoos of those places had embraced the religion of the Arabians, and the ports of Ceylon were entirely in their power. At Sabæa, the great mart of Arabian commerce with India, the Greeks purchased, during the reign of Philometer, the spices and other productions of the East ; and when they went, in order to escape Arabian monopoly as practised here, beyond the straits of Babel-Mandeb, hoping in the African ports to obtain them cheaper, they found cinnamon and other Indian produce brought thither also by the traders of Arabia.

We cannot close this brief sketch of ancient Indian commerce without transiently adverting to the Asiatic expedition of Alexander. Aristotle was, prior to this it seems, acquainted with India by the itineraries of Scylax. Herodotus, who flourished before the Macedonian hero a century and a half, and visited Susa and Babylon, where he had acquired much information concerning eastern countries generally, and especially Cashmere, believed that a fleet of Darius had sailed by the Indus to Egypt ; but the ambition, enterprise, and capricious mind of Philip's son, attended by the success of his achievements, afforded unusual facilities to the Stagyrite for obtaining an increased acquaintance with the eastern world. Not content

with placing at the philosopher's disposal nearly *four millions of pounds sterling*, Alexander sent to Aristotle all the uncommon animals which his travels and conquests supplied. Nor was the conqueror satisfied with vague and general information ; nor did he rely on the testimony of others when he could observe and judge for himself ; he sought out the correctest knowledge, and in all cases in which he derived his information from others, he carefully selected such as best knew the country, and required that they should commit their intelligence to writing. By this means, all the native commodities, which to this day form the staples of East Indian commerce, were fully known to the Macedonians. Even Brahmins admired his devoted earnestness of research ; and one confessed to him, " You are the only man whom I ever found curious in the investigation of philosophy at the head of an army." When Alexander invaded India, he found commerce flourishing in many parts of it, especially in the parts supposed to be the localities of the present Moultan, Attock, and Lahore, in the Punjab. It appears that he wisely encouraged and nourished it, and protected the native merchants. By such means, he procured the transports in which he sailed down the Indus. They must have been numerous ; for his fleet (which contained only thirty war ships) is represented to have consisted of *eight hundred* vessels : 770 of them being such as were usually employed in the traffic on the Indus. Some of them had been built

under his own direction, but the greatest part were the property of native traders.

He projected or anticipated intercourse between India and the western provinces of his dominions in Egypt, both by land and by sea. He therefore founded cities, and surveyed the course of the chief rivers, the Hydaspes and the Indus, the Tigris and the Euphrates; and had his life been prolonged, he proposed to re-open the mouths of the latter rivers for conveying the commodities of India by the Persian Gulf. The Macedonians were thus acquainted with the chief rivers of Asia, the religion and policy, the manners and commerce of India; and acquired a knowledge of the channels of commercial intercourse, long known to Phœnician colonists and Arab mariners. Seleucus was the successor of Alexander in these provinces; and to secure the commercial advantages of his predecessor's conquests, he marched an army into farther India—into districts not visited by Alexander, and is supposed by some to have reached as far as modern Patna. He formed a treaty with Sandrocottas, a Hindoo king, residing at Palibothra, and afterwards sent his ambassador, Megasthenes, to that city. This man resided several years at Palibothra; and on his return, published among the Greeks an account of that part of India, fragments of which are preserved in Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Arrian. Although Alexander was only able to *march his army to the Beyah, one of "the five rivers,"* tributary streams of the Indus; and when

within a few miles of the Himalaya mountains, and not far from a branch of the Ganges, the conqueror, who had subdued the world, had himself to submit to the stern resolve of his own soldiers, and march back to the Indus;—and though his successor, Seleucus, was stopped in the progress of his Indian conquests by the reported invasion of his dominions by Antigonus, more than three hundred years before Christ,—a broad stream of light is shed upon India; and we learn that at the downfall of the Persian empire, a large portion of Hindostan was made familiar to the Grecian world. And, moreover, it can hardly be disputed that the discoveries then made only showed the condition of the people during the supremacy of the Persians. They were in the repose of a profound peace,—no marks of existing or recent revolutions,—and the native princes were generally at peace with each other.

The whole country of the Punjab was densely inhabited, and well cultivated throughout, filled with a multitude of flourishing states and various tribes, living under independent forms of government; all of them warlike and courageous; presenting a formidable resistance to the Greek conquerors; their complexion swarthy, but not black; stature tall and slender, but alert in their motions, and not enervated by effeminacy. One king, of Saxilla, had indeed procured Alexander's favour at the price of 200 talents, 3,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, and thirty elephants; *but the other states of the Punjab* were independent of him. His present



proves the abundance of cattle within his territories ; yet he was only accounted one of the petty kings of India. On the farther side of the Hydaspes ruled a more powerful *monarch* ; *at the head of an army* ; mustering 30,000 foot, 4,000 horse, besides 350 war-chariots, and 200 elephants. The description of men and manners given by the historian of Alexander's expedition will suit the people and princes of this day : the rajah appearing on great days on a state-elephant ; the dress of great men being of fine cotton, which enveloped the head, and was wrapped round the shoulders. We do not remember having seen among modern Hindoos, what Arrian describes, the beards dyed of various colours, white, scarlet, and blue ; but we believe that still a difference of rank may be observed as distinguished by the high and decorated fashions of shoes. The rajpoots of modern times had their representatives then living, between the Chunaub and Beyah, in the eastern parts of Lahore, and in the southern district of Moultan, in the persons of the Cathæi and Oxydracæ, who were not subject to the rule of princes, but possessed a republican constitution. All these are described as warlike nations, and many of them as populous and powerful, opposing to Alexander and his followers an impetuous and courageous resistance, such as he had scarcely encountered any where else. His victories over them were uniformly purchased at a vast expense of blood : they had not only walls and ramparts, but also citadels

within, for the defence of their cities; and their encampments were protected by a triple line of military waggons, and cars in great numbers; their various descriptions of boats and vessels were also brought together on their rivers when assailed by their conquerors. On the capture of one of their cities, Sangola of the Cathæi, 17,000 of its inhabitants perished, 7,000 were made prisoners, besides 500 horsemen and 300 war-chariots that were taken. Many of their tribes preferred exile to subjugation; and deserting their cities, they withdrew into the deserts which border on their country.

It is worthy of notice in what articles of traffic the merchants of those times dealt. The regular trade between Barygaza and Oman was direct; the merchandise was in brass, sandal wood, timber, horn (ivory), ebony, and frankincense, purple cloth, gold and pearls, onyx stones, porcelain, fine muslins, muslins dyed of the colour of the melon, murrhine cups, myrrh, wine, dates, and slaves. To the king of Minagura, in whose territory Barygaza was situate, plate of very great value, musical instruments, handsome virgins for his harem, perfumes, wines of the best quality, and plain cloth, but of the finest texture, were brought as presents by the traders; and from the inland country were exported costus, a kind of spice, bdellium, a gum, a yellow dye, spikenard, cottons, silk thread, emeralds, sapphires, indigo or indicum, which was probably the Indian ink, and some kind of skins.

The goods imported into Pattala (Tatta) on the Indus were woollen cloth, linen woven in chequer-work, some precious stones and aromatics, coral, storax, glass vessels, plate, money and wine; and from Pattala were exported spices, gems, particularly sapphires, silk stuffs, silk thread, cotton cloths, and pepper.

The policy and local management of those ancient harbours deserve a passing observation. On account of dangers and difficulties in reaching the harbour of the Indus, pilots were appointed by government with large boats, well manned, who put to sea to await the approach of ships. When these pilots came on board, they brought the ship's head round, and kept her clear of the shoals at the mouth of the river; if necessary, they towed the ship from station to station. These stations were called basins, and constructed so as to retain the water in pools after the tide had receded. The sovereign of Barygaza is represented as so anxious to render it the only mart, that ships were not permitted to enter any of his other harbours; if they attempted it, they were boarded and brought to Barygaza. In this port all the produce and manufactures of that part of India were collected; some brought down the Nerbudda, and others conveyed across the mountains by caravans. *The merchandise of Bengal and Seres, or China, was also collected here.* Such was the dispatch of business, that a cargo could be entirely landed and sold, and a new cargo obtained and put on board,

in three days. The same ancient writer, the author of the *Periplus*, from whom this description is furnished, proceeding along the coast to the south, most accurately describes, under the title of the *Deckan*, the country which is still called by that name : but of this we have already spoken. The province of *Canara* he calls *Lymirike*, and *Malabar* he designates as *Pundion* ; and other districts he brings under review, till he conducts his readers to the island of *Ceylon*. Of this place a monkish writer in the sixth century gives minute information :—" *Taprobana*, called by the *Hindoos* *Selandiv*, is a large island in the *Indian Ocean*, where the *hyacinth-stone* (the *ruby*) is found ; it is opposite the *pepper country* (*Malabar*), and in the vicinity are numerous other small islands (the *Maldives*). It is governed by two kings, one of whom rules in the country of *hyacinth-stones* (the mountainous tracts of the interior), and the other on the coast, with its harbours and commercial towns. From all *India*, *Persia*, and *Ethiopia*, between which countries it is situate in the middle, an infinite number of vessels arrive at, as well as go from, *Ceylon*. From the interior of the continent, as, for instance, from *China* (*Tzinitza*) and other commercial countries, it receives *silk*, *aloes*, *cloves*, and other productions, which it exports to *Malabar*, where the *pepper* grows, and to *Calliene*, from whence is brought *steel* and *cloth* : for this latter is also a great commercial port. It likewise makes consignments to *Sinde*, on the borders of *India*,

whence come musk and castorium, and also to Persia, Yemen, and Aduli. From all these countries it receives articles of produce, which again it transmits into the interior, together with its own productions. Selandiv is, consequently, a great emporium ; and being situate in the middle of India, it receives merchandise from, as well as sends it to, all parts of the world." This testimony was borne subsequent to the year 500 of our era. Ptolemy gives a similar description three hundred years earlier. Such also was its reputation in the reign of Claudius, and again in the time of the Ptolemies, on the authority of Pliny. We come at once to the historical fact, and it is interesting to observe, that, during a space of a thousand years, five hundred years before and five hundred years after Christ, Ceylon continued to be the great emporium of the Hindoo carrying trade from Aduli on the coast of Africa, Yemen, Malabar, and the ultra Gangetic peninsula, even to China. The island of Ceylon became better known than formerly to the Romans in consequence of an adventure of a freedman of a Roman citizen who farmed the customs in the Red Sea. The freedman was blown across the ocean to Taprobana, where he was hospitably received by the king, and after a residence of six months, was sent back along with ambassadors to Claudius. The messengers from Ceylon informed the emperor that the country was very extensive, populous, and opulent, abounding in gold, silver, and pearls.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, merchandise was brought from the East overland by caravans to Batnæ, near to Antioch, in the middle of the fourth century ; they also conveyed goods up the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates to the same market in such abundance, that the Persians sought to plunder the annual fair held at Batnæ. The next notices of commercial intercourse with the East are by two Mohammedan travellers, who went into those parts in the ninth century : they asserted that the Arab merchants did not confine themselves to a traffic at Ceylon, but went into the farther east, and traded to every part of that quarter of the globe—to China itself. According to their account, when foreign vessels arrived at the Chinese port, Caufu, the Chinese took possession of their cargoes, and stored them in warehouses till the arrival of all the other ships expected ; consequently, some vessels were detained sometimes six months. Then a third part of all the merchandise was taken as duty ; the rest was restored to the traders ; and while the emperor was deemed the preferable purchaser, it was only for ready money, and at the highest price of the market. The Arabs had at the Chinese port a judge, or *cadi*, appointed to preside over them under the emperor : they must therefore have been respected, if not numerous, in China. But the Chinese themselves sailed to distant ports along the Persian Gulf, as far as Bussorah. They valued gold and silver only as merchandise ; they dressed in silk summer and

winter ; had no wine, but drank a liquor made from rice, probably arrack ; they drank an infusion of sah, or tea, and a large duty was levied as a revenue from it. Their porcelain was fine and transparent as glass. Their males were registered when born, paid a capitation tax when eighteen years of age, and received a pension when eighty years old.

In the tenth century we find Arabian merchants trading between China and Bussorah, and in the Indian seas. In the fourteenth century we discover traces, in the lengthened travels of Ibn Batouta, an Arabian, of Indian commerce ; and the marts of Java, Calicut, Caubul, and Bochara, are mentioned as places of resort. The Arabians divided the present Hindostan into two parts, Sind and Hind : the former comprising the countries lying on the Indus and on the Western peninsula ; the latter embracing Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Bengal. They were ignorant of the Coromandel coast. The valley of Cashmere affords ample matter for panegyric : their geographers describe the towns of Cambay, Guzerat, and Narwhorra ; the last, the capital of a powerful Hindoo king, who ruled from Guzerat and the Concan to the Ganges. They enumerate Benares, celebrated as a school of Indian philosophy ; Gevatior, an almost impregnable fortress ; and Cochin, the residence of a Jewish colony in those days. To the Maldives they resorted for *cowries*, small shells to be used as “ money current with the merchant.” Java and Sumatra were visited by the Arabs, and some of them settled as colonists in

Ternate and the Spice Islands. Their language, religious opinions, and customs, may be traced clearly in the manners of the present inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

Recent intercourse has disclosed to us the nature and extent of the present commerce of some of those ancient marts of traffic, and it is curious to mark the coincidence and details of their merchandise. We are assured that no soil can be more productive than Cashmere is even yet, when duly tilled, and it is believed capable of affording sustenance for a million of men. All the fruits of Europe and Asia might, and many of them actually do, grow here in great luxuriance. The valley is subject, in a very slight degree, to the *periodical* rains, having rather the seasons of Persia and Tartary than of India. The climate is described by all travellers as delightful and healthy. Kilghet, a dependency of Ladak, situated twenty days' journey from the northern boundaries of Cashmere, is the great mart for the wool of which the shawls are made. There are two kinds of it: that which can readily be dyed is white; the other sort is of an ashy colour, which can with difficulty be changed or improved by art, and is generally woven in its natural hue. A single goat yields two pounds' weight once a year. After the down has been carefully separated from the hairs, it is washed repeatedly with rice-starch. This process is reckoned important. To the quality of the water of their valley the Cashmarians attribute the peculiar and inimitable fineness



of the fabrics produced there. The best raw wool is sold at Kilghet for about one rupee a pound. One half of its weight is lost by the washing and preparation ; and when spun, three rupees' weight of the thread is considered worth one rupee. Shawls are wrought of various forms, size, and borders ; the borders are worked separately to suit different markets. Those sent to Turkey used to be of the softest and most delicate texture. Carpets and counterpanes are fabricated of the hair, or coarser part of the wool. The destruction of the Janisseries, who used to dress in shawls, the subjugation of Caubul to a foreign power, and the ruined finances of Lucknow, and other causes, have decreased the demand for this elegant dress of late years. Under the Mogul emperors Cashmere found work for 30,000 shawl looms. In the time of the Afghaun kings the number decreased to 18,000 ; there are now no more than 6000 employed. English imitations have not had much effect among the Asiatic nations ; at first their pretty patterns and brilliant colours took the fancy of some, but their singular inferiority of softness and warmth compared with the genuine shawl, soon caused the counterfeit articles to be neglected. A camel load of them was lately put up at an outcry in Delhi, when scarcely a native would bid for one. The average value of shawls exported from Cashmere amounts annually to 1,800,000 rupees. Runjeet Singh takes two-thirds in kind, as part of the gross revenue of the province, which

is about 2,500,000 rupees a year. His highness is said to sell three-fourths of what he thus receives, and to keep the remainder for his own court. Of the rest, disposed of by him and left for sale in the valley, seven hundred thousand rupees' worth go to Bombay and Western India, thence to Hindostan, chiefly Oude; fifty thousand each, to Calcutta, Caubul, Herat, and Balk, whence some pass on to neighbouring countries.

From the fields of Taprobane or Selandiv (the present Ceylon) the ancients used to receive the sweet cane, the cinnamon spice. It is yet an article of luxury, the produce chiefly of the same land, and that land forms part of British territory in the East. The *laurus cinnamanum* of Ceylon is capable of yielding a sufficient supply for every country in Europe. The tree whence the cinnamon bark is derived grows to the height of from fifteen to twenty feet, with an irregular and knotty stem, branchy and ligneous roots, fibrous and inodorous wood; *external* bark, rough, thick, scabrous, and of an ash colour; *inner* bark reddish, (the young shoots are often delicately speckled with dark green and light orange colours;) branches umbrageous, inclining horizontally and downwards; leaves oblong and in pairs, from six to nine inches in length, and three broad, petiolated, colour dark green; flowers clustered in one peduncle, white, wanting calyx, smell resembling a mixture of rose and lilac; fruit, an oval berry, larger than a black currant; receptacle thick, green, and hexangular.

The roots have the pungent smell of camphor, and the delicious odour of cinnamon, yielding camphor by distillation; the leaves have the pungent taste of cloves; the berries by boiling yield an unctuous substance like wax, emitting an agreeable odour, and was formerly used as candles for the exclusive use of the Kandian court. Cattle of every kind eagerly feed on the luxuriant foliage; while pigeons, crows and other birds devour the berries with avidity. To the industry of man belongs the bark, the varieties of which are dependent on the nature of the soil, on the skill in cultivating and peeling, and on the age and healthiness of the plant. About two thousand acres of land are laid out in regular cinnamon plantations in Ceylon, and about thirty thousand persons are employed thereon. The peeling of the bark begins with May and ends with October; the peelers (Chalias—a distinct caste in Ceylon) commence the process by striking a sharp bill-hook into a shoot which seems fit for peeling. If on opening the gash the bark separates gently, it is fit for decortication, or stripping; if otherwise, the shoot is unhealthy, the gash is carefully closed, and the sucker left for future examination. Shoots thus found fit (generally from three to five feet long, and three quarters of an inch in diameter) are then cut down, conveyed to sheds, and there cleared of leaves and twigs. By means of two longitudinal slits, the bark peels off in two semicircular slips; when a sufficient number are collected, the sections are placed in close

contact (as two quill-halves would be laid one within the other) and the whole bundle is firmly pressed and bound up together for twenty-four hours, until a degree of fermentation is produced, which facilitates the removal of the cuticle. Subsequently the interior side of each section of bark is placed upon a convex piece of wood fitted to its size, and the epidermis, together with the green succulent matter, carefully scraped off: if any of the outer pulpy substance be allowed to remain, the cinnamon has an unpleasant bitterness. A few hours after the removal of the cuticle, the pieces are again placed in each other, and the bark in drying gradually contracts and rolls itself into a quill-like form. During the first day it is placed under shelter on open platforms; subsequently, it is finally dried in the sun, and made up into bundles of about thirty pounds weight. A plantation requires seven or eight years' growth before yielding produce. The tree is least advantageously propagated by seeds; layers and shoots, or transplanted stumps, are the best means of extending the growth.

These brief sketches of Indian commerce are interesting, not merely as the subject of antiquarian research, but as links for connecting the widespread nations with their common birth-place, and their primeval parentage; for putting in stronger relief the changes which have passed on eastern nations; and for developing the causes which have fixed the character of oriental society in the fashion of olden time, and stamped the lineaments of

modern Asia with the mould of antiquity. There are, familiar to the English reader, certain historical notices, which possess all the enchantment of classical association, and all the romance of legendary or local tradition. Such are our recollections of Saracenic conflict, Arabian hospitality, Turkish barbarism, and Persian civility, and the superstitions of Mohammedan bigotry, as derived from the sketches of our earliest writers. Perhaps this influence may be traced to the magic powers of composition wielded by our standard writers, the style of which breathes all the freshness of virgin eloquence, and whose diction is adorned with the images of an unelaborated and natural invention. Or it may be that because they were the companions of our youth, and distilled their genial influence upon our expanding thoughts, they have secured a name and a habitation in the wide domain of our fancy. To whatever cause the phenomenon may be ascribed, such is the fact, and in vain will the writers, even the most fascinating of modern date, contend with the Addisonian phalanx for superiority and permanent possession, at least in the mind of the sexagenarian of our time.

“ Thoughts of my childhood, hail ! whose gentle spirits  
wandering here

Down in the visionary vale, before mine eyes appear

Benignly pensive, beautifully pale,

Through days for ever fled, for ever dear :

Thoughts of my childhood, hail !”

Nevertheless, in later days, regions of almost untrodden research have been thrown open, and

events of unparalleled magnitude have occurred. India has been placed in a fraternal relation with Britain, and her sons have bowed the suppliant knee to British philanthropy, claiming from us a regard more intense and active than mere sentimental emotion or literary interest; and happily for the successful direction of national energies to the welfare of those important dependencies of the British crown in the East, there have issued from the British press works well calculated to arouse and entice the thoughts of a reading public.

We have now traversed with hasty steps the regions of antiquity, and wandered among the fragments of early times as they are found scattered in the writings of travellers and historians; we have been accompanied and guided by the calm and philosophical inquirer, whose patient investigations have enabled him to describe and unfold, to unravel and arrange, the registers and narratives, the records and monuments, of former greatness, enterprise and prosperity. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans, the Arabians and Greeks, have served as links in the chain of connexion between modern and ancient times; they have presented epochs between the birth of commerce and its full maturity — caravanserais, or resting places for the world's traffic between east and western regions. Their transactions have been landmarks for the antiquary and the philosopher; their intercourse with the Hindoos as a meandering stream of passing time; and their memorials, the rays of dawning

light which have now been absorbed by the shining splendour of our noon-tide brightness. Yet, alas! they do not present that people, whose path has been so monotonous, and whose religion and character have been so stationary,—whose infancy was so precocious, and their mature years a continued childhood,—as possessing the knowledge of the only living and true God, or as ennobled by divine and exalting principles; as either imparting or receiving truth and virtue, as enjoying the fellowship of the Holy One and the Just, or glorifying his name as the servants of Jehovah and the benefactors of the human race. Theirs was not the path of the just, which shineth brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. Better prospects have, however, appeared in our time for that land of hoary antiquity.



SCENE IN THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS—SOURCE OF A RIVER

THE ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY, AND CONDITION OF  
THE PEOPLE.

THE increase and extension of geographical knowledge is as much a feature of modern improvement as any recent discovery in the arts, or in the circle of sciences. When Columbus went forth to explore the farther Indies by a western route, the region now denominated British India was a *terra incognita*, as much as the laws which now regulate chemical affinities were unknown to the alchemist, or the fanatic enthusiast, who wildly groped in search of the philosopher's stone. The land of



the banian and the palm, of the spice-cane and the pepper, where the choicest condiments and most valuable articles of commerce are in abundance produced, lay upon the map an unexplored region ; since its paths had for ages been untrodden, and its many tribes had been despised as a people of a strange speech. The rays of science and the light of literature have now shone on the lofty mountains, and penetrated the valleys and trackless wilds ; the energies of commerce and the daring of ambition have stemmed the majestic rivers, and circumnavigated the outstretched coast of Hindostan. The historian and the painter have recently described her inhabitants and her scenery. Industry and talent, enterprise and perseverance, have explored regions and tribes which were long hidden, or but partially known. What was scattered in many and inaccessible repertoires has been condensed ; and the information which was shut up or monopolized in the libraries of the wealthy or the learned is now widely and cheaply diffused, and brought to our fire-sides and tea-tables. Hindostan is better known to-day than the Hebrides were in the time of Johnson, or than the Shetland Isles were at the beginning of the present century ; while the aggressions and acquisitions of our English nabobs in oriental countries, the subversion of Asiatic despotism, and the substitution of British rule among the nations of the East, are the records of our cabinet libraries, and form the *vade mecums* of every inquirer after knowledge.

It is, however, an expression not confined to the unlearned, which we not unfrequently hear, “the heat of India,” or “the climate of India:” whereas Hindostan contains regions as subject to snow, with chilling frosts, and cold and shivering blasts, as any part of continental Europe; and presents as great a variety of climate: from the arid heat of a vertical sun, to the inhospitable and freezing atmosphere of the bleak and frigid north. The countries now ruled by, or subject to the supremacy of, Britain in the East, extend from the equator, near to which Singapore is situated, or from the southernmost peninsula of Malacca, about two degrees north latitude, to the Himalayas; which range from the 28th degree, in the Bhotan country advancing to the more northerly latitudes of Cashmere, Attock, and Herat; and extend in the widest sweep of the river Sind, as far as the 35th and 36th degrees; and spread from the Sylhet frontier, a border which lies as far east as the 100th degree, to the mouths of the Indus on the western shores of Hindostan: besides the dependencies in the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea;—a wide-enough field for every change of climate and every degree of temperature under which man can comfortably subsist. While the native of the southern provinces clothes himself in the loose and light robes of cotton, or passes among his people in the bazaars and thoroughfares only partially covered, the hardy northern wraps himself in the woollen or silken stuffs and shawls of Moultan and Cashmere, or

in the flannels and broad cloth of English manufacture; and the daring traveller or mountaineer of the Himalayas is glad to draw around him the furs and muffings which are employed to protect against the snows of Nova Zembla or Siberia.

The several presidencies have their separate and distinguishing natural characteristics, and the countries or provinces subject to their jurisdiction differ as they lie east or west, north or south. If we traverse the eastern regions under the presidency of Bengal, we shall find the alluvial well-watered and flat plains of Bengal; the hills and dales of Bahar, the Rajmehall hills, and the table lands with which the province is diversified. Allahabad contains the exuberant district of Benares, the fertile banks of the Jumna and Ganges, and the elevated table lands of Bundelcund, with the picturesque and isolated hills which range and diverge in groups parallel to the Vindhya mountains. Agra is in some places open and flat, but toward the south and west better wooded and interspersed with hills and dales; while Delhi is covered with dense jungles and forests in the north-west, but clear, level, and cultivated from the centre to the south-west. The British provinces in Berar are wild and rugged, with steep water-courses, dense jungles, hills, and impassable ravines. The Vindhya and Goundwara, or Sautpora, ranges of hills on either side, hedge in the romantic valley of the Nerbudda for three hundred miles; a rude and uncultured vale, which stretches in breadth nearly twenty

miles, and is fringed on both sides to the mountain summits with forests of deep jungle. Malwa is a table land, generally open and highly cultivated, varied with conical and flat-crowned hills and low ridges, watered by numerous rivers and small streams, and favoured with a rich, productive soil and a mild climate, alike conducive to the health of man, and the liberal supply of his wants and luxuries. Ahmedabad, Kairah, Baroach, Baroda, and Surat, occupy a wild sea-coast ; at certain seasons are cold and unpleasant, and embrace a country mountainous and jungly, with some fertile tracts, especially Guzerat, a flat country, rich and fruitful. Kandiesh, Poonah, and Ahmednuggur, are districts of irregular but elevated territory ; are intersected by rivers and pellucid streams, which flow through valleys truly beautiful, and are overtopped by hills and native fortresses, which render the country picturesque and variegated: the plain is well watered and fertile; and the Ghauts present to the view continuous lines of mountain forest, while the river courses, the Krishna, Toombuddra, Taptee, and Gutpurba, pass through a region exceedingly rich and diversified. In the Concans, north and south, a line of sea-coast extends for several hundred miles, with a narrow margin of productive land, and an abrupt wall of steep, rocky mountains, ascending in some places four thousand feet above the level of the sea. Among, and on the outer verge of these ghauts, are many fruitful spots, cultivated as rice tracts, irrigated by numerous mountain streams. From Goa throughout

the province of Canara to Mangalore, and following the Malabar coast to Cochin, the scenery is romantic and grand. The cataract of the river Shirawati, or Carawooty, which rises in Darwar, and flowing into Canara, falls into the sea at Shadugur, exceeds in beauty and sublimity every waterfall which has hitherto been made known in Europe. The country around the village of Haliali, or Hullyhall, to the north-west of the fall about three miles, and on the confines of the Goese territory, presents the richness of a tropical forest, mingled with cultivation. The traveller comes unexpectedly upon the river, and the sudden transition adds to the effect. A few steps of devious winding over huge blocks of granite, bring him "to the brink of a fearful chasm, rocky, bare, and black," down into which he looks to the depth of a thousand feet. The bed of the river is one-fourth of a mile in direct breadth; but the edge of the fall is elliptical, with a sweep of about half a mile. This body of water rushes, at first, for about 300 feet over a slope at an angle of  $45^{\circ}$ , in a sheet of white foam, and is then precipitated to the depth of 850 more into a black abyss, with a thundering noise. It has, therefore, a depth of *eleven hundred and fifty feet*. In the rainy season the river appears to be about thirty feet in depth at the fall; in the dry season it is much lower, and is divided into three cascades, of varied beauty and astonishing grandeur, but the smaller streams are almost dissipated before they reach the bottom.

No description is adequate to convey a full conception of the beauty, the verdure, the wooded and watered glens and vales, of this romantic province. The rolling mountains, which rise and tower in grand magnificence, one over another, from the white ocean-margin to the table lands of the Mahratta, the Coorg, and the Mysore countries; the ever-gushing and refreshing mountain streams which hasten down the steep-sided but plentiful valleys, or through the lower plains covered with cocoa-nut trees, and enter by numerous inlets to the sea; the precipitous and craggy Ghauts, some of them piercing the sky to the height of seven or nine thousand feet from their watery base, exhibiting an umbrageous and verdant forest to their loftiest summits; mock all efforts to delineate or convey an idea of their stupendous magnitude or luxuriant majesty. Travancore advances to Cape Comorin, for 150 miles presenting valleys down to the sea-shore, clothed with perennial verdure; then hills and dales, forming scenes of the most lovely and peaceful beauty, all richly cultivated. The gigantic Ghauts of the western coast recede here further (perhaps forty miles) inland, and are crowned to their summits with stupendous forests of teak, bamboo, &c.; the whole province furnishing the most splendid picture of tropical scenery which any region can display. The blue mountains of Coimbatore, the Nielgheries, lie to the south of Mysore from sixty to a hundred miles; they are free from jungle, and in a high state of

cultivation. The most elevated is nearly nine thousand feet above the ocean level, and the lowest is about five thousand six hundred and sixty feet: Jackanairi the lowest, and Moorchoorti Bet the highest among the five. The climate on these hills is mild as is the south of France, and salubrious as Devonshire. To the north of them is elevated the table land of the ceded provinces, Bellary, Cuddapah, &c., and contains some of the most fruitful districts of the Madras presidency, though, perhaps, it is also the hottest region. Mysore claimed as its capital the fortress of Seringapatam; but Bangalore is more worthy the inquiries of the geographer. It is a plateau of fifty or sixty miles square, with an undulating surface, and nearly three thousand feet above the level of the sea. The climate is peculiarly salubrious and mild, visited by the monsoons of the eastern and the western coast; and possessing the richest soil, its fertility and temperature are not surpassed in any province of British India.

The coast and region between Madras and the Cape Comorin, and from Cuttack to Madras, are perhaps the most fervid and oppressive to the European: but there are no swamps, the atmosphere is not poisoned with malaria, nor is the soil subject to nitrous incrustations. The shore is flat and sandy, comparatively sterile and uncultivated: a parched and naked waste spreads along an extent of 600 miles from the mouths of the Kistnah to the mouths of the Cauvery. From Nagpore, by Ellichpore, to Jaulnah and Beejanuggur on the

north and west, and thence along the banks of the Toombuddra, by Kurnool, including Hyderabad, as far as to the confines of Rajamundry, watered by the Godavery, on the south and east, an arable and productive region extends over nearly 110,000 square miles. The soil will grow the strongest grain, and bears the finest wheat, and is capable of the highest cultivation. The climate is generally healthy, and for the greatest part of the year comparatively cool; especially the two northern districts. At Hyderabad for the three hot months in the year the thermometer is often as high as 100 Fahrenheit in the shade, and sometimes even at midnight. Beneath the eastern Ghauts stretch out the lower provinces of the Carnatic, beginning from the Northern Circars, and embracing Ongole, Arcot, Combaconum, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely, with the country of Tanjore. The fertility of most of these regions is proverbial, and they abound in the richest produce. The atmosphere is dry, and often parching, yet, to a great extent, tempered with the breezes from the sea, or affording shelter in the high lands connected with the Ghauts. Though the eastern Ghauts be not so magnificent or picturesque as those on the western shores, there are many lovely spots, nooks, as it were, retired from the wild glare of Indian sands, and the withering heat of a vertical sun, where grandeur and solitude, verdure and shade, fit muses of the poetic child, furnish a retreat the most peaceful and refreshing.



A survey of the great natural outlines which bound and distinguish India would be incomplete without a glance at the peaked summits of the majestic Himalayas, literally, *the seats of snow*; and a passing sip of the sacred streams, or a sail down one or other of the magnificent rivers which water the plains of India. The elevated ridges which separate Tartary from Hindostan, and among which the Chinese contend with Britain for supremacy, are so inaccessible, from their rugged heights, their perpetual snows and piercing colds by night, or scorching noontide rays; they are, moreover, so remote from the more busy haunts of mankind or the marts of commerce; that they were long looked at as gigantic monuments of nature's power, rather than tracts which were to be traversed and explored. Enterprising Englishmen have broken the silence and invaded the secrets of those mountain recesses, and ascended to some of their loftiest regions. They have followed as far as the track of vegetable life can be traced, and beyond where any exhibitions of animal existence residing and subsisting could be marked. They have contended with the exhausting and oppressive atmosphere of the Alpine regions, the precipitous shelving and instable rocks, the often fatal and always perilous mountains of snow, and the hostile or suspicious natives of these inhospitable climes; and they have returned in triumph, bearing to us the results of their inquiry, the measurements of the highest summits, and the altitudes and bearings

of the mountain sources of the greatest Asiatic rivers; they have brought us specimens of the natural productions, and a description of those regions where the last link in vegetable life has been passed. The minerals, lead and iron, gold and copper, plumbago, antimony and sulphur, have been found. The elevation of the highest peak has been noted as reaching to nearly 27,000 feet, five miles in perpendicular height above the level of the sea! while the Simla, now a delightful British station, is about 7,500 feet, whence is obtained a highly interesting view of the snowy range. The principal passes among these mountains are Lasseha, Hangarang, Gunass, and Majang La, respectively 13,628; 14,710; 15,459; and 17,700 feet above the level of the sea: what then will be their relative peaks? It is presumed that these are the loftiest mountains on the surface of the earth; piled in appalling confusion and scattered in detached masses, they present on their exalted summits diluvial deposits and organic remains, which bespeak confirmation to the Mosaic testimony, how "the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered" during the flood. On the northern side, villages are found as high as 13,000 feet above the level of the sea; cultivation has been conducted 600 feet higher; there are fine birch trees 14,000, and furze bushes for fuel thrive 17,000 above the ocean level. The highest balloon that ever soared into the regions

of space had not ascended much higher than these furze bushes, till Guy Lussac, in 1804, rose to the height of 23,100 feet: the aeronauts, Messrs. Monck Mason, Rush, and Green, dared to venture no farther than the peaks of some of these mountains in their most adventurous exploratory flight among the regions of clouds. Messrs. Green and Rush returned from their ascent when they had measured 25,146 feet, not so high as the presumed elevation of Dhawala-Giri. On the 21st of June, a Captain Webb found extensive fields of barley at an elevation of 11,000 feet; and at 11,630 feet above Calcutta he pitched his tent, on a clear spot, surrounded by rich forests of oak, pine, and rhododendra, with a vegetation which was rank and luxurious, and as high as the knee; extensive strawberry-beds, beautiful currant-bushes in flower, and a profusion of butter-cups, dandelions, crocusses, cowslips, and every variety of European spring wild flowers. In the villages of Kunawar, almost 16,000 feet high, with a poor and rocky soil, apples, pears, raspberries, apricots, and other fruits, abound; and pines, with a circumference of 24 feet and a height of 180, flourish in forests even higher. While the summer heat is so strong as to melt the snow and lay many of the mountains bare, the winter cold is frequently so intense as to split and detach huge masses of rock, which roll from mountain to mountain with loud and terrific reverberations. At Samsiri, on the banks of the Shelti, 15,600 feet above the level of the sea, a halting-place provided for travellers,

there is a beautiful landscape, with verdant hills and tranquil rivulets, banks of turf and shrubs, cheered with flocks of pigeons and herds of deer. A recent traveller visited a village 15,000 feet high, and found the finest crops of barley, reared by the aid of irrigation and solar heat. Men and animals appeared to live and thrive luxuriantly; bullocks and *shawl* goats seemed finer than at any other place of his observation. "On the north-eastern frontier of Kunawar," he says, "close to the stone bridge, I attained a height of more than 20,000 feet without crossing snow. Notwithstanding this elevation, I felt oppressed by the sun's rays, though the air in the shade was freezing. The view from this spot was grand and terrific beyond the power of language. I had anticipated a peep into China itself, but I only beheld the lofty frontier, all arid, and bare, and desolate; it was a line of naked peaks, scarce a stripe of snow appearing." But it is on the cessation of the periodical rains that the scene is most striking; the tops only remaining covered, glare their radiant snow at the powerless sun in calm, desolate grandeur. Greater part of the bare rock is then disclosed, and the vast, dim mass, just crowned by gelid points, appears like the curling crest of an enormous wave rising out of a sea of mist; traces of snow extend down the hollows, and accumulations repose far below, while steep cliffs project their bare sides even to 18,000 feet. The geology of these giant mountains seems to mock the speculations of all philosophers.

Dr. Gerard's tour has been recorded in the Asiatic Journal, and is full of interest. He had entered the bed of the Chandera-Baga—the *river of the moon*. The traveller was “now struck with the change of the climate and the alteration in the appearance of the inhabitants. The configuration of the country assumes a new form, and the eternal snow gradually recedes to the summits of the mountains. Even the skies have a deeper and more resplendent blue. Nothing was green but the crops; the vegetation being scanty and arid, and the sun's rays powerful. In the former part of their route they had been daily shrouded in rain and mist; vegetation was luxuriant, and the slopes were vested with pine forests. Here, however, not a tree was visible but the drooping willow, which was planted. The soil was destitute of verdure, and the air felt dry and elastic.” On the 2d of September he reached the last inhabited spot on the course of the Sooruj-Baga, the *river of the sun*, at an elevation of eleven thousand feet. The valley was prettily enamelled with villages and cultivation. The inhabitants, however, appeared poor, greasy, and ragged. He was hospitably greeted by a thakoor, or chief of the place. “It was now constant sunshine, and the temperature increased with the elevation; they were still in the vicinity of enormous masses of snow. Darcha is the last village in the dell, and the sun's rays, reflected from the barren sides of the rock, raise the temperature to 84° in the shade.” He traced the Sooruj-

Baga to its source in a lake. "In crossing this lofty ridge the wind blew piercingly on one side, while the sun's rays were scorchingly ardent on the other. The extremely thin, dry, and cold air checks the vital energy with fearful rapidity. On the sixth day's journey from the inhabited limits, they ascended the Laitchee long range, which rose up abruptly, like a vast wall, from the bed of the Chandra-Baga. Along this tract are found marine fossil remains. At length, after a most toilsome journey over rugged and sterile mountains and rocky tracts, for the first time he pitched his camp upon the plateau of Tartary, at an elevation of nearly 16,000 feet. In front was a black ridge, having the uniform height of 3000 feet above his camp, yet there was no snow on its summit. The soil was almost without any vegetation, baked, hard, and thirsty. The skies were of the most resplendent indigo tint, and the air highly transparent." Alps on Alps seemed to rise before him to interminable heights. His associates fired at a wild horse which passed them, but the report was hardly audible, from the rarified atmosphere. A pack of wild dogs, quite red, was seen stealing along in a gully. His progress was arrested by the wuzeer of Ladak, whose deportment, dress, and manner were showy, his conversation frank, and his appearance altogether prepossessing, and who, on the whole, seemed a jolly *bon vivant*. He had come to prevent any advance by the exploring party, but he desired to effect his object without

rude interference, yet his anxiety to remove Dr. G. fairly out of his sight and away from the precincts of his capital was extreme. The route in return was uncomfortable, from their exposure to cold night air in such a savage country ; groups of wild horses passed them as they approached a dell opening upon Lake Chimorere, where they encamped, and from which numerous herds of shawl goats, sheep, horses, and yaks (Tartar bulls) were seen. The dell, save towards the lake, was land-locked on every side, and the Chimorere spread out its blue expanse to the foot of precipitous mountains. Their path skirted the shore of the lake, the whole circumference of which is embayed by mountains ; but hill-ward, on its north-eastern shore, the mass of elevated land rose abruptly from the water's edge, and entered the regions of snow where their uniform margin was nineteen thousand feet high. This lake and Mansarowur have no efflux ; but the absorbing power of the atmosphere is here so increased by rarefaction, that it serves to carry off the supplies derived from the vicinity. Upon the table-land of Thibet the air is so dry that frost is not visible upon the soil or grass, though the thermometer may stand at the zero of the scale. Repeated tours have recently been made among these grand and wonderful monuments of almighty power, and it is hoped that a pathway for commerce with Tartary and China may yet be opened, so as to afford facilities for intercourse and the means of improvement.

As descriptive of the present mode of travel and discovery, the following sketch will interest:—  
“ The Tidung, at its junction with the Nungalti, when visited, presented a furious rapid stream of great declivity, for six or seven miles the fall being three hundred feet per mile, and in some places double; huge rocks were whirled along with frightful velocity; nothing visible but an entire sheet of foam and spray, thrown up and showered upon the surrounding rocks with loud concussion, and re-echoed from bank to bank with the noise of the loudest thunder: around, the blue slate mountains tower eighteen thousand feet, in sharp detached groups or pinnacles, covered neither with vegetation nor snow, and exhibiting decay and barrenness in its most frightful aspect. Here was a Tartar village found, called Huns. Where the dell was narrowest, there was so little space for the river that the road continued but for a small distance on the same side; and over this frightful torrent the English travellers had repeatedly to cross, on ropes or sangas, loosely hung from rock to rock on either side. Messrs. Gerrard, one while, picked their way upon *smooth* surfaces of granite, *sloping* to the raging torrent; at another time the route led among huge masses and angular blocks of rock, forming spacious caves, where sixty persons might rest: here the bank was composed of rough gravel, steeply inclined to the river; there the path was narrow, with precipices of five or six hundred feet below; whilst the naked towering peaks and mural rocks,



rent in every direction, threatened the passenger with ruin from above. In some parts of the road there were flights of steps, in others frame-work or rude staircases, opening to the gulf below. In one instance, the passage consisted of six posts driven horizontally into clefts of the rocks, about twenty feet distant from each other, and secured by wedges. Upon this giddy frame a staircase of fir spars was erected of the rudest nature; twigs and slabs of stone only, connected them together—no support on the outer side, which was deep and overhung the terrific torrent of the Tidung; the rapid rolling and noise of which was enough to shake the stoutest nerves. Some of these passages had been swept away, and new ones had to be prepared on the spur of the moment for the British discoverers. From the confluence of the Tidung with the Sutlege, the town of Ribe has a charming appearance; yellow fields, extensive vineyards, groves of apricot, and large well-built store-houses, contrast with the neighbouring gigantic mountains.” At Zinchin, 16,136 feet above the sea, where their progress was arrested by Chinese guards, the travellers observed about two hundred wild horses, sometimes feeding and sometimes galloping on the tops of the heights; eagles and kites were soaring into the deep, blue æther; “large flocks of small birds, like linnets, were flying about, and beautiful locusts jumping among the bushes. At times the sun shone like an orb of fire, without the least haze; the stars and planets with a brilliancy only

to be seen from such an elevation ; and the part of the horizon where the moon was expected to rise could scarcely be distinguished before the limb touched it : the atmosphere sometimes exhibited the remarkably dark appearances witnessed in polar latitudes." Vegetation and animal life appear in far higher regions on the faces of these mountains towards the north, than on the faces of the south —towards Tartary than towards Hindostan.

These giant mountains are yet more worthy of notice, as supplying the fountains whence issue the most noted and sacred streams of the Hindoos. Mansarowur and Chinorerel are mountain lakes, which have been regarded as the parent wells of the Ganges and Burrampootra by some geographers ; a position eagerly denied by others : while the Gangoutri, *the bull's mouth*, on the brink of an inaccessible and perpetual mountain of snow, is revered by the Hindoos as the true source of the Ganges. The main sources of this river are now presumed to be on the southern side of the great Himalaya chain. Yet, according to the lines and marks of engineer surveyors laid down on the best constructed maps, the Sind, the Sutlege, the Gogra and Burrampootra, originate within a few miles of each other, and the Jumna only a little farther west. Jucko is described as an elevated point among these lofty hills, of a conical shape, insulated and crowned by garnets ; its waters, more precious in that land than the most precious stones, are thrown from the corresponding de-

clivities, towards the Bay of Bengal on one side, and the Gulf of Cutch on the other: the one by the intersections of the Ghiri or Gogra, the Tonse, and the Jumna, to the united Ganges; and the other by the Sutlege and the Sind: it is but a pathway that marks the divergence of the twin rivers, which are ultimately separated 1500 miles. The Ganges and the Burrampootra are strangely combined in their origin and their destiny—they part to meet again; the one after it has watered the eastern plains of Hindostan, and the other when it has wandered by the northern face of the Himalayas and swept round their base, dividing Thibet from Assam, it enters Bengal by Goalpara, and finally unites with the Ganges about forty miles from the sea. The two streams are as different from each other in character as masculine and feminine: one creeps slowly through fertile plains, under the pressure of superstitious reverence for gods and cows; the other rolls over rugged and barren wastes, where beef is worshipped by keen appetites rather than by idolatrous fear.

Burrampootra, or Brahmapootra, is the most eastern river connected with British India, and is traced to the 82d degree east long. and the 32d north lat. among the Caillas mountains for its source. It passes with a rapid current through Thibet, and having washed the border of the territory of the Teshoo Lama, it reaches within thirty miles of his capital in Lassa. By its numerous channels, it forms a multitude of islands, and flows with

a vast sweep as far to the east as to reach within 220 miles of Yunan, the most western province of China. At  $91^{\circ} 18'$  east long., having divided into two branches, it forms an island 120 miles long. Including its windings, this great river has a course of about 1650 miles: on the borders of Assam it is obstructed by cataracts; and for sixty miles before it joins the Ganges, the breadth of its stream is from four to five miles. Its junction with the Ganges produces an immense body of fresh water, which but for its freshness might be considered an arm of the sea, and is only exceeded by the great rivers in Africa, or the Amázons and Orinoca in South America. The number and variety of names applied to the ramified sources of the Ganges, defy arrangement or uniformity; the Teestah, Gonduck, Gogra, Ramgunga, Calli and Jumna, the Tonse and the Girree, or Ghiri, are all named as primordial branches; and these have been classified under three principal sources—the Jumna, the Bhagiruthi and the Alcanunda. The Jumnantri is a place of pilgrimage, whence boiling springs issue at the temperature ( $194\cdot7$ ) at which water is converted into steam; it is 10,849 feet above the level of the sea, and is one of the reputed sources of the Jumna. Tonse, (Touse,) 12,784 feet high, another branch, which has its exit from a snow-bed, is 31 feet wide and knee deep, and for several miles of its course nothing but snow is perceptible. The Jumna is associated with the Girree, or Ghiri, as well as the Tonse:

it runs into Hindostan by the province of Serinuggur, and flows in lat.  $32^{\circ} 22'$  north, parallel with the Ganges, at the distance of forty miles. This river is about two hundred and fifty yards broad when it emerges from the mountains ; and, having swept off from the line with the Ganges, directs its current through Delhi and Agra, and draws toward the more sacred stream again, till it reaches Allahabad, where the Jumna is absorbed in the Ganges. The Bhagiruthi seems the next tributary in importance, and derives great celebrity from Gangoutri, *the cow's mouth*: this is a snow-bed, or glacier, walled in by stupendous heights and the unbroken sides of the Himalayas : the rivulet issuing thence measures 27 feet wide and 18 inches deep. A rock is said to stand in the midst of the rushing stream, which resembles the body and head of a cow. This branch is reckoned very sacred, and having wound its course round the loftiest peaks, among which is Sri Kanta, more than 20,000 feet high, it divides itself into three channels at Hurdwar.

This celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage is a great mart for commerce. Pilgrims of both sexes resort thither from all parts of India to perform their ablutions in the venerated waters. This concourse of pilgrims occurs in April, when great numbers of merchants also attend, and one of the largest fairs in Hindostan is held. The town has only one street, about 15 feet in breadth and a furlong and a half in length, yet the average number of persons collected exceeds 300,000 ; and

once in twelve years, when particular ceremonies are observed, the numbers are more than trebled. It was computed that in April 1809, two millions of strangers were assembled. It is about a thousand miles distant from Calcutta.

The Alcanunda is by many acknowledged to be the main branch of the Ganges, and has numerous tributaries. The temple of Bhadrinath is situated near to its origin, among mountains elevated 22,000 feet above the ocean level. It is in the middle of a valley nearly four miles in length and one in breadth; and, surrounded by a town of twenty or thirty huts, the residences of the Brahmins, is considered a place of great sanctity. The temple is built in the form of a cone, with a cupola, forty or fifty feet high, on the top of which is a gilt ball and spire. The image is of human form, of black stone, and about three feet in height; is much resorted to by pilgrims from all places in India; 50,000 annually are said to make their offerings as fakirs at the shrine. Bhadrath, *the lord of purity*, is said to possess 700 villages; yet his temple has been shattered by an earthquake, and left in a ruinous condition. Four or five miles above this temple, the stream is narrowed to eighteen or twenty feet, and the north faces of the mountain are completely covered with snow from the summit to the base. Beyond this place but a little is a cascade named *Barsiè d'Hara*, where the Alcanunda (sometimes called the Vishnuganga) was entirely concealed under immense heaps of snow,

beyond which no traveller has been known to pass. In these lofty regions beyond Bhadrinath, stands the populous town of Manah, consisting of 200 houses; the inhabitants of a different race from the generality of the mountaineers; and from their broad faces, small eyes, and olive-coloured complexions, evidently of a Tartar origin. Not less holy in the esteem of the Hindoos, though less frequented from the difficulty of access, is the source of the main stream of the Alcanunda, named Caligunga; near which is situated the temple of Kedar-nath, at an elevation of nearly 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. At this, or some neighbouring shrine, on the summit of a range of peculiar form, sacrifices of human victims are said to have been, and it is feared are still offered to the Hindoo goddess Cali—a hellish and monstrous demon. The Ganges is, by recent computation, 1,800 miles long; and 500 miles from the sea the channel is thirty feet deep, even during the dry season, when the river is lowest; and its width makes it appear an inland ocean. Thus, having issued many thousand feet above the level of the sea, from an arch of deep frozen layers of snow 300 feet high, and from amidst hoary icicles of gigantic magnitude, the deified Ganges, as the instrument of Infinite Goodness and Power, has rolled on through extensive plains, watering, refreshing, and blessing the lands of thirty millions of human beings. The height of the river is, at Allahabad, 348 feet above the level of the sea: it

never rises less than 34, and never more than 45 feet by tides or inundations. Steam ships now pass and repass as far as Allahabad, 1,000 miles from the sea, extending facilities for commerce, and conveying the benefits of improved intercourse between the remoter regions, to the evident advantage of all classes and tribes in Hindostan.

There are many intermediate and minor rivers between the west and eastern boundaries of India, which have, from local superstitions or scenes of conflict and conquest, become known in Asiatic geography. The Godavery, the Cauvery and Coleroon, the Toombuddra, Malpurba and Kistna, the Sepra, the Nerbudda, the Taptee and Mhye, are neither insignificant nor subordinate rivers, when compared with some of our own most navigable embouchures. But beside these we must not omit the Punjab, *the five rivers*, and the Sinde, or Indus. The Punjab was early honoured with a Grecian fame from the campaigns of Alexander; and hence they are celebrated as the Hysudrus, or Sutlege; the Hyphasis, or Bhyeah; the Hydroates, or Ravee; the Acesines, or Chenaub; the Hydaspes, or Jhylum. The Sutlege is of all these the most deserving of note; deriving its origin from the Himalayas, rising from a fountain 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, and gathering its tributary waters from both the south and north faces of these sky-built fortresses, it traverses hill and dale, by winding paths and deep ravines, till after a course of many hundred miles



and its junction with the Bhyeah, the Ghurrah, and the Chinnaow, it pours into the Indus a powerful and gushing torrent, and contributes to widen that majestic river. The Ravee, the Chinaub, and the Jhylum, flow through the same plains, though they spring not from such an elevated source as the Sutlege; they water and fertilize the provinces of Lahore and Moultan, and then pour their confluent tide into the bosom of the imperial Indus. The track of this greatest of all Asiatic, or rather Indian, rivers, is long and prosperous. Cradled in its infancy in the common birth-place, nursed from the same elements, and deriving its lineage from the same source with the Ganges and the Burram-pootra, and holding a twin relationship with the Sutlege, it parts as with a farewell embrace from its younger and gentler sisters to wander through the devious wilds of Chinese Tartary in tracts unexplored, and perhaps inaccessible, to the north of the Himalayas. By a northern branch it winds round toward Luchdek in Thibet, and forms a junction with a second branch, both called the Sinde or Indus, at the town of Durass, 100 miles north-east from Cashmere, and is still fed by the mountain torrents which wash down the northern breasts of the Himalayas. Prior to their union, one of these branches is seventy yards broad, and excessively rapid. The accumulated waters roll onward with a broader and more resistless course, till the river has forced its way through the mountains, called the Hindoo Cooch, or Cush, and

enters Hindostan in lat.  $35^{\circ} 15'$  north. As it owed its early expansion and magnitude to the melted snows and ice of the crested summits of the northern Himalayas and the rains and floods of Chinese Tartary, so now it swells to a wide and magnificent river by the showers of Caubul, and the torrents which fall from the south sides of the snow-clad mountains. About sixty miles below its emergence from among the mountains, it receives the Attock, and increases to about three quarters of a mile in breadth, and becomes so deep as to be no longer fordable, confined between high mountains; and winding its way among hills, which presented numerous barriers to its triumphant progress, it has been again and again divided into various branches, and has left behind innumerable islands; and finally, having acquired greater power, it now flows onward from Harrah, through the rich valley of Esa Khels, which it enters in four great branches. These streams are joined, after a parallel course of 180 or 200 miles, in the thirty-first degree of north latitude, when the mighty tide rolls on, with a resistless and undivided current, till it is united with the five rivers of the Punjab. The course of the confluent stream is then south, east, and west, in a meandering channel. The Hon. Mons. Elphinstone crossed the Indus in 1809, in lat.  $31^{\circ} 28'$ , and found the breadth of the river, then at its lowest, 1,905 yards, and its greatest depth twelve feet: this depth extended across, only 100 yards. The place where he crossed was above the

junction of the streams, and he found the other branches 500, 200, and 50 yards broad. The descent of the Indus to the ocean is gentle, and the average rate of its current is two miles and a half an hour.

From Luchdek to the sea, Mr. Elphinstone estimated the length of the Indus at 1,350 miles; but from its source the distance is reckoned, by the latest computations, 2,070 miles; and from the mouths of the Indus to Lahore, 760 geographical miles, there is depth sufficient for vessels of 200 tons burden; whilst in some places it is from four to nine miles broad. It begins to swell in the middle of July, and increases from the melted snows till the end of August. The navigation from Tatta, the capital of Scinde, to Moultan and Lahore, is free, and the trade extensive. About thirty miles below Hyderabad, Captain Burnes saw the river, nearly a mile broad, studded with boats from bank to bank, which moved majestically forward at the rate of three miles an hour. The waters of the Indus enter the ocean in two principal branches, forming a delta of rich alluvial land, 125 miles wide at the base, and 80 miles in length, from the vicinity of Tatta, where they separate. The lower part of the delta is intersected by rivers and creeks in almost every direction, and the lower section is covered by nothing greater or more profitable than brushwood. The lakes are muddy, and the swamps are noisome, though all capable of improvement and the highest cultivation through means of industry and capital. The

higher district of the delta is well tilled, yielding abundance of rice; the soil from Buree to Toorta is peculiarly rich and extensively improved by culture. The exuberance of vegetable life exhibited here strongly contrasts with the parched deserts of the neighbouring province, while the agricultural activity of the husbandman in the construction of irrigating canals and bridges for transit, of wells, and other means of rendering the land productive, indicates both energy and enterprise, prudence and security. At seventy miles from the sea the *tide* is scarcely perceptible. The rise during full moon is nine feet at the mouths of the river: the influx is then rapid and dangerous, running at the rate of four miles an hour. Such velocity is, however, limited: since it is calculated that the volume of the Indus exceeds by four times the size of the Ganges, in the dry season, and nearly equals the Mississippi. There are no rocks or rapids to obstruct the ascent, and the current does not exceed two and a half or three miles, when joined by the Punjab. The shallows in this lower part, during the dry season, are never less than fifteen feet deep, and the breadth half a mile.

There is, perhaps, no country which possesses greater inland facilities for commerce than the region which is bounded on the west by this noble river, and intersected by the waters of the Punjab. The fertile and fruitful vale of Cashmere limits its sceptre on the north; situated so that it can export,

without trouble, its costly fabrics to the contiguous kingdoms of Persia and Tartary, of China and India; and, midway between Hindostan and the chief entrepôts of Central Asia, it shares the advantages of their traffic, and is blessed with an exuberance of every production useful and nutritious to man. The manufactures and produce of this country embrace the luxuries and conveniences, as well as the necessities of life. The shawls of Cashmere and the fabrics of Moultan provide robes for the courtiers and chiefs; husbandmen and citizens are furnished with cheaper textures in their native cottons. The grain indigenous to the country affords a bounteous supply for all domestic animals; the uplands yield condiments and fruits to season the daily bread; while mountain ranges of rock salt furnish that necessary and healthful ingredient of food in abundance. The staple commodity of the Punjab is the shawl manufacture of Cashmere—a fabric which no exertion of foreigners can imitate for its delicacy, warmth, and comfort. But the commercial genius of the people has introduced the manufacture of silk, though the *worm* be unknown in the countries of the Punjab. The strength of texture and brilliancy of hue of the *kais*, or silk stuffs of Moultan, woven only in shawls and scarfs, have secured to them an extended reputation in the Indian market. The *piece* silk of Umritsir, Lahore, and Moultan, called *atlas*, competes with similar manufacture of other lands: they have also *kincob*, or brocade, and shawl carpets; the latter

of unsurpassed splendour. The natives of Rohun and Hoshyarpore, to the east, are skilful manufacturers of cotton; and their looms furnish white cloth of various value, some as high as two shillings per yard, and some only sixpence per yard; it is strong and durable. Gold is found; and, besides salt, veins of coal and mines of iron have been discovered: matchlocks and swords are formed; and the warlike weapons of Lahore have been renowned among the Indian nations: sulphur, nitre, and the best charcoal supply their manufacture of gunpowder. Wheat and barley are produced to meet the demand; but gram, moong, mut, and bajree, besides other grain, find here a market. Rice and sugar-cane thrive luxuriantly, and indigo is reared for exportation. The sesamum plant supplies a valuable oil; and the finest tobacco is grown in Moultan. Turnips, carrots, and other excellent vegetables, are produced everywhere; while most of the vines and fruit trees common to Europe may be seen in Kishtwar and Cashmere. The land we have now traversed is fruitful, and her stores yield corn and wine, oil and salt. Let the people enjoy good government, and the blessings of the true religion, and they will find the lines fallen unto them in pleasant places, and their possessions a goodly heritage.

Before we leave the rivers and seas, the floods and climate of Hindostan, the Indian monsoon deserves a notice. Some conjecture that the word derived its application from the name of a pilot, who

made his way across the Indian ocean by observing the prevalence of the *trade wind*. The change of the trade wind from east to west, or from west to east, is accompanied generally by violent and broken weather; deluges of rain and cold seasons attend them, and they are followed on land by a regeneration of the vegetable world, and the most cheerful transformation of the face of nature. The monsoon from the west breaks up on the Malabar coast at one season, and on the Coromandel coast it breaks up from the east at a different season of the year; but a greater quantity of rain usually falls in the province of Malabar than on the opposite coast. Sometimes the rain falls in such torrents as to prevent egress from their houses to the European inhabitants during successive days; and even so as to confine visitors who may have gone out only for a morning call. There are generally official notices given, as from the flag staff, to intimate that vessels should leave the roads, otherwise I believe insurances are forfeited. Where the peril has been braved, sometimes vessels have been overtaken by hurricanes as violent as any western tornado, when many lives and much property have been lost. The 15th of October is the day for signal at Madras. I have witnessed similar phenomena to what are described by the Rev. Mr. Caunter, and would do him the justice to testify that he has admirably delineated this and many other scenes.

“On that very morning some premonitory symptoms of the approaching ‘war of elements’

had appeared; small fleecy clouds were perceived, at intervals, to rise from the horizon, and to dissipate in a thin and almost imperceptible vapour, over the deep blue of the still bright sky. There was a slight haze upon the distant waters, which seemed gradually to thicken, although not to a density sufficient to refract the rays of the sun, which still flooded the broad sea with one unvarying mass of glowing light. There was a sensation of suffocating heat in the atmosphere, which at the same moment seemed to oppress the lungs and depress the spirits. Towards the afternoon the aspect of the sky began to change; the horizon gathered blackness, and the sun, which had risen so brightly, had evidently culminated in glory to go down in darkness, and to have his splendour veiled from human sight by a long gloomy period of storm and turbulence. Masses of heavy clouds appeared to rise from the sea, black and portentous, accompanied by sudden gusts of wind, that shortly died away, being succeeded by an intense, death-like stillness, as if the air were in a state of utter stagnation, and its vital properties arrested. It seemed no longer to circulate, until again agitated by the brief but mighty gusts which swept fiercely along, like the giant heralds of the storm. Meanwhile the lower circle of the heavens looked a deep brassy red, from the partial reflection of the sun-beams upon the thick clouds which had now everywhere overspread it. The sun had long passed the meridian, and his rays were slanting



upon the gathering billows, when the black and threatening ministers of the tempest rose rapidly to the zenith.

“ About four o’clock the whole sky was over-spread, and the deep gloom of twilight was cast over the town and sea. The atmosphere was condensed almost to the thickness of a mist, which was increased by the thin spray scattered over the land from the sea by the violence of the increasing gales. The rain now began to fall in sheeted masses, and the wind to howl more continuously, which, mingling with the roaring of the surf, produced a tumultuous union of sounds perfectly deafening. The wind, with a force which nothing could resist, bent the tufted heads of the tall, slim cocoa-nut trees almost to the earth, flinging the light sand into the air in eddying vortices, until the rain had either so increased its gravity, or beaten it into a mass, as to prevent the wind from raising it. The pale lightning streamed from the clouds in broad sheets of flame, which appeared to encircle the heavens, as if every element had been converted into fire, and the world was on the eve of a general conflagration; whilst the peal which instantly followed was like the explosion of a gunpowder magazine, or the discharge of artillery in the gorge of a mountain, where the repercussion of surrounding hills multiplies with terrific energy its deep and astounding echoes. The heavens seemed to be one vast reservoir of flame, which was propelled from its voluminous bed by some invisible

but omnipotent agency, and threatening to fling its fiery ruin upon every thing around. In some parts, however, of the pitchy vapour by which the skies were by this time completely overspread, the lightning was seen only occasionally to glimmer in faint streaks of light, as if struggling but unable to escape from its prison—igniting, but too weak to burst, the impervious bosom of those capacious magazines in which it was at once engendered and pent up. So heavy and continuous was the rain, that scarcely any thing, save those vivid bursts of light which nothing could arrest or resist, was perceptible through it. The thunder was so painfully loud that it frequently caused the ear to throb; it seemed as if mines were momentarily springing to the heavens. The surf was raised by the wind, and scattered in thin billows of foam over the esplanade, which was completely powdered with the white feathery spray. It extended several hundred yards from the beach; fish upwards of three inches long were found upon the flat roofs of houses in the town during the prevalence of the monsoon, either blown from the sea by the violence of the gale, or taken up in the water-spouts, which are very prevalent in this tempestuous season.”

To describe the productions of India in the vegetable, mineral, and animal kingdom, would be a pleasing task, and would be acceptable as well to the traveller as to the reader, were this the proper time and place. But it is not necessary here, and comes not within my limits, to furnish minute

details. The forests of India, the jungles, and ghauts, afford a wide field for the botanical student and the naturalist. The diversity, number, and gigantic stature of the forest trees of this country are equal to the timber of any land ; the oak, teak, pine, fir, cedar, cypress, ebony, walnut, jack, chestnut, kaniyen, sissoo, saul, jarrool, hornbeam, yew, poon, mango, acacia, &c. are the more familiar among the forests ; the palm and cocoa-nut tree, the plantain, custard-apple, shaddock, orange, lemon, quavà, tamarind, grafted mango, the rose-apple, the citron, the flat peach, the laquat, the almond, peach, nectarine and apricot, pomegranate, palm, grape-vine, quince, mulberry, fig, cherry, apple, pear ; the tamertunga, the country gooseberry, and numerous other fruit trees ; are reared in the south and north, in the east and western parts of India, in myriads, and render their fruits in season. Even maple, dog-wood, service-tree, holly, juniper, box, logwood, mahogany, seem to naturalize and flourish as well as the bamboo, the rattan, and the banian. Strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, and raspberries, currants, black and white, mingle with the myrtle, balsam, violet, marigold, the red and white jasmine, the red and white honeysuckle, the geranium, and the daisy, on the ever-verdant sod, in fine perfection. On the Nielghiries, the Cossya hills of Sylhet, and in the alpine regions of Kumaon, the extremes of east and west, and in the farthest north, such are the fruits which a teeming soil produces under patient culture. The sugar-cane, the coffee-tree,

and the tea-plant, grow to the greatest maturity, and afford the richest and choicest supplies for human wants ; cotton, silk, and flax ; wheat, rice, barley, potatoes, and arrowroot ; turnips, parsnips, onions, carrots, peas, beans, and vetches ; brocoli, spinach, radishes, artichokes, cucumbers, cabbage, cauliflowers, and all other like kinds of culinary vegetables ; are cultivated by the Hindoo husbandmen as successfully as their more common grains and vegetables, millet, maize, raggy, sweet potatoe, yams, &c. In every district there is land fit for such productions, or at least within accessible distances ; I have seen cabbages and apples sent from Bangalore to Madras, and grafted mangoes forwarded from Chittore to Madras and Bangalore. Drugs and medicinal herbs grow spontaneously, or under easy management. Tobacco and opium abound in different provinces ; senna in Tinnevely, Peruvian bark in the Nielghiries, and ipecacuana in almost any part ; rhubarb, coriander, cummin, assafoetida, as well as cinnamon, pepper, cassia, and cardamoms ; ginger, cloves, nutmegs, and mace, besides the castor-tree and aloes, with many other articles found in the pharmacopœia, or as condiments in the culinary art, are raised in British India from their native soil, and secure to Englishmen a supply equal to the largest demand.

In Hindostan the Creator has furnished not only every herb for food, but also all cattle after his kind, for the service of man ; the zoology of India presents to us a population in the air, on the earth,

and in the waters under the earth, upon which discovery will exhaust itself, and where the infinite wisdom of the glorious Author of *all being* will be traced in ten thousand paths. The creeping-things, the fish in the waters, the multitudinous insects which people the air, the beasts of the forest and the field, the fowl of the heaven, and the tribes which range upon a thousand hills, would afford matter for voluminous details, exciting to wonder, and claiming a loud and harmonious hymn of praise. The shepherd, the farmer, the fowler, the hunter, the sportsman, and the toil-worn labourer, have all scope for their pursuits, and means subservient for their pleasures or engagements. “The gigantic and gregarious elephant,” whose herds are numerous as droves of cattle in some places, “usurps the dominion of the forest; the lonely and ferocious tiger infests every jungle;” chetas, wolves, wild boars, jackalls, and wild dogs, hyenas, monkeys, wild buffalos, and horses, range through the deep forests, prowl upon the unsheltered villagers, roam over the uncultured plains, and devour helpless children in hundreds every year. Alligators and serpents of every hue and poisoned fangs; scorpions whose power is in their tail, the loathsome guana, the cold-blooded lizard, with insects of every name, winged or creeping; the ant, the mosquito, and the bug, &c.; prove how prolific is nature, how abundant is the provision made for the sustenance of animated being; and how thinly peopled, how partially reclaimed, is the soil of

India by industrious and energetic men. The cow, the sheep, and the goat; the horse, the camel, and the elephant; the bull, the buffalo, and the ass; have been subordinated to the service of civilized as well as military life in India. “Animated nature here luxuriates in all its primitive grandeur, whether we regard the magnitude, the multitude, or the beauty which everywhere adorns and fills the higher and lower regions. Happy however for man, the Creator has ordained that the subordinate creatures should prey on each other: were it not so, the evergreen surface of India must soon become a wilderness.” Its ornithology, as well as all other branches of its natural history, would lead into details not suited to the desultory nature of these gleanings, and occupy such portion of my pages as I wish to devote to other more practical inquiries. It has been erroneously supposed that the Hindoos as a nation or people abstain from animal food. Some of the Brahminical tribe do inculcate such abstinence as a virtue; but it is rather only the cow for which they cherish a superstitious and inconsistent veneration. Many good Hindoos, who are strict sticklers for caste, enjoy their mutton chop, and feed upon the fish of the river and the sea as freely as any British settler.

The nations and tribes who severally constitute portions of British dominion in the East, or are subjects of our subsidized and dependent allies, are numerous and diversified. The primary races, kindreds, and tongues, are distinguished by dis-

similar and opposing habits, prepossessions, and interests. In Hindostan there are, at least, thirty nations, speaking as many distinct languages, and the greater number of them ignorant of the state or character of each other as nations. The Bengalees are strangers to the Mahrattas; the Seikhs and Tamulians being equally unknown to both, or to one another. The inhabitants of the Carnatic, of Guzerat, and the Duab, differ from each other in language, manners, and physiognomy, as widely as do the Russians, Spanish, and English; and the population who inhabit the shores of Malabar and Coromandel singularly contrast with each other, and are each as clearly distinguished from the Rajpoots, or the inhabitants of Pegu and Assam. The Jains of Central India and the Buddhists of Ceylon have no affinity in religion or features with the Brahminical tribes. There are many Asiatic Jews, Armenians, and Syriac or Nestorian Christians; and 600,000 mongrel Hindoos who acknowledge the papacy of Rome. The Batties and Catties; the Ghorkas, Thugs and Phasingars; the Pindaries, Nairs and Moplies; the Mughls, Gosiens and Scindians; the Poligars, Sontals and Concanese; the Muniporeans, Coolies and Assamese; the Mhairs, Meenas and Khaitis; the Puharees, Todawars and Malays; the Ghonds, Loodanahs and Brinjaries; Moguls, Telingars, Dorians, Grassias, Byragies, and Bunnias; the Jauts, Bhats and Mewatties, with a dozen other tribes; are subject to the authority and influence

of English governors, whether statesmen or not. Parsee exiles, or fire-worshipping Ghebers, descended from the original inhabitants of Persia, and Chinese adventurers, have settled in thousands on the west and eastern frontiers of British India. Arabians from the straits of Babel-Mandeb and the shores of the Persian Gulf are continually arriving and mingling among their brethren of the Moslem faith, who are scattered in all places of British India, and amount to a population of nearly twelve millions. Within what is now strictly British territory,—a region nearly as extensive as the continent of Europe,—about one hundred millions of Hindoos, Mohammedans, and other tribes, bow to the sceptre of England; the destiny of fifty millions more, under tributary or subsidized governments, is subject to the overruling authority of British counsels. The chief of these nations are the gigantic fragments of principalities and powers which bore rule when Britons were only barbarians. Numerous sections of the aboriginal tribes have been broken down and mingled into crude and elemental confusion, and are dependent for reorganization upon the predominant influence of their successful conquerors. Their national habits, institutions, sympathies, and interests, have been loosened and perverted; they have become aliens to their ancestral kindred. The laws of all have been modified or abrogated: primeval languages have become obsolete, and new dialects have been introduced. Their prejudices and the observances



of their religion have been endangered, assailed by slow but certain aggression, and their deformity or hideousness exposed by the increasing and triumphant culture of the mind, the diffusion of useful knowledge, and the light of gospel truth. Emigrants from Britain, whether as servants of the government and martial troops; or as merchants, mariners, shopkeepers, mechanics and clergy; number about fifty thousand in all India. But of Indo-Britons, or Eurasians, descendants of European and Hindoo parentage, the numbers exceed three hundred and fifty thousand, many of whom are enterprising and wealthy.

The physical condition of the native tribes it is not easy comprehensively to describe; and an extensive acquaintance with the country where they dwell, either by testimony or inspection, is a necessary preliminary for the formation of correct opinions regarding them. It was a fond conceit with some sinister adversaries of christian missions to represent the people of India as *innocent* Hindoos, and to speak of them either as of one family or of one religion. A better acquaintance, or a more impartial testimony, will *variously* describe the separate tribes as cruel, insidious, and sensual, though cunning, ambitious, talented, warlike; as roving, thieving, murdering, freebooting, and vindictive; sanguinary, untameable, and haughty; as filthy, mercenary, piratical, turbulent, bigoted, and degraded; as ferocious, depraved, dissolute, restless, mendicant, and avaricious. Such attributes can

not be wholly applicable to any one of the tribes ; but one or other is not inappropriately employed to characterise the several nations which people British India. Except in some chief cities, many provinces in India are thinly inhabited ; vast tracts of country lie uncultivated and desolate ; fertile regions, where two or three crops might be reaped annually, are peopled only by straggling villages ; and the population is something less than one-eighth of what is contained within the square mile in Britain. Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived by Englishmen, so that I have often passed through agricultural villages, and found the people preferring the road-side as their place of midnight rest ; their food is of the coarsest fare, and insufficient to sustain animal strength ; while even of this, their supply is far less than appetite required. The state of their rural mendicant poor beggars description : whenever one of them becomes sick, he has no resting-place, but is exposed to desertion, to be an outcast, or hurried from village to village, lest his death should entail a burden on his poor neighbours. The clothing of the labouring poor is not so much as will be a veil to cover the shame of nakedness : a rag not worth *threepence* is often the only garment for tender and feminine delicacy, for the aged parent, and the man of grey hairs. Few, if any of this class, in some districts, ever know what it is to enjoy the warmth and shelter of a midnight covering in seasons when the blanket would be valued, and its

protection be a blessing. Native labourers work for native masters sometimes for so low wages as a penny or twopence per day; and they are deemed well paid if they receive as servants to Europeans fourpence daily.

It is, however, in the oft-recurring scenes of famine, of dry seasons and partial crops, that the physical wretchedness of Hindoos is fully developed. None, but those who have been eye-witnesses of the horrors then realized, can imagine how prostrate and ruined is their condition under such a visitation. They have then no energy; they cannot invent—they can do nothing for themselves. They have no moral stamina, no mental resources, no true religious consolations, no common refuge, no confidence in the men who govern them, and no idea of security for the time to come. The land-owners and land-agents, provision-dealers and corn-merchants, prey upon the poor and needy, traffic in famine, and enrich themselves by wants and woes, the despair and death of the famished myriads. With the utmost vigilance only can charitable individuals minister, through the service of native merchants, to the relief of destitute and perishing sufferers. I have stood among them when the dead were lying at my feet, and when the dying fell by my side; when the leprous, maimed in hands and feet, exhibited their loathsome extremities; when old age and childhood were covered by the ulcers and pustules of the small-pox; when haggard famine sat upon the wan and sunken

cheek, and the hollow eye of thousands ; when it was necessary to mete out the charity of a generous, foreign community under the protection of armed police peons ; and when the wailings and feeble cry of the hungry and exhausted pierced and agonized the heart. The spectacle was not likely soon to fade from the memory, or the causes to escape inquiry. To prevent the tens of thousands, perishing in one country, from passing into neighbouring districts, it was deemed expedient to erect barriers, and place an armed force, lest they should paralyze the local benevolence which was struggling to mitigate the sufferings of the surrounding poor. I have seen the miserable and emaciated victims of famine searching among the *excrements* of camels, elephants, and cattle, for particles of grain which had passed undigested. Such scenes, if they occurred only once in the history of a nation, were enough to excite the commiseration of mankind, and bring suspicion upon the wisdom of the men by whom the people were governed. Unhappily, however, they have been of frequent recurrence in British India ; *periodically* have they been experienced ; three times within fifteen years. Private letters, official accounts, and other sources of information, unite with my evidence in representing that people subject to such alarming and consuming destitution ; famishing myriads depending on the scanty supplies of charity ; hundreds and thousands perishing from want and attendant diseases ; villages and rural districts depopulated

by migration or death; the streams and rivers choked or poisoned by the putrid carcasses of a people dying in too great numbers to be buried by surviving relatives: death not only arrayed in its most ghastly forms, but also serving to generate diseases at which trembling mortality shudders, and over which human courage and science can exercise no control. Cholera, with all its terrors, has been rendered even desirable, compared with the more fearful and resistless ravages of hydrophobia. Gaunt and squalid wretchedness, emaciated and skeleton forms, endued with a vigour which despair and rabid disease impart, have peopled the streets and hovered round the dwellings of European residents to indicate the misery and suffering which Hindoo subjects of the British crown endure.

In 1833, famine prevailed in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, during which the destruction was awful. More than 150,000 miserable creatures fled from their country to seek in the neighbourhood of the capitals the means of sustaining life. Myriads perished at home, and on the roads; and the remnant who did not abandon the country parts, and yet continued to sustain life, were reduced to a state of emaciation which defies description. Their personal appearance was scarcely human; their anatomy was nearly as much developed as that of actual skeletons; the articulation of each joint but for the skin might have been traced: their bellies were unnaturally swollen, and

their colour was of the deepest jet. These were British subjects, who had been taken under control, and made tributaries to the support of government; whose land was taxed so highly, that no more than seven sixteenths of the produce went to the husbandmen; and whose fruits of industry could be sold to no other merchant than their irresponsible government; while they had been able to purchase goods in no market but what their rulers furnished. It is a country where the tax and land collector, where the judges and arbiters in all contests or disputes, are the armed conquerors and rulers of the region. Are these rulers, to whom have been committed the destinies of alienated myriads, sufficient for so onerous a responsibility, while politicians and statesmen at home may be alike ignorant and indifferent to the immense interests at stake? Wise men would fear to assume the power and ascendancy with which eastern rulers, not peculiarly gifted or experienced, have been invested.

India has been a field for the spoiler to reap since its earliest history. Native princes, by exorbitant and merciless exactions, indulged their extravagance and avarice till they had peeled and impoverished their subjects, or taught the more prudent and enterprising the necessity for craft and concealment,—for a dissembled poverty and secret hoards, if they would escape perpetual robbery. The rulers at Delhi and Agra, imperial princes and provincial rajahs, soubahdars and nabobs, when

they had accumulated wealth, heaped it only for the wholesale spoiler. The Zenghis Khans, the Tamerlanes, the Ackbers and Aurungzebes, passed over the land as a tempest, and swept away its wealth as with a whirlwind, or swallowed up the riches of tributaries and subjects till cities were laid waste, provinces were depopulated, golden heaps were carried off as a common spoil and an expected harvest. The scenes, too, of misery and desolation which accompanied European conquests, which attended the contests for ascendancy between the English and French, and which were occasioned by the Mysore, the Pindarrie, the Mahratta, and Burmese wars, as recorded in military campaigns and the civil histories of British India, assure us how extensive must have been the suffering, and how disastrous the condition, of the wretched peasantry. Conflagration, rapine, carnage, and sanguinary battles, military executions and protracted and wasting sieges, served to desolate the country, to destroy the commerce, to interrupt manufactures, to prevent agriculture, to exhaust the resources, and consume the people of India. How large the price which has been paid for British conquest and Indian subjugation; how numerous the human sacrifices; how fearful the criminality and cruelty; it would not be easy to imagine or describe. But it has been affirmed that all India yet groans, while her teeming population is rapidly consuming in the midst of famine and poverty. The British power has been stretched over Hindostan by the employ-

ment of native armies: one nation has been marched against another, and one class has helped to subdue the other. While the British conquerors have never employed a larger force than thirty-seven thousand of European troops, the native Hindoo ranks have sometimes numbered more than 260,000 fighting soldiers, accoutred and upheld by British pay. It may, therefore, be supposed, as was the case, that the policy of the conqueror has been to elevate the few and depress the multitude; to cherish a native aristocracy, a landed gentry, and a dominant interest. A few in every province will be recognised as large proprietors, wealthy baboos, powerful zemindars, and prosperous adventurers. And although the ancient rajahs, or chiefs of feudal dynasties, have passed away, men have been raised up who occupy their place and power. Not a few among the Hindoos have acquired property and influence by their subserviency to English employers, and their consequent facilities for traffic and lucrative speculation. Such men have retired to their own country, and secured to themselves distinction and influence among their countrymen. These, however, must be regarded as exceptions to the general condition of the people rather than as any exemplification of the beneficence of British rule in India.

There is a difference in the condition of the Mussulmans who inhabit British India from the state of the Hindoo. The former are descendants of those accustomed to rule, many of whom had been



trained in arms ; who followed as a licentious and domineering banditti, rather than the servile and obedient troops of *civilized* warfare : they have retained a more vigorous and independent character—what would be called more manly, though less soft, smooth, and winning, than the supple Brahmin. The Moslem is not so well liked by the haughty, indolent, and dominant English, as is the eunuch-like Hindoo, yet his mind is superior : he has a degree of greater elevation of sentiment and much greater energy of purpose and dignity of character ; but is more intemperate and fiery in his religious bigotry ; more cultivated, and susceptible of increased civilization, than the Hindoo, but also more luxurious and dissipated ; fonder of war, its excitement and trappings, and more ready to resent injuries and chastise his enemies. His insincerity, mendacity, and perfidy ; his selfish indifference to the feelings of others, and willingness to attain his objects by venality and prostitution ; do not raise his moral character above the Hindoos. Yet the two classes harmonize in most social affairs ; the Hindoos assisting at the celebration of Mohammedan festivals, and the Mussulmans as butchers slaughtering and cutting up the animal food used by the Hindoos. The Mohammedans are profuse when possessed of wealth, and devoted to pleasure ; but their poor are not so wretched as those of the Hindoos.

The commerce and manufacture of nations have generally been deemed significant tests of their civilization, and their means of providing for

the physical wants of their domestic and relative circles. The ingenuity, enterprise, capital, and security of a people are presumed, according to the extent and variety of their productions, their access to markets, and powers of competition. If there be a teeming soil, a congenial climate, and a wise government, with a strong moral feeling, and a spirit of generous independence in the people, we should anticipate abundant markets, profitable returns, and social comfort. Now India has been a wide emporium for the world's traffic since the remotest days, and her rich and luxurious produce has been celebrated in all markets, carried by land and by sea to the remotest regions, and prized by the affluent or the ambitious. In earliest history, and for many ages, we find other nations were the adventurers and carriers of Indian merchandise, yet the Hindoos acted as their own factors, and derived the profits of the commerce for their own advantage. The people of this land held the distaff, and set up the busy loom; used the weaver's shuttle, and fabricated cloths for all purposes in the most ancient times—thousands of years before Britons knew how to wear such garments; nor have they lost the gentle craft even now, or ceased to ply the spindle or the beam. They have continued weavers of the finest as well as richest textures; their cottons and silks may vie with the manufactures of all lands; their sugars, their spices, and precious stones, equal the produce of western countries. But their conquerors have entered into

wide and successful competition with them for the supply of their own market; and, as merchant-rulers, have injured their interests by a forced commerce in unwrought wools and narcotic drugs, which have been bartered for the produce of China, and to supply the luxuries of Britain. The manufactures of India have been denied a free market in England, and English goods have been brought, almost untaxed, into the Indian market, so as to depreciate their home manufactures, or prevent the production of them in the Indian loom. Such has been the policy for the sugars, the spices, the drugs, the oils, the coffees, and the cocoas of India, when competing with the growth of plantation or western colonies. The biting sarcasm has, with perhaps too much justice, been applied—"Alas! all the protection that India has experienced has been protection to English trade and native idolatry. English trade, at whatever cost to the natives; and native idolatry (the only native thing protected at all) not only permitted—we have no right to put it down by force—but sanctioned, and promoted by christian influence!"

Our oriental possessions have been valued as they could be rendered productive in revenue, in patronage, and in political supremacy. But is this all? Is it all that should have been, or all that is implied in the providential dispensations by which Britain has become lord paramount of the soil, and dictator of the liberties of one hundred millions of Hindoos? Should the people have been nothing—

their moral, intellectual, and social improvement things of nought to the governors or usurpers? To sustain the reputation of a parental government, was it becoming that the comforts of their home, their necessary food, and their elevation in the scale of nations, in liberty, in well-ordered and equal government, in truth and virtue, should have occupied, comparatively, none of the cares of administration, have occasioned no anxiety to the ruler, and have been overlooked by the political watchmen in parliament and in the press? How much is the contrast against India, compared with the solicitude which has been publicly expressed for the negro! The population of the one, the negroes, are altogether a *million*, under British dominion; and of the other, the Hindoos, *one hundred millions* of British subjects. The negroes are generally shut up in the islands of the sea; the Hindoos are surrounded by myriads in neighbouring states, whose social condition will be affected by every change which can come on our Hindoo dominion. Persia, China, and all the kingdoms of further India, on the banks of the Burrampootra, and of the Indus, will share in the destinies of the nations who live upon the Ganges, the Nerbudda, the Kistna, and the Godavery. The states and islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the Malayan straits, have all an interest in the fate of British India. The principal tribes of those continuous lands are watching the progress of events under the influence of British sway, with trembling anxiety,

and are prepared to modify and regulate their policy according as the conduct of Anglo-Indian authorities may seem to warrant their conclusions.

The moral condition and religious character of these many tribes is in the highest degree calculated to excite the warm sympathies and concern of the philanthropist and the Christian. They are, with few exceptions, enveloped in gross darkness. The classical literature of a people will serve as an index of their moral character in past and present times. We discern in it the opinions and maxims which were current in the antiquity of the nation ; and in the reverence or scepticism evinced towards it by the living generation we shall judge how far conformity subsists between the earlier and later times. What has been the aliment of thought, the food of the mind, through successive ages, will enable us to conclude what is the mental and moral character formed under such auspices. The classical literature of Europe, the poetry, the oratory, and the history of the Greeks especially, and of the Romans in an inferior degree, throw a flood of light on the state of mental culture and moral principle of the people who inhabited the states of Greece and Italy. And here we can trace passages of striking beauty and imposing sublimity, sentiments distinguished by generous, enlightened, and liberal enthusiasm, and occasional glimpses of principle, aspiring to a noble and lofty bearing, tending towards an expansive and refined freedom, and throwing an air of patriotism and philanthropy

over the pursuits and ambition of some of their scholars and heroes, their statesmen and private citizens. For their associations with history, their influence upon modern literature, and their presumed tendency to sharpen and chasten the literary tastes and intellect of our youth, they hold their place in the scholastic course of the rising generation. It is, however, necessary for the teacher who values the morals of the young to exercise discretion and forethought in selecting the portions which are to be read ; while school editions, containing only as it is deemed the most harmless or the least dangerous portions, are frequently provided by the judicious and considerate. Yet, even when purified of much of their alloy, and taught in regions distant from the scenes described, and where the imagination can but obscurely realize the darker shades, these classics are in many cases discovered to have been extremely pernicious to the morals of the youthful scholar. The grossness of idea concerning divine things which they communicate to the mind, and the praises lavished on the deeds denominated virtuous, but which in reality are only splendid vices, are calculated to form in the learner a false estimate of moral distinctions, and to gloss over dark and evil deeds with the semblance of virtue and goodness. Whatever literature is contained, as classical learning, in the languages of India, must in every respect be necessarily much more pernicious and corrupting. They are the living languages of a people practising all

the abominations in worship and in manner of life, which their favourite authors so fully and minutely describe.

The language which Sir W. Jones conjectures might have been the primeval language of Upper India, the Hindee, upon the basis of which Hindustani has been formed, is not known to me to possess any literature, and the dialect derived from it is obviously destitute of any *classical* literature. From a certain analogy which he forms on the subject of the language of conquerors, he is almost induced to conjecture that the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors, in some very remote age, from other kingdoms. I do not adopt either his theory or analogy, though I differ, with the greatest deference, from so high an authority. As a language, the Sanscrit possesses a perfect construction, and is as copious as the Latin and Greek, with many grammatical intricacies. The roots of its verbs and forms of its grammar bear a strong affinity to these languages. The characters of its alphabet, reputed to have been taught by the divinity, and therefore designated *Devanagaree*, have been adopted for the languages of more than twenty kingdoms and states, with certain variations; and Sir W. Jones believed that the square Chaldaic letters in which most Hebrew books are copied were originally the same; while the Ethiopic and Phœnician bear a close relation to the *Devanagaree*. — An enthusiasm in literature may surely be carried to as great an excess as fanaticism

has ever gone in religion. Speaking of a commentary on a philosophical *Shastra*, Sir W. Jones says, "I am confident in asserting, that until an accurate translation of it shall appear in some European language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete, for I perfectly agree with those who are of opinion that one correct version of any celebrated Hindoo book would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays that could be composed on the same subject." To complete the climax, I may just add another sentence: "So I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the Vedas, and even in the works of the Sufis."

One should think this is bold enough! We may however remark, that this theology and philosophy were possessed of a wonderful self-secreting power. It has been bottled up in hermetical receptacles, without the power of expansion, and its influence upon those who were the *hidden ones* has been the reverse of productive and useful. Is this the nature of such philosophy? will such a germ produce no fruit? will an ointment so odorous and rich diffuse no perfume? or is it all so etherealized that it evaporates so soon as the precious vial is opened? I cannot avoid declaring that my inquiries have led to a far different estimate. I have held most familiar, frequent, and studious intercourse with Brahmins of no ordinary acquirements and sagacity,



who still adhered to the practices of their own creed. I have closely and repeatedly interrogated my own moonshees, or pundits, and sought to ascertain, not what was contained in the Shastras, but what was most commonly believed by the would-be-wise among the people,—what they understood was taught in the Puranas and the more sacred Vedas. I did meet with something which partook of the character of a mythological, metaphysical jargon, a sort of abstract, pantheistic mysticism, which might more properly be deemed the puerilities of philosophy, falsely so called. Sir W. Jones confesses that “one original treatise on medicine, considered as a science, in any language of Asia,” does not exist. However, he exults in “the ample field” presented by *six* philosophical Shastras, for a development of the metaphysics and logic of the Brahmins,” besides the works of the heterodox philosophers. I believe, however, that the instruction most valuable to be found in the Sanscrit belongs to grammar and the derivation of languages, which shoot out from it as from a parent stem. The poetical and religious fire which blazes out in some of the poems, as Sir W. Jones describes it, has entirely escaped my observation.

Hindooism is represented by its votaries as sustaining a harmony with the constitution of the visible world, though they “contend that it has no essence independent of mental perception ; that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms.” The religion of the Hindoos, and their philosophy,

are each interwoven completely with the other, and the rejection of one involves the rejection of the other : the tale of their philosophy is a web of sophistical deceits. Chemistry is with them the jargon of alchemy ; their astronomy the vagaries of the astrologer ; in hydrostatics and hydraulics their ignorance is practical and mischievous ; -in optics and pneumatics they are equally deceived. I have adopted the statement of Mill, whose historical work on India I diligently compared, in company with a Brahmin : his testimony is true. "It sufficiently appears that the accounts with which they satisfy themselves are merely such random guesses as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored minds ! From intellect arose ether ; from ether, air ; from air, fire and light ! It appears from this that they consider light and heat as absolutely the same. Their account of water and earth are links of the same chain. From light, a change being effected, comes water—water with the quality of taste ; and from water is deposited earth, with the quality of smell. As from ether came air, so from air came light, from light water, and from water earth ! It is useless to ask what connexion appears between water and light, or earth and water. Connexion, reason, probability, had nothing to do with the case ; a theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writer ; and all inquiry was out of the question. Air was endowed with the quality of touch ; water and earth are said to have the qualities of smell and

taste. In this we perceive a most fantastic conceit. The qualities of taste, of smell, of light, of touch, and of hearing, are respectively ascribed to water, to earth, to fire, to air, and to ether. From hot moisture are born biting gnats, lice, fleas, and common flies : these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." The historian concludes, with great justice, "If this be an idea natural enough to the mind of an uncultivated observer, it is at least not a peculiar proof of learning and civilization."

But it matters little to the people of Hindostan what are the contents of the *philosophical Vedas*, sealed as they are under the mystic terms of the Sanscrit, a dead, and generally unknown language. The anathemas and denunciations, moreover, under which the intruder is bound, on his eyes if he shall read, in his ears if he shall hear, and on his tongue if he shall utter the sacred sentences of the Veda, unless he be a Brahmin, debar seven-eighths of the people from all access to these store-houses of presumed philosophy. It is in the Puranas and minor Shastras that the unprivileged herds may learn the contents of Hindoo literature. Stories from the Puranas are occasionally recited for entertainment or instruction among the people in the midst of their bazaars, or by the way-sides. I have stood and listened to these, when a circle of perhaps a hundred was seated on the ground, and the storyteller was placed by the lamp. These Puranas consist of fictitious tales or tragic stories of some

king or great chief, in far distant times, associated with some characteristic transaction of their gods. They contain generally a geographical delineation of the country where the scene is laid, and some historical allusions or traditions connected with the chronology of the age, and affording by synchronisms confirmation to other facts. The episode of "Nala and Damayanti" is a tale of this description. At a display, common for kings to make, and their daughters to endure, in ancient times, when neighbouring princes were convened to a kind of tournament, Damayanti was about to bestow her hand on her favourite. Nala, the tamer of horses, was the object of her choice; and inflamed by love and impatience, he was hastening to the swayambara, when he was intercepted by certain gods, who wished to put his virtue to the trial. "Indra, the god of the firmament; Agni, god of fire; Yama, the judge of departed souls; and Varuna, the god of the waters; appeared in the air, in their celestial chariots, and alighting close to him, addressed him, " King of men, we rely on thy fidelity. Perform a service to the gods, and be our messenger." Nala, having worshipped the deities, promised obedience. " We are deities, come on account of Damayanti : I am Indra—these are the lords of fire and of the waters—and this the destroyer of mortal forms. Go to Damayanti, inform her of our arrival; that we desire her choice to fall on *one of us*; and use your own eloquence to persuade her to yield to our desires. Her bower is impervious to all others;

but by our celestial power you will enter unperceived." With great reluctance he complied, but obtained the princess as his reward, to the chagrin of the goddess Cali, one of the most monstrous of all hideous conceptions of deified crime, and who persecutes him and his associates, &c. Such is a specimen of the least dangerous or corrupting of these fictitious tales. In others the character of the deities are unveiled, and their deformity and pollution laid bare, not for abhorrence, but as a warrant for crime, and a pattern for human guilt. Thus: "Bramha was inflamed with evil desires towards his own daughter. Vishnu, when incarnate as Bamunu, deceived king Bulee, and deprived him of his kingdom. Shiva's wife was constantly jealous on account of his amours; and charged him with associating among women of a low caste at Cooch-Behar. The story of Shiva and Mohinee, a female form of Vishnu, is shockingly indelicate. Vrihispustee, the spiritual guide of the gods, committed a rape on his eldest brother's wife. Indra was guilty of dishonouring the wife of his spiritual guide. Suryu ravished a virgin named Koontee. Yumu, in a passion, kicked his own mother, who cursed him, and afflicted him with a swollen leg, which the worms are, to this day, constantly devouring. Ugnee was inflamed with gross desires towards six virgins, the daughters of as many sages. Buluramu was a noted drunkard. Vayu made the daughters of Dukshu crooked because they refused his

embraces, and he delighted in carnal connexion with a female monkey. Krishna's thefts, wars, and adulteries, are so numerous that his history embraces an unbroken series of crimes. The representations made of Cali exhibit her treading on the breast of her husband. Vishnu could not restrain the quarrels of his wives Lucksami and Saruswutee, and even in his own heaven was ravished with the charms of the courtesan Urvushree. In these sacred writings the government of the world is conducted by gods more wicked than men. The Creator and Preserver maintain perpetual hostility. The Preserver appears destroying and the Destroyer preserving, in moments of caprice or contumacy. Shiva granted on one occasion to Ravunu, the enemy of the gods, a favour which set all the heavens in an uproar, and drove 330 millions of deities into a state of desperation. Brahma created Kumbu Kurnu, a monster so large that he was afterward obliged to doom him to protracted somnolency, lest his appetite should produce a universal famine. It is a frequent effect of Brahma's power that consequences so appalling or injurious are produced, as to require the incarnation of Vishnu, or to entail the exile of the gods from their throne, and send them forth as mendicants, till all human affairs have been thrown into confusion, and all the elements are converted into instruments of hostility against the Creator, the Preserver, and the Reproducer. Brahma has often rashly so endowed some giant with power to

destroy the creation, and when, in the moment of peril, Vishnu and Shiva have been solicited to give their aid, they have confessed themselves unable to help the tottering universe. Mr. Ward, who has supplied this abridgement, asks with great force, "Can we expect a people to be better than their gods?" This doctrine of polytheism, and the intrigues, criminal amours, quarrels, and stratagems of the gods, have produced the most fatal effects on the minds of the Hindoos. The polluted strains of their conversation, their lascivious and wanton intercourse, the lecherous familiarities of the pagoda Brahmins with their courtesan establishments, the general habits of the people from earliest puberty, cannot be described; and no imagination can dream of the symbols of pollution which are used as ornaments for their pagoda architecture, or their distinguishing emblems.

Their land is filled with habitations of abominable cruelties, and their spirits are sunk under the power of the wicked one. The sensual and immoral forms of their religion; the licentious and corrupt conduct of their priesthood; the sanguinary, vicious, and unnatural rites and mysteries of their solemn worship; the delusive, unprofitable, and ruinously lavish sacrifices which their fanaticism dictates, and their superstition offers before their gods, but which their priests appropriate; prove but too plainly that they have become vain in their imaginations, that their foolish heart has been darkened, and that the whole sombre catalogue of

crime, given by inspiration in the two first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, has been exemplified in them. The moral atmosphere has been polluted, and every thing which has come within its pestilent influence has been debased. Moham-medanism has become a more gross and shameless imposture. The Armenian Church has grown even more superstitious; popery has added to her delusion, her image worship, and her priestly intolerance; and the Christianity of the Syriac Church has sunk into a lifeless form—a name to live, destitute of all power or primitive simplicity. The millions of India have, from age to age, passed into eternity, and gone down into the grave with a deceived heart, a vain hope, as a prey to the spoiler. A whole people, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Bur-rampootra, have not practised the knowledge of the true God, and have lived as aliens from his favour. Their religion has but served to degrade their mental character, to aggravate their social miseries, to exhaust their natural resources, and to render their degradation and ruin more certain and universal. Their system of theology, their sacred Vedas and Puranas, their religious solemnities and offerings, have all been as wormwood and gall, the elements of death, and the poison of immortality. Such has been the condition of a hundred millions of our fellow-subjects, and what have we, as a people, done to alter or amend their state?

The government of Britain, as exercised in



India, have upheld the sacred places—the mosques of their Moslem predecessors; they have sanctioned and regulated, as by a legal calendar, the great feasts of Hindoo idolatry; the temples held most sacred, the gods most honoured, and the festivals most generally observed, have been protected, represented as sacred, and made a source of government revenue. Solemn treaties have been made between British rulers and Hindoo gods; the great idols have been clothed under the orders and subject to the directions of government with English broad-cloth, and their table furnished with a daily provision from the Company's godowns. Missions to arouse the fervour and increase the number of their devotees have been sent forth and rewarded under the arrangements and presidency of the British; the priests have been paid, and their licentious orgies and courtesans have been provided for from the treasury of the government. The highest and most officially dignified functionaries have been seated at the gates of idol temples, and received the revenue—the pilgrim tax; and men called Christians have been required to do honour to the stocks and stones; to fire salutes, and walk in processions, when these images were carried forth, revered and adored. Christian worship has been neglected, in some cases *set aside*, and the day which God has made for himself has been prostituted to the services of the mock deities by British authorities, civil and military. An ignominious brand has been fixed on the name of

Jesus, and converts to his faith from among the Hindoos have been removed from offices of trust, have been excluded from the Indian army, and refused the distinction or emolument of government service. I state all these matters, not upon hearsay report, or the calumnies of enemies or alienated friends. These things were not done in a corner. Christian missions were first resisted, opposed, and contemned; and afterwards, the labours of pious and devoted men were interdicted or placed under surveillance, because the government had covenanted the protection of idol worship to the poor deluded devotees. Difficulties and impediments, the censorship of the press, dismissal from office or removal from the country, were the obstacles or the penalty in the way of benevolent efforts to enlighten the people on the subject of Christianity; while the lives of the great majority of the men called Christians were more depraved by licentious intercourse, by impure conversation, by dissipation and an outward disregard to all the forms and observances of religion, than were those of even many of the heathen themselves—than some whom I have met among the Brahmins, as well as other castes.

The force of public opinion at home, and the honoured labours of missionaries abroad; the change which has been slowly but perceptibly effected on the principles and characters of civilians and military authorities; and the influence of divine truth upon men raised up in India; have, at

last, though late, produced a change and a semblance of less sympathy and cooperation between the government and *native* idolatry : but so far as authority and government may be concerned, what is the precise benefit conferred ? The zealous and well-meant efforts of Dr. C. Buchanan have been more than crowned with success. India has been territorially assigned to the Church of England, and a revenue secured by taxation and land rental from the Hindoos has been appropriated with imperial profusion. Bishops for Calcutta, for Madras, and for Bombay, with their several archdeacons, have been appointed and endowed so plentifully, and invested with such official importance, that the Lord Padre Sahib is second only in rank to the governors. Chaplains, in some seventy or eighty places, have been settled, whose annual cost is from ninety to one hundred thousand pounds, yielding salaries equal to some of the Irish and English rectories. The duties in some cases of these functionaries, such as prescribed, are, I know, faithfully discharged. In many instances, however, the offices may not be more beneficially performed than are some others nearer home ; only they are not rendered odious by a direct tithe upon the labour of the idolaters. Revenues are also applied by government to support the priesthood and services of the Romish Church, from fifteen hundred to two thousands per annum, for twenty-eight or thirty priests. Some may fear that the prospect is not

far off when a heathen population shall be the nominal flock of a state-endowed clergy and a dominant hierarchy. Should there arise a strife between Anglican and Romish prelates, and their adherents for ascendancy, it will be rather a hinderance than a means for the instruction and conversion of Hindoos, for the improvement of the moral and religious condition of that numerous people.

Inquiries of more than a national or political importance are suggested by the rapid summary, the rude outline, which has now been sketched; and questions which affect the policy and justice of all our past intercourse with Indian nations are started from the facts which have been narrated or implied. Some would demand, What have Britons gained,—what increased revenue, what profit upon invested capital, what advantages in commerce, what accessions of national power, have been realized,—by the conquest of India, by the extension of dominion which Great Britain has acquired in the East? Others would be more concerned to know if British conquests have altered or improved the condition of the natives of Hindostan; if the acquisition of paramount dominion by Englishmen in the East has been of advantage to the interests of the population generally, either in comparison with former governments, with the hereditary rajahs or the Mohammedan invaders, or contrasted with what should or might have resulted from the triumph of more enlightened rulers. The philan-

thropist or the moralist may be solicitous to ascertain whether English supremacy has conferred facilities for the ultimate development of the moral powers and resources beyond what could have been expected of the Hindoos themselves, or of the rulers whose power we have subverted. Has the triumph of English arms been a blessing or a curse to India? and is it desirable for the greatest good, and as a probable means of securing the advancement of that people in knowledge and virtue, that British rule should be prolonged in Hindostan?

So many were the despots who swayed the sceptre, and so relentless their usurpation; so pervading the superstition, so dark and deadly its influence; that Asia had no good institutions of which her enemies could despoil her. Anglican dominion must, therefore, have been flagrantly pernicious and unwise; or the conjecture, or the dream, must have been extravagantly fanciful to induce the supposition that positive injury has been inflicted on the subject multitude by British supremacy. The good which might have been done, and the wise measures which might have been pursued, belong to the Utopia of probability, and may be magnified or coloured according to the fervour of the imagination, or the political predilections of the writer. But would it have been worse had India never become a British province? Governors and civil servants may not have been free from odium and guilt in many important

transactions, which are now the record of history : yet, taking the good and the ill together, we think India has profited rather than lost by her subjection to British influence and connexion. It may be problematical whether she had any thing peculiarly valuable, which could be put in peril, in her social or political condition, by a transference of the governing power. Facilities or resources for enlightened or moral culture, in schools, colleges, printing establishments ; or in literature, periodical or popular ; cannot be traced prior to her conquest by Great Britain. The protection of private property is now, generally, effected by a British administration, though cases of personal hardship occur ; bodily suffering and barbarian punishments are restricted ; and means for an equitable administration of justice in the British provinces have been provided by British interposition : superior courts of appeal have been established, and the possibility of a remedy is held out ; native chiefs and tributary princes have been compelled to submit to law, and observe something like equity in their proceedings. A vigilant police for the repression of crime and trial by jury have been either established or restored. The most perfect toleration of religious differences exists in British India, and protection is secured to the subject in the observance of the rites of his chosen religion. Peace reigns in those vast countries formerly distracted and torn by the contentions of a hundred despots ; industry is protected from robbery and

private wrong; while the enterprising and successful may amass capital without alarm, and enjoy it in security. Clearer views and more correct opinions on mercantile policy are beginning to be diffused and acted on; while colonization by European citizens, and the increased liberty of the native and country-born population, the freedom of the press, and free and rapid intercourse with Britain, will open channels of instruction, and give an impetus to knowledge and inquiry, unprecedented in all the past history of India.

One change yet remains to be effected. A settlement of the land-tax must be made; so that it shall not continue variable as the barometer, and uncertain as the clouds of heaven. In the Bombay and Madras presidencies, the state or government is virtually a rack-renting landlord. This is called the Ryotwarre system; which has been compared to the screw in a cider press, while the district, subject to it, is likened to an apple squeezed by this screw; the collectors severally applying the extent of their power, and then transferring the handle to their successors. It is an assessment on the land made annually according to an actual survey of every acre of the ground, and its measure of productiveness. The whole extent of the province is divided into three classes: the *dry field*, the irrigated *field*, and the irrigated *garden land*: these are again distinguished by a subordinate classification of twenty varieties in each division, taxing the land at rates varying from sixpence to

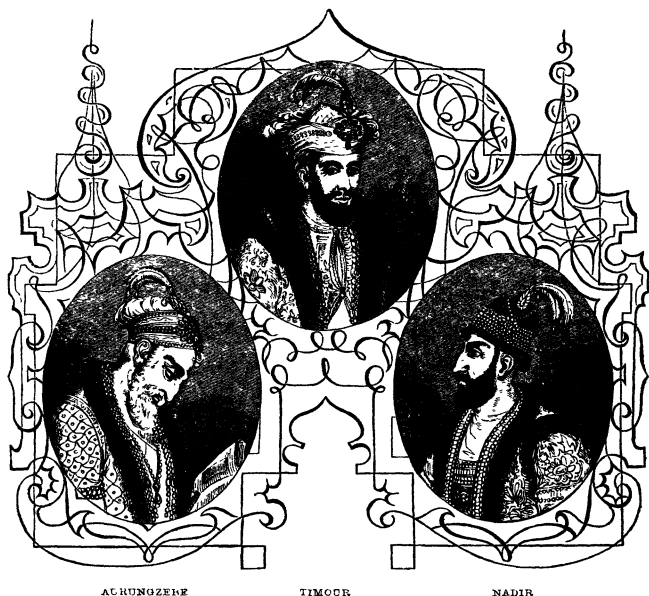
seventy shillings per acre. In the second, the irrigated field, the capital of the peasant or his ancestor, laid out in tanks or trenches, is subject to taxation; and in the garden ground, a system of excise is applied to the pot-herbs, garden-stuffs and fruits of the Hindoo.

“ From the ploughing of the land to the reaping of the crop, a constant system of *surveillance* is pursued by the revenue officers. When the peasant's crop fails, or is defective, remissions of tax are made; when it is unusually abundant, an increase is made to his assessment. When the crop of one inhabitant of a village fails, his neighbours are required to make good the deficiency; and when the crops of a whole village fail, or are defective, the neighbouring ones are required to make up the difference to the state. The estimated proportion of the gross produce of the soil, taken as tax by the government under this system is, according to its advocates, forty-five parts in a hundred, being more than *double* what is supposed to be the usual proportion constituting the average rent of the landlord in England. As to the cultivator, who is admitted to be at once labourer, farmer, and proprietor, his average share of the gross produce is stated to be generally from five to six in a hundred, or in other words, he receives as *rent* very little more than *one half* of what the clergy of England receive as *tithe*.”

The revenue of the land thus levied is collected through the agency of 100,000 revenue officers,



who can remit or exact the whole at their pleasure. Every man is tempted to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, so as to save himself, eventually, from any increased demand. The collector is, within his district, the sole magistrate, or justice of the peace, through the medium of whom alone any complaint of personal grievance, suffered by the subject, can reach the superior courts: every officer, subordinate to his authority, employed in the collection of the land revenue, is a police-officer, vested with power to fine, put in the stocks, confine, or flog any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case. The industry of the well-doing peasant is taxed to make up the deficiency of the sluggard, or the unfortunate. The yearly vacillation prevents the application of capital, enterprise, and industry. Under a permanent settlement applied to Bengal, population and revenue have increased more than one half, in thirty-two years. In Madras and Bombay, natural increase has been prevented; the revenue, with all the pressure of the screw, is stationary; and the population subject to diminution. I should, therefore, hail the change which is spoken of, and wish the principle were carried farther: for the annual, triennial, and quinquennial leases before granted, it is now proposed to substitute one of thirty—I would say, substitute one of ninety-nine years.



#### ENGLISH ADVENTURE AND ORIENTAL CONQUESTS.

THE student who wishes to explore thoroughly the whole character of our Hindoo dominions ; the merchant who desires to invest capital and embark in eastern enterprise ; or the colonist who seeks for a new and most promising field for his industry and perseverance ; will find Montgomery Martin's " British Colonies " a source of invaluable information, and deserving to be consulted as a *vade mecum*. The politician, who inquires not for the name or evanescent triumphs of the conqueror ; he

who longs not for the strife of nations or the commotions of civil war, but who exerts himself to promote the interests of universal peace, of national prosperity, and of remunerative industry, will trace here a field for philosophical legislation, for benevolent and wise government; which will furnish matter for deliberate and lengthened discussion. These excellences, however, may render it less attractive for the more discursive reader; for whom passages of spirited description and impassioned narrative, scenes and sketches beautifully picturesque, sublime, and impressive, would be esteemed more seasonable and pleasing. He shows that the oriental dominions which are held by our insular kingdom, offer to the agriculturist measureless fields for pasture and tillage; to the manufacturer, an incalculable extension of the home market for the disposal of his wares; to the merchant and mariner, vast marts for profitable traffic in every product with which nature has bounteously enriched the earth; to the capitalist, an almost interminable site for the profitable investment of his funds; and to the industrious, skilful, and intelligent emigrant, an area of many thousand square miles, where every species of mental ingenuity and manual labour may be developed and nurtured into action with advantage to the whole family of man. The ulterior events which may befall this extended empire through the counsels and operations of British citizens are concealed from our anticipations; this much, however, is evident, that the intrinsic worth of these colonies

is neither appreciated nor understood by the mass of the people. We shall now trace, as briefly as our limits require, the conquest of these wide domains, and the progress of British acquisition.

It is questionable whether greater misery has been inflicted on Asiatic provinces by the misrule and imbecility of native despots, tyrants who usurped a short-lived dominion, or the royal descendants of reigning princes, who, by virtue of hereditary right, have pillaged and devoured the miserable and defenceless multitude; or whether invasion and conquest, with their attendant plundering, conflagration, and massacres, have been a greater source of wretchedness and woe. The successful adventurers Cuttub and Altumsh, Balin and Alla, Tuglick and Nizam-ul-Dien, were succeeded by their children, or their kindred, as transitory dynasties,—the Ferozes and Byrams, the Kei Kobads, Mubaricks, and Jonahs, the Mahomeds and Mahmoods,—who ravaged the country as locusts and caterpillars, and proved even as hostile to the permanent interests of their people as the Genghis Khans, the Timurs, Babers, Akbers, and Shah Jehans. Yet indeed it is only a choice of evils, and desolating was the mildest scourge. The record is but too well authenticated, which details rebellion, massacres, and barbarous conquests, as the history of India from the remotest annals. In it we read of thousands, twenty, seventy, a hundred thousand, yea, hundreds of thousands of persons being slaughtered in one day, without the slightest

compunctions ; of unbounded perfidy and treason, of never-ending assassination for personal revenge, or of public confiscation ; the noses and ears of thousands cut off at one time, the compulsory circumcision or mutilation of thousands at another ; judicial decisions openly sold ; the work of war and blood made perpetual ; living beings hewed or torn to pieces ; hillocks of bodies and pyramids of human heads piled up for public show ; the inhabitants of whole provinces hunted like wild beasts for royal amusement ; the march of a monarch tracked by gore, desolation, famine, and pestilence ; women devouring their own children in excess of agony ; and myriads upon myriads, even during the eighteenth century, wantonly slaughtered in cold blood. The earliest and most inveterate foes whom the British traders first encountered on the shores of India were not the natives, but those for whom the native tribes had long been for a prey, and among whom their lands had been divided as the parcels of conquering freebooters. The Moslem invaders of India invested and captured the Company's factory of Fort William. By their armed thousands, millions, of the most timid and passive nations, were kept in abject submission ; their oppression was maintained by murder, torture, and robbery, to an extent never witnessed in the western world, which, having been protracted through centuries, would, under a less genial clime, or with a less enduring people, have terminated in the total extinction of the Hindoo race. The cessation of

the Mohammedan power in Hindostan can never be regretted by the benevolent mind, to whom are familiar the records of that beautiful but ill-fated land. The historic scroll of this people had for ages been stained with human gore, either from internal insurrections, or the irruptions of the fresh locust-hordes, who sought to share in the spoils of their more wealthy, but not more fortunate brethren.

The character of these events will appear more distinctly in the reputation sustained by a few of the oriental chieftains. Timur plundered and massacred without distinction of religion or sex; his track was marked by blood, desolation, famine, and pestilence: so justly has he been denominated the *fire-brand of the universe*, and the greatest wholesale butcher of our species ever heard of by mankind. The Mogul Aurungzebe, and the Mahratta Savagee, were as ruthless destroyers of the Hindoo race—extensive and sanguinary marauders wherever obstacles were presented to their mad and plundering ambition. Nadir Shah, a shepherd's son, and the usurper of the Persian throne, encountered the Hindostanee army four days' march from Delhi. The valour of his hardy and experienced bands prevailed, the timid and mismanaged crowds of Mahomed's army were soon confused, and their leaders slain or made captive. Nadir and Mahomed met in the camp of Nadir, and the Shah consented to evacuate Hindostan upon receipt of two crores of rupees, or two million pounds sterling. An ambitious satrap defeated Mahomed's

efforts by offering a larger tribute for his own elevation to the higher office. Nadir recalled Mahomed and his omrah, Nizam-al-Mulk, to the Persian camp; and the conqueror marched to Delhi, whose gates were thrown open to receive him. After two days a report of his death was spread, and the infatuated inhabitants began to massacre his Persian guards: these men, who had maintained the strictest discipline and order, were now let loose upon their prey. With the first light of the morning Nadir Shah issued forth; his soldier-bands being dispersed in every direction, were ordered to slaughter the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, in every street or avenue where the body of a murdered Persian should be found. From sun-rise to mid-day the sabre raged, and thousands of Moguls, Hindoos, or Afghauns, were numbered with the dead. In the midst of massacre and pillage, the city was set on fire in several places. Saadut Khan, the origin of this deadly destruction, was now required to pay the two millions for his elevation; but before Nadir's messenger reached Oude, the place of his government, Saadut had died of a cancer in his back. On the same day were the imperial treasures seized:—three crores and fifty lacks (35,000,000 rupees) in specie; a crore and fifty lacks in plate; fifteen crores in jewels; the celebrated peacock throne, valued at a crore; other valuables to the amount of eleven crores; in all 32,000,000*l.* sterling; besides elephants, horses, and camp equipages of the emperor. The bankers and

other rich inhabitants were ordered to give up their wealth, and tortured to discover their concealed treasure. A heavy contribution was demanded of the city, and exacted with cruel severity; many laid violent hands upon themselves to escape the horrid treatment, to which they beheld others exposed. Famine pervaded the city, and pestilential diseases ensued. Seldom has a more dreadful calamity fallen on any portion of the human race than that in which the visit of Nadir Shah involved the capital of Hindostan. Having divided the provinces to suit his ambition or caprice, Nadir restored Mahomed to the exercise of his degraded sovereignty; and, bestowing upon him and his courtiers some good advice, began, on the 14th of April, 1739, his march from Delhi, of which he had been in possession for thirty-seven days. Delhi was captured by Abdallah in 1761, and surrendered to the horrors of a general massacre during seven days, under the lust and cruelty of a rapacious and infuriated soldiery. This remorseless slaughter did not suffice to glut the ferocity of his guards; nor did they abandon their prey till the stench of dead bodies drove them out of the city. The habitations of the people were reduced to ashes, and thousands who had escaped the sword suffered a lingering death by famine, and expired among the smoking ruins of their consuming tenements. The city extended *thirty-four* miles in length, and had contained *two* millions of inhabitants; but it was now a heap of desolations, a monument of human fury. The most appalling



descriptions of suffering have been given by witnesses of scenes in these wars. Women as well as men were whipped naked through the streets, in the midst of wanton tortures ; citizens fled from their dearest friends as from beasts of prey, fearing to be devoured amidst the general starvation ; mothers consumed their own offspring, and sucking infants clung to the unyielding breasts of their deceased parents ; fire and sword contended for pre-eminence in the work of havoc and destruction ; the streets of cities and towns were rendered impassable by heaps of slain ; the country in many places exhibited few signs of being inhabited, save in the bones of murdered bodies and the smouldering ruins of villages and temples ; all law and religion were trodden under foot ; the very being, as well as the claims of a supreme God were utterly contemned ; the bonds of private friendship, as well as of society, were broken ; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm, or the deep villany of his own nature. Tippoo Sahib's dominion was raised on the ruins of provinces, and his power cemented by the blood of defenceless myriads ; he compelled the Brahmins in thousands to submit to his Mohammedan rites, while Hindoo Christians in multitudes were driven into exile from their birth-place, the home of their fathers, and as circumcised proselytes, were constrained to seem to worship at the shrine of the false prophet.

The British conquest of Hindostan has changed the aspect and character of the country; a stop has been put to such scenes of monstrous and harrowing desolation; the rapacity of Moslem conquerors, and the ruin of the homes and the dispersion of the families of Hindoo sufferers, do not now occur, so as that the recital may cause the soul of the reader to bleed. Tranquillity, civilization, and the benefits of christian precept and evangelical missions, have now been introduced into the country; and, from these, incalculable blessings may flow, which will gladden and cheer hundreds of millions of human beings, scattered throughout the vast territories of the Eastern hemisphere. Already, notwithstanding many drawbacks, the acquisition of the Indian provinces by the British people has contributed to the happiness of many Hindoos, and conferred general benefits upon the whole people—benefits which might be matured to the richest blessings, were our rulers wise; for *general peace*, the indispensable prelude to civilization, now reigns, which had not within record or tradition been heretofore known to continue for the shortest period among the unhappy inhabitants, since such had been the condition of the smaller states, that the ploughman carried arms at his rustic occupation, and the shepherd, while peacefully tending his herds, was always required to be prepared for the battle-field.

Though the merchants of Great Britain, soon after the discovery of the passage by the Cape of

Good Hope to India (in the year 1497), made repeated efforts to share with the Portuguese in the Eastern trade, more than a century elapsed before they had any degree of success. Individual effort was not deemed sufficient where such risk was incurred, and the protection of force was required. Queen Elizabeth, upon the application of some Englishmen, sent an embassy to the emperor of Delhi, soliciting his favour and protection to her subjects engaged in trade, and granted a charter to the merchants who had petitioned her, erecting them into a body corporate, under the title of the "Governors and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Many vicissitudes of varied fortune in domestic and foreign enterprise have marked the career of this company of merchant princes from its commencement on the 31st December, 1600. Modifications or renewals were obtained in 1609 from James I.; in 1636 from Charles I.; in 1657 from Cromwell; in 1661 and 1667 from Charles II.; in 1683 and 1686 from James II.; in 1698 and 1702 from William and Mary; in 1708 from Queen Anne; and throughout the reigns of the Georges, whenever the period of the charter required; and the East India Company has continued to acquire increased power, to extend the British dominion, and add to the number of the subjects of the English crown, till now the possessions of British India contain a population of 100,000,000 souls, with a territory of upwards of a million of square miles of the richest portion of the

earth; and the ascendancy of British influence is felt in every kingdom of the East, and over every Asiatic throne—from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the borders of China to the wilds of Curdistan. The East India Company began to assume political power and consequence as a government about the period of the downfall of the imperial house of Timur, when the aspirant princes of the East were contending for the fragments of the broken and crumbling empire, every province of which was distracted by their petty, but harassing wars, or groaning under their temporary oppression.

The people have ever been the dust under the rolling wheels of the war-chariot; their wrongs have been overlooked, and their groanings have not been heard, or their woes have been unregarded. But the princes and chiefs have appeared the greatest, and, in the eyes of some, the only sufferers by the rise of the East India Company. They each joined, or lent themselves to the European strangers, to subdue or humble their rivals, and observed not, till it was too late to retrieve, their error in allowing the Company to attain a strength which they could not shake; by dear-bought experience they discovered that efforts to accomplish its destruction only tended to confirm and enlarge its power. By some mysterious combination and overruling direction, which neither party ascribed to its proper SOURCE, they might perceive that not only did this foreign power improve by success, but it grew still greater after every

misfortune. A greater mystery rested upon this circumstance, and a deeper impression was produced by it, since the agency and secondary instruments by which it was effected were drawn from a distant land ; the fountain of which was unseen, and therefore conceived by the alarmed potentates to be inexhaustible. “ I am not alarmed at what I see of the force and resources of the Company, but at what is unseen,” was the emphatic speech of Hider Ally Khan, one of the most able, potent, and inveterate enemies of British rule in India. And in these expressions he faithfully represented the feelings and apprehensions of other native princes, when they contemplated the operations of these anomalous and rapidly encroaching usurpers, whose unfailing energies seemed drawn at pleasure from a distant and unknown country ; whose power they could only estimate by its effects ; and whose magnitude they could only judge of by its stupendous and unparalleled conquests. The enterprise and ambition of European agents on the one part, and the weakness and perfidy of Asiatic princes on the other, to whom they became, from their encroachments or their riches, an object of jealousy or plunder, no doubt contributed as secondary means to the Company’s progress and triumph ; but there was an invisible and all-wise *providence* overruling the course of events, by which it rose to the possession of royal power and prerogative, and was actually called upon to preside in the character of sovereigns over extended king-

doms before the rulers had ceased to be the mercantile directors of petty factories and commercial adventures. Whether the conquests were achieved by virtue and a sound policy, or not,—whether the means by which India was rendered subject to England were of all others the best calculated to effect that great object, as the simple operation of natural and obvious causes,—it is not necessary for us to decide; but we have no question, that while their heart thought not so, and neither did they desire it, the Supreme Ruler among kingdoms was carrying forward *his* measures of universal government, and accomplishing his purposes of goodness and mercy. It seemed as if the great changes were to be effected in opposition to the purposes of the principal authorities. They denounced, at every step, the progress which their agents made to the territorial power in India; and when their advice was insufficient to resist, they in vain employed the mandates of law or the commands of the sovereign authority: it was proved that, though they might regulate, they could not withstand their own career to greatness under the influence of causes that were irresistible, and therefore not possible to be controlled.

Force and power might indeed have failed successfully to approach the shores of India, but to the unpretending merchant every encouragement was offered. His wisdom and spirit in the conduct and defence of his own enterprises excited the admiration of surrounding powers, who, in process of time, courted his alliance and solicited his aid.

When he had granted this aid, and repelled the aggressions of his allied rivals, he obtained as a reward additional immunities and privileges, and was brought into political connexions. From the day on which the Company's servants marched a mile beyond their factories, in military array, the extension of territories, and the maintenance of armies, followed as a principle of self-preservation; the substance, if not the form of their government, was altered; they became involved in all the complicated relations of a political state, and were induced to adopt measures for improving their strength and consolidating their colonial empire. How unparalleled has been their success!

Shah Jehan was proclaimed emperor of the Moguls in the beginning of the year 1628. To remove all danger of competition, reserving only himself and his own children, the whole posterity of the house of Timur were dispatched by the dagger or the bow-string. The daughters of this monarch were important actors in the scenes of his eventful reign. It has not been often that princesses were so distinguished in oriental politics; but these were three women of talents and accomplishments, as well as beauty. The eldest, Jehanara, her father's favourite, with a prevalent influence over his mind, was lively, generous, and open, and attached to her brother Dara, who cherished a corresponding disposition. The second, Roshenrai Begum, from conformity of character, acute, artful, and intriguing, was the confidante and ally of Aurungzebe. Suria Banu, the youngest, was

spared from the anxiety and turbulence of political intrigue and contention by her gentleness and unobtrusive disposition ; yet it is probable her character, and the events of her life, had not less influence, than those of her sisters, on the future destiny of her father's dynasty and his numerous subjects. If our conjecture be correct, this daughter of Shah Jehan was afflicted by a dangerous illness, which Mohammedan and Hindoo skill could not subdue. An English physician, named Boughton, had proceeded from Surat to Agra ; his professional attainments were successfully employed for her relief ; and, among other rewards for her cure, he received the privilege of carrying on a free trade in the Mogul dominions. Under the *phirman* of the emperor he went to Bengal. His medical abilities obtained for him there equal favour with the nabob of the country ; who extended his *personal* privilege, which had been granted by Shah Jehan, to all the traders of his nation. In 1636, therefore, a factory was built on the banks of the Hooghly, by the Company's servants from Surat. The position of this settlement was on the right bank, lat. 22° 54' north, long. 88° 28' east, and contiguous to the factories which the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and Danes, had erected within ten miles of each other. Eighty years later in the history of the Company the greatest advantages were derived in their negotiations with the Mogul court, then residing at Delhi, from a similar cause. An embassy, and costly presents, were doomed to



imperial neglect till the fame of British science, and the success of their medical practice, gave hopes of prevailing, or rather unexpectedly crowned them with triumph. Intemperance and evil passions had polluted the luxury of an eastern harem, and the prince Ferokshere lingered under the unskilful treatment of Indian physicians, till his illness became dangerous, and impatience began to fret the emperor's mind, while restrained from gross indulgences. He was advised to make trial of the English Doctor Hamilton's skill: a cure speedily followed. The despot commanded his benefactor to name his own reward. It is said the generous Hamilton nobly cast aside his private advantages, exerted his influence to obtain privileges for the Company, and solicited a grant of the objects of the mission, whose petition the Great Mogul gratefully conceded in form. A favourite eunuch of the harem was afterwards employed, who, by stratagem and bribery, obtained the *patents* for the impatient ambassadors. These cases will illustrate the capricious and incidental causes which have frequently given origin to empires, and produced the most material changes in the relations of mankind. They exhibit also the advantages conferred by science, and the judicious exercise of the medical art as cultivated by British physicians. Conquests or extended territories, gained by such means, involve no crime, shed no blood, and bring no dishonour.

Piply, the first sea-port possessed by the British

in Orissa, is now scarcely to be discovered, being almost washed away by the encroachment of the waves. In 1681 Cossimbuzar, Patna, Hooghly, and Piply, mere commercial stations, were formed into a distinct government, separate from the control of the factory at Madras. In 1686, the English chief at Hooghly came to a rupture with the Moslem commander, occasioned by the continued, vexatious, and uncontrolled exactions of the Mohammedan officers from Delhi; a battle was fought between their respective forces; and the nabob's were defeated with loss, his battery destroyed, and eleven guns spiked. The factors, however, feeling their position indefensible, and apprehensive of summary vengeance from their Mogul adversaries, quitted Hooghly, and fixed their residence, in the beginning of 1687, on the left bank of the Hooghly at Chuttanutty (now called Calcutta), a village 100 miles from the sea. The Company carried on their trade here till 1696; when, in consequence of a rebellion by the provincial ruler against the Mogul ascendancy, they applied for and received, along with the Dutch and French, permission to erect defences around Chuttanutty, Chinsurah, and Chandernagore. These were the first fortifications around European residences permitted by the Mohammedans in Bengal. Azim Ushaun, grandson of Aurungzebe, disputed the succession to the Mogul throne in 1700; and as viceroy of Bengal he accepted from the Company a large sum of money for the lands

of Chuttanutty and Govindpoor; and in 1704, the Company's whole stock was removed to the fort which they had erected, and named Fort William (in compliment to the prince of Orange.) The garrison consisted of 129 soldiers, 66 of whom were Europeans; and of a gunner with his artillery men, amounting to 25. Three years afterward, Fort William was denominated a presidency, and thus became the foundation of a wide-spread empire. A peaceful, if not a profitable, commerce was conducted here for fifty years; but in 1756, the Mohammedan, Suraja ud Dowlah, subahdar of Bengal, besieged and captured the fort; and having left to be crowded into a dungeon, eighteen feet square, 146 prisoners, resigned himself to the indulgences of the seraglio. In less than twenty-four hours, the miserable captives were reduced in number to twenty-four, by madness, thirst, and suffocation. This was the British remnant of the Bengal presidency. The story of the *Black Hole* deserves more extended detail.

Suraja Dowlah was educated an oriental prince; indulgence had trained him to a more than usual share of princely vices; he was ignorant and voluptuous; he reckoned much on his own pains and pleasures; the pains or pleasures of other men were as dust in the balance; he was irascible, impatient and headstrong; he was greedy of riches, and proud of his power, he was ambitious of triumph. Calcutta was imperfectly fortified, and its numerous inhabitants were dwelling in delusive

security. The outposts could not be defended, and resistance was found impracticable and futile. The factors, therefore, resolved to embark their females and effects in ships which lay in the river ; but when the hour of embarkation came, the men who should have defended or remained to direct affairs, seemed most anxious for their own safety, and the ships, which might, without hazard, have afforded shelter and retreat for all, moved down the river in cowardly apprehension. Mr. Holwell exerted himself with great vigour to preserve order and maintain the defence. The secretary to the governor and council assures us, “ that signals were thrown out from every part of the fort for the ships to come up again to their stations, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel as well as shameful it was to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy ; and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind, now they had secured their own : but we deceived ourselves ; and there never was a single effort made in the two days the fort held out after this desertion, to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison.” The historian Orme remarks, “ Never, perhaps, was such an opportunity of performing an heroic action so ignominiously neglected ; for a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and anchoring under the fort, have carried away all

who suffered in the dungeon." Several letters were thrown over the wall during these trying days, to signify Mr. Holwell's desire to capitulate; during a momentary suspension of the garrison's fire in expectation of an answer to some of these proposals, the enemy approached the walls in resistless numbers, and carried the place by storm. A temporary gleam of humanity appeared in the aspect of the SUBAHDAR, who, so far from seeming to intend cruelty, when Mr. Holwell was brought with his hands tied into his presence, ordered them to be loosened, and assured him, upon the faith of a soldier, that not a hair of his or his companions' heads should be touched. He gave no direction to the guards, however, how the captives were to be secured; but left them to search for such apartment as they might judge convenient. Either there was no other, or they would not, or dared not, choose any better place than a cell which the English themselves had used as a *Black Hole* for some solitary and refractory prisoner. Into this miserable receptacle, the whole 146 prisoners were literally crushed. It was a small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon; a single, grated, and narrow aperture was the only passage for ventilation for air from without, or pollution from within. In vain did they crowd one upon another, or attempt to open the door of their prison-house; in vain did they solicit a supply of water from their tormentors, who guarded the cell; in vain did they suck their own moistened linen, or extract the

drops of perspiration to quench their thirst. Pity had no tears for them, prayer had no voice, and power triumphed in their misery. The insults of their taunting adversaries could hardly reach the depth of their utter wretchedness; they sought death rather than life, and implored a speedy destruction rather than the hour of deliverance; they provoked the destroyer that he might extinguish their wretched existence, rather than they should linger longer in the gall of bitterness. "Some of our company," says Mr. Cook, "expired very soon after being put in; others grew mad, and having lost their senses, died in a high delirium." Applications made to the guards, with the assurance of the richest rewards, failed to secure relief. The reply only intimated, that the despot was asleep, and none dared disturb his hours of repose. It was a fearful and dreary season; and one hundred and twenty-three or four perished in unspeakable misery—in inconceivable agony and suffering.

The disaster which we have recited roused the energies of the Company's servants at Madras, and Colonel Clive by promptitude and counsel inspired his colleagues with determination to avenge the sanguinary brutality of Suraja Dowlah, and to re-establish the Company's factory at Calcutta. Clive was nominated to command the force destined for the hazardous undertaking. The perilous and rash, if not even hopeless, enterprise, was commenced with an armament consisting of 900

Europeans, and 1,500 sepoy troops, and a naval squadron containing five vessels of war: the *Kent* of 64 guns, the *Cumberland* of 70, the *Tiger* of 60, the *Salisbury* of 50, and the *Bridgewater* of 20, under the command of Watson and Pocock. Sailing from Madras on October 16th, they anchored in the Hooghly, within twenty miles of Calcutta, on the 15th of November, 1756. Mayapore was taken 28th December, and Budge Budge soon followed. Here Moneek Chund attempted to make a stand and repel the British force by 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse. An oversight of the enemy rescued the little army from imminent destruction—their *cavalry did not advance and charge*. Clive's forces had been marched by him to lie in ambush: but fatigued in gaining their position, they were allowed to quit their arms to take repose; and from a guilty, and almost fatal security, which no real or fancied superiority could excuse, the common precaution of stationing sentinels was neglected. In a few minutes they were all asleep, and in this situation were surprised by a large body of the enemy. Clive's presence of mind and steady courage, which sudden emergencies always called forth, enabled him to disperse the irregular force led against him by a cowardly commander; after a short contest they were utterly routed, and fled to Calcutta, ten miles to the north north-east. On the 29th of December, the fort was evacuated by the *Moslem soldiers during the night*. They had been alarmed by Strachan, a drunken sailor, who fired

and summoned them to surrender; and they concluded he was followed by the whole British army. The vigour of the British movements so terrified the governor of Calcutta, that on the approach of Colonel Clive he fled from his post, leaving 500 of the nabob's troops for its protection. They waited only a few broadsides from the English men-of-war, and then withdrew, when the site of the Calcutta factory once more passed into the hands of its British proprietors. After a slight resistance, Hooghly was next taken possession of by the impatient troops. The rapidity of their career was checked only for a moment by the arrival of the nabob, Suraja Dowlah, before Calcutta, with a large army and artillery. He rejected either armistice or negotiation; but was so promptly attacked by Clive, that his boasting was short. 650 troops of the line, 100 artillerymen, 800 sepoy, 600 seamen, and 6 field-pieces, constituted the whole English force. The contest was severe, but the dogged valour of the British struck terror into their enemy. Clive returned in triumph to Calcutta; having concluded peace with Suraja, and established the authority of the Company to resume their possessions in tranquillity, to fortify Calcutta as they pleased, and to carry on trade as before.

Seer Mutakhareen, a Hindostanee historian, has left on record the opinions and representations current among the Hindoos, which respected the warlike operations of their European invaders.



Of one period he reports—"Just at this crisis the flames of war broke out between the French and English: two nations who had disputes between themselves of five or six hundred years standing; and who, after proceeding to bloodshed, wars, battles and massacres, for a number of years, would lay down their arms by common agreement, and take breath on both sides, in order to come to blows again, and to fight with as much fury as ever." The opinion of the oriental writer is not far from the seeming truth regarding Gallic and British hostilities, which have been cherished as hereditary interests for many centuries. Not content with their European stage for mutual carnage, they have embroiled eastern nations in the same sanguinary strife, and waged on the fields of India as deadly combat as ever steeped the soil of Poitiers or Blenheim, of Tholouse or Waterloo. Thus mutual rivalry between the two nations, and a jealous vigilance, one over the accessions of the other, are spoken of by political writers or national historians, as if they were first principles in the law of nations, or accredited maxims in the science of government. An "imperative necessity of making head against the French," is assigned as an excuse for a system of interference and usurpation, by which the servants of the Company enthroned or cast down the puppets of their choice, or the victims of their domination. The *musnud* of the Soubah, a governor of a province, and the throne of the Mogul emperor, were destined by their

pleasure as arbitrarily as were the cornetcy of a troop, and the majority of a battalion.

With a design entirely to exclude the French from Bengal—it was a part of their treaty—Colonel Clive undertook to depose Suraja from the viceroyalty of that province, and to elevate Meer Jaffier as the nabob. Jaffier promised to secure the territory around Calcutta to the English; an indemnity of ten millions of rupees to the Company; to the British inhabitants of Calcutta five millions; to the natives and Armenians living under the protection of the Company, two millions seven hundred thousand; to the army and to the navy, each two millions five hundred thousand; for the injuries inflicted by Suraja. Jaffier was a military aspirant, and had no claims to the *musnud*; yet, as their mere instrument, admirals and rulers subscribed their names, and gave their cooperation to fulfil his wishes, to enable him to effect the measures of their ambition, and to crush the power of their natural enemies, the French! Chandernagore was, therefore, as part of this conspiracy, attacked by the British troops: the siege was begun on the 14th of March, 1757, the outposts driven in, and the fort invested. Battle ships and land forces united, and the French were unable to withstand the combined attack; but on the 22d the fort surrendered, and part of the garrison, escaping, joined Suraja. Cossimbuzar, Pattee, and Cutwah, were subsequently attacked and reduced. The celebrated battle of Plassey followed; when Clive and his

miniature army, standing on the defensive, covered by a high bank and a grove, and having thrown confusion and slaughter into the dense ranks of his adversary by his destructive artillery, while the concerted betrayal and desertion by Meer Jaffier and his battalions added to the consternation of Suraja, became the assailants, and destroyed the Moslem forces: the nabob fled on his swiftest elephant, escorted by his chosen cavalry, and Meer Jaffier was saluted, by the Company's general, Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Clive, who had remained master of the battle-field and its tents, artillery, camp equipage, provision, &c., sustained no greater loss, than in killed, eight Europeans and sixteen sepoys, and in wounded twelve Europeans and thirty-six sepoys. In his flight the disguised Suraja fell into the hands of a poor peasant, whom in his tyranny he had formerly caused to be deprived of his ears; the soldiers following in his pursuit, made the deposed nabob prisoner. English honour was to him no protection, who soon fell a victim to the dagger of the son of Meer Jaffier. Thus perished the author of the tragic scenes in the Calcutta *Black Hole*; and hence may be dated the commencement of the British empire in Bengal, when the power of investing the soubahs or nabobs with authority was assumed by the Company's government. The Dutch became jealous of the English, were worsted, and destroyed by Colonel Forde. The sons of the Mogul emperor were found incompetent to cope with the

British and their allies. Meer Jaffier proving indolent and tyrannical, or, in other words, not sufficiently subserving British interests, was deposed; his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, his momentary substitute, was also found unsuited; and one deposition followed another, intrigues and contests took place, till 1765\*, when Clive, now made a lord, was appointed with greater powers from England to make new arrangements with the native princes whom he had previously subdued, and with whom his *name* was presumed to possess a talismanic power.

It is not uninteresting to mark the seemingly capricious turn of events: the power of sovereigns in the richest kingdoms of the East, was now assumed by the men who ten years before had been refugees in a mud fort at Calcutta; their sway was extended over 150,000 square miles, containing a population of thirty millions of souls, active, ingenious, and peaceful, and producing a yearly revenue of 3,125,000*l.* Negotiations were instantly commenced, and speedily terminated, by which the Mogul emperor resigned all sovereign claims over Bengal, and a part of Bahar and Orissa, and became an annual stipendiary of the Company, with a pension of 325,000*l.* and certain fertile districts *secured*, which should produce yearly 250,000*l.*, besides the quiet occupation of the Delhi throne. The nabob of Oude was bound to pay a subsidy to the English, and to accept of their military protection. The soubahdar of the Bengal provinces, the natural son of their first puppet, was *allowed* to

assume his father's title, with a pension of 662,000*l*. Ten years later the province of Benares was added to the Company's territory, as a reward for their *protection* of the vizier of Oude from the Rohilla chiefs. This acquisition contained more than 12,000 square miles of the best land in India. The Mahratta force next attracted their attention : an army of 200,000 cavalry, 10 brigades of infantry, and 500 guns, disciplined and commanded by the ablest French and German officers, and headed by the wily chieftain Sindia. The influence of this prince at the Mogul court had induced Shah Allum to interrupt his amity with the English, and entrust the protection or defence of his strongest places to French officers and Mahratta troops. The quartering of a Mahratta army in a province was felt to be more destructive than myriads of locusts, or years of drought and pestilence ; while of their rulers it has been said, "their *musnuds* were their horse cloths, their sceptres, their swords ; and their dominion, the wide line of their desolating marches."

Warren Hastings, in 1780, and the Marquess Wellesley, in 1798, were called to contend with the predatory hordes of this cunning, brave, and vindictive adversary. Their original country lay to the north and west by the Nerbudda and Guzerat, and along the mountainous defiles and fastnesses which border on the Concans and Canara. The policy pursued by the Marquess Wellesley was to acquire a general dominion over the Mahrattas and their neighbours, to protect the British pos-

sessions from a constant series of hostilities. In the north-west of India, therefore, he acquired by treaty the provinces of Bareilly, Moradabad, Shah-jehanpoor, Rohilcund, Furrakabad, Allahabad, Cawnpoor, Gorruckpoor, and Azimghur, embracing territory to the extent of 32,000 square miles, and a population of about 15,000,000 souls. At Coel, at Alighur, and at Delhi, the Mahratta and French allies were encountered and defeated by General (Lord) Lake, commanding the British army; a similar disaster overtook them at the fortress of Agra. It is represented as the result of the engagement at Delhi, that the aged Mogul emperor was *released* from bondage and abject destitution; and this representative of a long line of imperial rulers threw himself on the *humanity* of the British, who *established* him on the throne of his ancestral capital, with an *annual stipend* for himself and family of 1,200,000 rupees, and certain privileges. To read the mock heroic accounts of these transactions, indited by some authors, we should imagine the British conquerors the most generous and benevolent of human beings, raised up as the deliverers of prostrate kings, as the beneficent patrons of oppressed emperors, and the protectors of all the injured princes of oriental climes! How profuse to their stipendiaries—how liberal to their pensioners! Can it be wondered that Lord Lake should enter Delhi amidst the *general rejoicings* of its wretched inhabitants? The substantial spoil of his campaigns embraced, as

provinces ceded to Britain, the Upper Doab, Delhi, Agra, Hurriana, Saharunpoor, Meerut, Alighur, Etawa, Cuttack, Balasore, Juggernaut, &c., containing a territory of nearly 40,000 square miles.

Sindia was succeeded by Holkar, whose standing army during *peace* was 150,000 cavalry, 40,000 well disciplined foot, 200 pieces of artillery, besides numerous corps of auxiliaries. With him, or his generals, Lake, Frazer, Monson, Ochterlony, and Burns, had repeated engagements at Delhi, Deeg, Bhurtpoor, &c. The sabre and the bayonet-point were the British soldiers' most trusty weapons in the field, by which, in one charge, they boast of cutting to pieces three thousand of the Indian *horse* ! Is this a gallant way of blinking the question of the immortal souls who managed these war-horses ? Bhurtpoor was a fortress defended by mud walls, enclosing the town, nearly eight miles in circumference, flanked at short distances all round with bastions, defended with immense cannon, and surrounded by a wide and deep fosse. When attacked, the garrison was complete, confident in their impregnable ramparts, and amply provisioned. On the 3d of January, 1805, Lord Lake and his troops sat down before this fortress ; trenches were soon opened, but as speedily, whenever a breach was made, the defenders filled it up, or fortified it with stockades. In addition to the most galling artillery and musketry, they showered on the besiegers logs of burning wood and hot ashes, lighted bales of cotton steeped in oil, earthen

pots filled with fire and combustibles in a state of ignition. Four times the British troops attempted to storm the breach, and were each time obliged to retire, staggering under the most fearful destruction. Three thousand one hundred men, the flower of the army, fell in these assaults. Two regiments, the 75th and 76th king's troops, became panic-struck at the fury of their enemies, and refused to follow their officers. In their previous history they have been compared to NEY, "the bravest of the brave," and like *Murat*, were always foremost in the heady current of the battle : such praise sounds not however like *christian* eulogy. Their courage was re-animated by witnessing the 12th regiment of Bengal sepoy's persevere till they had planted their colours on the fort walls. Stung by reproach, they implored permission to wash the stains from their reputation, in a fourth attack ! In this, notwithstanding their desperate intrepidity and indomitable resolution, they were not more successful than in the former assaults. The rajah of Bhurtpoor apprehended perseverance in his enemy, and dreaded the revenge of an infuriated soldiery ; and, it may be, anticipating more favourable terms, he despatched his son to the British camp with the keys of the fortress. A treaty was concluded on the 17th of April ; Holkar was required to quit the territories, and the rajah engaged to pay two million rupees toward defraying the expenses of the war : his son was given as hostage of his pacific intentions. Holkar was at length so reduced as to flee, almost unattended, for



his life. Such are the reverses of war, and such its miseries ! The Ghoorkas, associated with the Nepaulese—the former occupants of almost inaccessible hill-forts, and the latter inhabitants of the beautiful valleys of Nepaul—combined against the British, but were soon subdued. The predatory Pindaries, a body of mounted robbers, secretly favoured by the lingering Mahratta confederates, made incursions on British territory, and provoked the Marquess of Hastings to send forth a powerful and well-appointed army ; which annihilated the Pindaries, and broke up the Mahratta confederacy ; added to British provinces districts on the Nerbudda, Sumbalpoor, Khandah in Bundelcund, Agmere, and part of Mairwarrah, part of Nimar, Bairsea, Shoojawulpore, and the fortress of Hatrass ; and to the number of their tributary and dependent allies Jyepore, Joudpore, Oudeypore, Boondee, Kotah, Pertabghur, Rutlana, Banswarra, and Doon-gurpore. The changes produced in Burmah, Pegu, Arracan, Assam, and the lower provinces of the Eastern peninsula, by the more recent movements of war and diplomacy, are of the greatest consequence to the myriads who inhabit these regions, and add much to the responsibility of the British nation, as well as of their rulers in the Indian empire. They have a relation with eternity and the glorious triumphs of gospel truth over the basest forms of idolatry and priestcraft.

*The first attempts of the English on the shores of India to establish a commercial intercourse were*

characterised by many personal adventures, deeds of daring enterprise, and incidents of curious and eventful interest. The most sanguine expectations of the speculators were often frustrated and postponed by the opposition of the Arabians, the Dutch, or the Portuguese. The arrival of Francis Drake at Plymouth, on the 25th September, 1580, from a voyage of nearly three years' duration, after visiting the Spice Islands, having held friendly intercourse with the king of Ternate, and coasted along Java, was hailed with exultation by the British people; was distinguished by a visit on board the far-sailed vessel from the queen (Elizabeth), who conferred on the adventurer the honour of knighthood; and gave fresh impetus to navigation and commerce. Sir Richard Grenville sold his estate and embarked his capital in a similar voyage. The Ladrones, the Philippines, and Moluccas, surprised him by their extent and fertility; the natives of these isles and the princes of Java accepted his friendly communications, and intimated a decided preference for intercourse with the English rather than with the Spaniards, who had preceded them. He returned to England in September, 1588. Another party had set out as travellers in 1583, taking their route by the Mediterranean, Syria, Aleppo, and Bagdad, and along the Persian Gulf, by Ormuz, to the coast of Malabar. They were stimulated to this project by one Stevens, who having sailed in a Portuguese vessel to Goa, gave a most favourable report of the fertility of the region, and the facilities for com-

merce at that port. John Newbury and Ralph Fitch were the leaders in this adventure, and went forth furnished with letters addressed to the Mogul emperor and the king of China. They reached Ormuz, and had commenced business, but in the course of six days were arrested and imprisoned at the instigation of Michael Stropene, an Italian, jealous of their rivalry in trade. They were sent to Goa as prisoners, and placed there in confinement, because Sir Francis Drake their countryman had, in passing Malacca, fired two balls at a Portuguese galleon. Newbury denied any participation in the alleged crime, and complained of injustice and inequality, that while all the nations of Europe and Asia, French, Flemings, Germans, Moscovites, and Persians, were allowed freely to reside and traffic at Goa, Englishmen only should be thus barbarously treated. Ultimately they were permitted to reside in their own house under a bond that they would not quit Goa without permission. The friendship of Stevens, whose representations had induced them to undertake their hazardous enterprise, and who was now in favour with the archbishop of Goa, having been a student at New College, Oxford, was of great use to the adventurers. Yet after a few months they found no friendship strong enough for their protection from the encroachments, thefts, and threatenings of the Portuguese. The apprehension of being made slaves, or of even a worse fate, made them to determine to profit by their remaining liberty, and therefore

they escaped from the town on the 5th of April, 1585. They passed through Belgaum, then called Bellergam, which they describe as a great market for diamonds and other precious stones ; they visited Beejapore, a royal city, where they witnessed all the pomp and circumstance of Hindoo idolatry. The idols being "some like a cow, some like a monkey, some like peacocks, and some like the devil." Golconda is described by them "a fair and pleasant city, the houses well built of brick and timber, and surrounded by a country abounding with delicious fruits and rich diamond mines." Masulipatam they heard of as a place of extensive traffic. Passing through the Deckan northward, they traversed "Candeish, a country surprisingly fertile and populous." The capital of Malwa appeared a strongly fortified town, built on a high rock. Agra, to which they thence proceeded, was a city populous and great, superior to London (then), well built of stone, and having fair and large streets. The court resided at Fatepore, a larger but not so handsome city. The whole distance between Agra and Fatipore (twenty-two miles) our travellers declare resembled a market, "as full as though a man were still in a town." William Leader, one of the company, remained in the service of Acbar as jeweller, for which he was allowed a house, a horse, a regular pension, and five slaves.

Fitch visited Allahabad, descended the Ganges to Benares, the chief seat of Hindoo superstition,

and an extensive mart for commerce. He witnessed the observances of idolatrous rites, the gorgeous style of their temples, “the black and evil-favoured idols—their mouths monstrous, their ears gilded and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glass.” He proceeded to Patna, and in the surrounding country, which was infested by robbers, wandering like Arabs from place to place, he saw the people greatly imposed upon by idle persons, assuming the garb of sanctity : of one of these pretenders, who sat asleep on horseback in the market-place, the traveller speaks thus—“They thought him a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber ; I left him there asleep.” Bengal and Bootan were explored ; Orissa, Pegu, and Malacca were traversed ; and the wanderer having returned to Bengal, shipped himself for Cochin, and in his way touched at Ceylon, “a brave island, very fruitful and fair.” He doubled Cape Comorin, and, by Quilon, reached Cochin, where he remained eight months ; he thence sailed to Goa, Chaul, and Ormuz, having performed a most perilous and successful journey through India. A Captain Lancaster, having sailed in company with two other adventurers, who failed in their expedition, reached Cape Comorin in May 1592, and appears to have pursued the gains of a freebooting pirate. He made a second voyage in 1601, which was conducted on similar principles of piracy and plunder. He was followed by Captain Middleton in 1604, and Sir E. Mitchellborne, who made their gains by robbery

and murder. But in 1607 Captains Keeling and Hawkins made a more orderly effort to establish a better regulated commerce. The latter separated from Keeling at Socotora, and arrived at Surat on the 24th of August, 1608. Through a series of adventures, stratagems, and counterplots, Hawkins, having landed at Surat such merchandise as he had to dispose of, and in vain attempted to counteract Portuguese hostility and Mohammedan chicanery, so pursued his course, as to reach the Mogul court, and be admitted to the durbar of the great Jehangire. Though met here, too, by jesuitical diplomacy and the national rivalry of the Portuguese, yet as he could speak Turkish, he was invited to visit the palace daily; when the emperor, well pleased, held long discourses with him, making inquiry respecting the different countries of Europe; and also the West Indies: of whose existence he had been taught to entertain doubts. After referring to the causes of complaint by the English, the emperor requested Hawkins to remain in India as attached to his court, promising him 3,000*l.* per annum, the revenues of a district which he should receive, and the command of four hundred horse. The stranger yielded to persuasion, and accepted also a wife, provided by the Mogul. Hawkins pleaded that his *conscience* would not allow him to marry any but a Christian. Jehangire produced a young Armenian maiden, with whom the captain consented to unite himself: and he declared that she made him extremely happy. The sun of royal favour con-

finued for a season to shine upon his adventure ; the emperor's commission for the English to trade at Surat, under the great seal and in golden letters, was obtained ; and the minister of the Mogul was for a season thrown into disgrace, because he had opposed the English. But cursed is the man who waits on princes' favour :—the tide of royal kindness began to ebb. Native courtiers, jealous of his success, and Portuguese emissaries, employed to thwart his designs, succeeded in drawing forth the royal exclamation—" Let the English come no more !" Mocrib, the governor of Surat, departed with these instructions. Hawkins waited a more propitious season : by gifts and expostulations, when the monarch was accessible to his statements, he enjoyed a gleam of sunshine ; promises as liberal as before were renewed, and a decree was ordered to be made out by the vizier. But a darker cloud returned and cast gloom again over his prospects. Vacillation with the sovereign, activity among his adversaries, of whom the prime minister was the chief, and some splendid toy or more costly gift by Hawkins, produced the chequered vicissitudes which marked his sojourn at the court of Jehangire ; and on the 2d of November, 1611, he departed without even a letter to his own king, and refused the long-sought-for confirmation of commercial privileges to English traders. The British fleet had, however, sustained a successful encounter at Swally, at the point of Cambay, opposite to Surat, with an armament of the Portuguese, in 1611. Their courage

and prowess in this engagement favourably impressed the native authorities in Guzerat, who granted them permission to place factories at Ahmedabad, Cambaya, Goga, and Surat. A *phirman*, or decree of the emperor, received on the 11th of January, 1612, sanctioned these first establishments of the English on the continent of India. The only exactions to which their merchandise was exposed was a duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for which they were afforded protection in their factories, and their property was secured, even should their agents die, till the arrival of the following fleet.

British merchants, still grasping at the shadow of eastern wealth, and anticipating, through the pride of kings, to gain their object, determined to make a more ostentatious attempt to place their affairs in India on a less changeable basis. An embassy was sent directly from the British king, with valuable presents, and attended by such pompous arrangements as might favourably impress the proud oriental potentate. Sir Thomas Roe sailed from Gravesend Jan. 24, 1615, and arrived in September; with two ships, at Surat, where he landed in great state, attended with eighty men-at-arms. His privilege, as ambassador of a powerful monarch, which he asserted, protected him from the intrusions and scrutiny, and from the vexatious exactions usually practised on merchants. In his way to the imperial presence he repaired to Boorahanpore to do honour to the emperor's son, who represented the sovereignty of the Mogul, his



father. The viceroy, Purves, gratified his taste, good nature, and affability by display, and received the European messenger with magnificence and distinction ; his facility, indolence, and diffidence, unfitted him for the duties of government ; and the solicitations of Sir Thomas Roe for permission to his countrymen to establish a factory in that province had to be carried to a higher court. Jehangire was flattered by the compliments and representations of a distant monarch. Roe proceeded to Ajmere, where the emperor then resided, and passed through the country of the Rajpoots. Chittore was at this time entirely deserted ; but it seemed to the English ambassador as a tomb of wonderful magnificence : more than a hundred stately temples, many lofty towers, and houses innumerable, appeared to crown the towering rock on which it stood. Sir Thomas waited on the emperor at his durbar, or levee, held in Ajmere, on the 10th of January, 1616. He had arrived nearly three weeks before, but he deferred his visit till the court was prepared. At the fit season he delivered the royal letter and presents, when his reception was so cordial that he assured his employers no other ambassador, either Turk or Persian, had ever obtained the like. He was placed at all subsequent durbars in a situation more distinguished than that of all the courtiers ; he was permitted to state the grievances of the English in their trade at Surat and Ahmedabad, and received the assurance of the fullest redress. These were, however,

only flattering appearances; and the causes which operated against Hawkins wrought in the same hostile manner against him. Mocrib Khan, Asiph Jah, and Churruum, the favourite son of the emperor, formed an anti-English cabal; yet by perseverance and address the ambassador ultimately obtained a *phirman*, granting certain privileges to the English traders. He procured also a letter from the emperor, notwithstanding the fluctuations of his inconstant mind, addressed to the British sovereign, as to “a king rightly descended from his ancestors, bred in military affairs, and clothed with honour and justice.” Such were the flattering terms in which James the First was addressed by his royal brother sitting on the Mogul throne! How fit!!

From the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe, the greatest publicity, and even popularity, distinguished the ceremonies and splendour of this dazzling court. The life of the emperor was spent in public. He came to a window overlooking a wide plain, and exhibited himself in the morning, to a numerous assembly of the people; he appeared at the same place at noon, and was entertained by combats between elephants and wild beasts. In the afternoon he seated himself in the regular place of audience for all who presented themselves on business. In an open court called the Guzel Khan, he once more appeared in the evening at eight o'clock, where the time was spent chiefly in familiar or gay conversation with his favourites. Two

enclosures surrounded the royal throne: the first containing ambassadors, officers of state, and chiefs of the first degree; the second filled with persons of inferior dignity; and the open area beyond giving verge and room enough for the multitude. A full view of the imperial person was afforded to all; and unless the ruler were sick or drunk, which it was necessary to explain, he could not be excused from this slavish routine for a single day. The proceedings and ordinances of the state were made equally public, were daily written down, and the record allowed to be perused for a trifling fee. Whatever occurred was thus immediately known to all the people. The secret councils even, and changeful purposes of the prince were, Sir Thomas Roe asserts, "tossed and censured by every rascal." The pomp and display of this court consisted chiefly in an immense profusion of precious stones, which were collected from every quarter by plunder, purchase, or presents. On high occasions the emperor's person was completely laden, and more than covered with pearls, diamonds, and rubies. The trappings of the royal elephants were richly gilded, and their heads adorned with costly jewels. On the sovereign's birth-day, his chief amusement consisted in scattering the jewels, of one box full of rubies, and another full of gold and silver almonds, upon the ground in presence of his omrahs, and exciting these mighty nobles to throw themselves on the floor, and scramble for the toys, as children do for sugar-plums. At another time the courtly

pastime was occupied in “royal weighing;” when the emperor’s person, arrayed in the brilliants and dazzling pomp of royal splendour, was put into the scales against heaps of money, of gold and jewels, of rich clothes and spices, or of corn, meat, and butter. This scene of folly was usually closed with the wildest intoxication. The ambassador most admired the range of royal tents when he had taken the field, which were surrounded by a wall half a mile in circuit; these again, encompassed by those of the nobles, exhibited the most elegant shapes and colours; he declares the whole “one of the greatest rarities and magnificences” he ever saw; the entire vale resembling a beautiful city.

Only six years afterward, four of the Company’s ships sailed from Surat for the port of Jasques, a town of Persia, in the Gulf of Ormus, and attacked a Portuguese fleet, consisting of twenty-one vessels, large and small, blockading the port. They prevailed, and the Portuguese retired to Ormus; whence, having refitted, they came back for revenge. The English, who had entered Jasques, came out to encounter their assailants, and after an obstinate conflict, were victorious over a vast superiority of force. Joined by the Persians they attacked the Portuguese in Ormus; the whole of which island they had seized and fortified. The city and fortress were taken by the allies on the 22d of April, 1622, and the English shared the plunder, and received a grant of half the customs at the port of Gombroon; which place they rendered their principal station

in the Persian Gulf. Their security was interrupted in 1653 by the hostility of the Dutch, by whose more powerful fleet three of their ships were taken, and one destroyed. Their trade at Surat was suspended, and their coasting trade, consisting of the interchange of goods from one station to another, became so hazardous, under the domination of the Dutch fleet, as to be almost annihilated. In 1657 the Dutch pursued their schemes of aggrandisement and domination: having taken Ceylon from the Portuguese, they blockaded the port of Goa, and threatened an attack upon the island of Diu, which stood on the opposite coast of Cambay, and commanded the port of Swally.

British dominion was extended on these shores, and British enterprise received an impetus by the marriage treaty of Charles II. and the arrogant presumption of the king of Portugal, who, in 1661, ceded, as a part of the dowry of the Infanta Catherine to the king of England, the island of Bombay. An armament, consisting of five men-of-war and five hundred troops, sent to receive possession, and commanded by the earl of Marlborough, arrived on the 18th of September, 1662, at Bombay. Salsette, and the other dependencies, it was understood by the English authorities, were included in the treaty. The Portuguese governor refused to surrender even the island of Bombay, which alone, he maintained, was all that was included in the cession, till further instructions, more consistent with the usages of his country, in royal

patents. During the delay occasioned by this controversy, the troops were wasting under the fervour of a tropical sun, and by long confinement on board. The commander applied to the Company's chief for liberty to bring his armament into Surat; but that magistrate, under the plea that this arrangement would excite the suspicion of the Mogul, and endanger the seizure of the Company's investment, and the expulsion of their servants from the country, refused the permission. The troops were, therefore, landed at Angedivah, twelve leagues from Goa, which proved extremely unhealthy; and during the protracted discussions between English and Portuguese authorities, the greater part of the military was carried off by famine and disease. After the king's officer had offered to transfer the rights of the crown to the Company, and the president with his council had declined the grant, as beyond the power of the officer to render valid, and requiring a force more than they could appoint to keep possession, the commander of the royal troops had no alternative, but to accept of Bombay on the terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The British government refused to ratify what their officer had done, and appointed a governor for Bombay, who should fulfil the royal pleasure. Instead of a jewel in the crown, it proved a costly bauble; and the king was fain to surrender it to the Company.

Bombahia—the good bay, a few barren rocks, ten miles long and three broad, situate in lat.  $18^{\circ} 56'$  N.

long. 72° 57' E., was granted, in 1668, to the Company, "to be held of the king in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of 10*l.* in gold, on the 30th of September in each year." Authority is given also by the same royal instrument to exercise all political powers necessary for its defence and government. To such capricious and unjust usurpations of royal princes must we ascribe the foundation of the western presidency. The population of Bombay did not then exceed 16,000 souls, the refuse or outcasts of the natives of India: 230,000 persons now inhabit its 15,500 houses: the sterling value of which is computed at more than 3,606,500*l.* The whole presidency, of which the island is the capital and supreme seat of government, forms an area of about 65,000 square miles, and contains upwards of seven millions of a population. It had continued dependent on Surat, the Company's earliest settlement, till 1683, when it was erected into a presidency. It became the principal station of the Company on the western side of India in 1686. This transference of the government from Surat had been succeeded by several serious and almost disastrous insurrectionary movements among the British servants. In 1674-75, a meeting, excited in consequence of some insignificant retrenchments, was suppressed by the trial and execution of ringleaders, under the formidable powers of martial law. It will not be wondered at if the servants should prove selfish:

and disobedient, when they were instructed by their masters to employ "temporising expedients with the Mogul, with Sevagee, and with the petty rajahs; while secretly discretionary powers were entrusted to them to equip and send forth armed vessels to enforce their measures." Retrenchment a second time acted as the stimulant to insurrection. The expense of the government exceeded the revenue which the population and territory could be made to yield; a remedy was devised for this by diminishing the charges for the Company's servants. The commander of the garrison joined himself with his mutinous troops; and the great body of the people being alienated by vexatious exactions in the revenue, combined with the rebels. Captain Keigwin and his adherents renounced the authority of the Company, and declared by proclamation, dated 27th December, 1683, that the island belonged to the king. Keigwin, as the newly appointed governor, appealed for protection to the king; but he was ordered, by royal mandate, to deliver up the island to the commander of the Company's fleet, and a powerful force was prepared to subdue the insurgents. Keigwin offered, if assured of a free pardon for himself and adherents, to surrender the place to Sir T. Grantham, who was invested with the king's commission. His terms were accepted, and the island restored to obedience. In 1687, Bombay was elevated to the dignity of a regency, with unlimited power over the rest of the Company's settlements. The admiral



of the Mogul invested Bombay in 1688; and it was so closely pressed by him that Mahim, Sion, and Mazagong, were captured: the governor and garrison were besieged in the fort of Bombay, and the most powerful of all Mogul sovereigns issued orders to expel the English from his dominions; nor were the forces of Aurungzebe withdrawn from the settlement till submission was made to his supremacy. Until the close of the seventeenth century, Bombay languished in consequence of the ravages of the plague, the civil dissensions among the authorities, and the piracy carried on by Englishmen, who were denominated interlopers, and who were not servants of the Company.

The British power had yet to contend with, and remove obstructive adversaries to their greatness on the western coast, other than the Portuguese and the Moguls: the Mahrattas, the Siddees, and the piratical ruler of Severndroog. The Mahratta language is spoken along the coast from the island of Bardez, near Goa, to the river Taptee; and from Beder, or Ahmedabad, it is spread over the whole country to the north-westward of the Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep, until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea. In the mountainous regions which extended from the borders of Guzerat to Canara, lived a race of Hindoos still more rude and uncivilized than the inhabitants of the plains, but far more hardy and warlike. They

consisted of mountainous tribes or communities, to whom the name of the language Mahratta is applied. Their political power began while the empire of the Moguls was in its utmost strength, and rose to greatness upon its ruins. Their country is traversed by the precipitous and romantic Ghauts and the Vyndhia mountains. The whole is elevated, rugged, diversified with bleak table lands, and broken by numerous streams and torrents. All the hills and fastnesses were occupied by petty chieftains, whose homage to the imperial throne, or the regal sceptre of Beejapore, was merely nominal. They only waited for a leader of a comprehensive and daring mind to unite them into one powerful and independent state. Sevagee's father served the king of Beejapore, and held a jaghire in the Carnatic with a command of 10,000 horse. The father, while sustaining office in the South as a zimandaree, had also obtained a grant of Poonah; the charge of this district, and of his wife, and son whom he left here, he committed to Dadajee Punt, one of his officers. The son grew up to vigour, both in body and mind. Dadajee bestowed great pains upon him, and initiated him, if not in letters, which these mountaineers despised, in military exercises, in national legends and poetry, and a superstitious veneration for the Hindoo religious observances. At seventeen years of age, Sevagee engaged a number of banditti, and ravaged the neighbouring district. The guardian became alarmed by the reckless conduct of his pupil, and

to escape his apprehensions, swallowed poison. At his death, Sevajee took possession of the zemindaree, increased the number of his troops, and levied contributions in all the neighbouring districts. He obtained the almost inaccessible castle of Toma. Rajegur he fixed upon as the seat of his government, and increased his territory by the addition of Porundeh, Jagneh, and several districts dependent on the king of Beejapore. He put to death, by treachery, the rajah of Jaowlee, and seized his country and treasure; plundered the rich and manufacturing city of Kalleen; took Madury, Purdhaunghur, Rajapore, Sungarpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese. After the foulest treachery, the basest dissimulation, and the most ungenerous cruelty, he took possession of the region of the Concan, the country between the Ghauts and the sea, from Goa to Damaun.

With great address, he surprised and plundered Surat; one of his most adventurous undertakings, and likely to reward his largest cupidity. It was a city of importance and renown, the chief port of the *Mogul empire, the greatest emporium of India*; that from which the Mohammedan pilgrims commenced their voyage to the tomb of the prophet, and perhaps at that time the richest city in the world. Confident in its greatness and wealth, the citizens seem to have rested secure; it was surrounded with only a slight earthen wall, which was insufficient even to retard the plundering bands of Sevajee. It is said, he had wandered through the

city in disguise during three days, marking the fittest objects for attack and plunder. As a feint, he formed two camps at once, before Bassien and Chaul, and seemed solely occupied in pressing the sieges of these places. His troops were, however, suddenly withdrawn from the former, a few being left to maintain the semblance of an army by lights, noise, and conformable appearance. Unexpectedly, the Mahratta force appeared before Surat, and as suddenly entered it without resistance. The governor retired within the fort; the Dutch and English remained within their factories; and the victorious army ranged through the vast city, appropriating every valuable object which could be found within its precincts. The booty in treasure, jewels, and other precious commodities, was valued at a million sterling. Twice afterwards did he attack Surat, and levy contributions from the merchants there; and in the sack of Rajapore exacted from the English factory 10,000 pagodas. He repeatedly threatened Bombay, and held in subjection the inhabitants of the neighbouring Concan.

*Some of the daring exploits of this native chief afford material for an exciting narrative. When his armies were driven from the field, his country plundered, and his strongest fortress, Porundeh, which contained his female connexions and treasure; was besieged and reduced to the last extremity, his resolution and resources did not fail him. As an unarmed and conscious offender, he seemed to repose unlimited confidence in the generosity and*

clemency of his victorious antagonist, and suffered himself to be led into the presence of the Mogul general, craved pardon, offered his services, and the immediate resignation of twenty forts to the emperor. Jeysing accepted his submission, and Sevajee complied with the imperial order to repair to Delhi. He now expected to be numbered among the principal omrahs of the palace, and offered to conduct the war against the Persians in Candahar. His services to the Mogul would have been valuable; and the subsequent consolidation of the Mahratta empire was such a breach upon the dominion of Delhi, as should not have been disregarded. But he was refused the expected honour,—was placed among the inferior omrahs in the hall of audience,—and the disgrace affected him to such a degree, that he wept and fainted away. Though cast down, his spirit would not brook the insult; his courage was not destroyed, and his energy was equal to the emergency. He meditated, and with address contrived the means of escape. His son, whom he had carried as a hostage, he concealed with a Brahmin, whom he had known, at Muttarah. The son was afterward restored to the father, who now assumed the garb of a pilgrim, and travelled to the shrine of Jugger-naut, and thence by the way of Hyderabad to his own country. The general who had overcome him was now superseded by another—a change favourable to the measure of Sevajee, who suffered no time to pass in inactivity, but assumed royal

titles and struck coins in his own name, and immediately employed his troops, who during his absence had been reserved in the best order for warfare, to attack the Mogul territories and forts. He accompanied these movements by the most plausible representations of his remaining loyalty to the imperial standard; complained that his faithful offer of services had been treated with scorn, but still desired to walk within the paths of obedience; and if any command in the Mogul army, not dishonourable, were bestowed upon his son, that he was anxious to place him in the imperial service. His stratagem succeeded; and during a truce which he obtained, he supplied his forts with stores; when, having dexterously withdrawn his son from the emperor's army, he captured several important districts belonging to Beejapore, exacted a tribute from its king, of 300,000 pagodas, and another of 400,000 from the king of Golcondah. The Mahrattas continued thus to plunder the adjoining countries, retreating with the spoil to their forts, though opposed by the imperial commanders. In 1677, Sevajee's rising power tempted the king of Golcondah to enter into an alliance with him against the Moguls and the king of Beejapore; and the Mahratta chieftain appeared in Golcondah at the head of 40,000 horse. Conquests were made with great appearance of fidelity by Sevajee: but Mahratta governors were placed in all the fortresses, and the plunderer himself only was enriched. Treachery obtained for him the

impregnable fortress of Gingee, and he laid siege to Vellore; his flying squadrons were here resisted for four months. He was recalled to his western dominions by the efforts of his enemies: his own son appeared for a season among his opponents, and accepted protection and rank from the Moguls. But the young Mahratta speedily returned to filial submission and his father's allegiance, and escaped from Mogul surveillance a short time before the death of Sevajee, who breathed his last in his fortress of Rayree, on the 5th April, 1682. The founder of the Mahratta power was only fifty-two years old when he died, and his indefatigable and extraordinary career was terminated by disease—inflammation of the chest.

There were other springs of Sevajee's success than his prowess or policy, and other sources of Mahratta power among the Hindoo tribes than the fortresses of their hill country, or the swiftness and number of their Horse. Aurungzebe had, in the earlier period of his career, made loud professions of zeal for the faith of Mohammed; but, till a later era in his reign, he seemed to have relaxed his bigotry. Whether the spirit of this darkest passion had been revived, or was merely assumed, to increase the attachment of Mohammedans; or whether only the success of the Mahratta freebooters, and a suspicion that they enjoyed the good wishes, perhaps aid, of their religious associates, actuated him, has been questioned; but he attempted by the most unjustifiable means to coerce his Hindoo

subjects to the creed of the *Crescent*. Resistance and defeat irritated the emperor's zeal, and he forthwith commenced a religious war upon his Hindoo people. A few yielded to his persuasion or threatenings, and the remainder were visited for their obstinacy with the extortion of heavy fines and taxes. It had been thought, these exactions would replenish the decayed treasury of Aurungzebe : but the measure was unsuccessful, and lost him the attachment and submission of a great number of the Hindoos. On this subject, and before the emperor went to such extremes, the rajah of Joudpore had made a bold and animated appeal. He had reminded Aurungzebe of the tolerant policy of Akbar, Jehangire, and Shah Jehan ; and reprobated any attempt to collect a revenue upon the consciences of men, and to vex the devotee and anchoret with a tax upon his belief ; and then enforced his appeal with these observations : " If your majesty places any confidence in those books by distinction called divine, you will be there instructed that God is the God of all mankind, not of Mohammedans alone. The pagan and Mussulman are equal in his presence ; distinctions of colour are of his ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples it is in his name that the voice calls to prayer ; in the house of images the bell is shaken :—still he is the object of our adoration. To vilify, therefore, the religion, or the customs of other men, is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty." How



unavailing was this argument of the Hindoo prince with the intolerant persecutor appeared in the following incident. The maharaja, Jesswunt Sing, died near Caubul, in 1681. His children, on their return to their native country, were required to visit the Mogul court; and the emperor ordered they should be *rendered Mohammedans*. Their Rajpoot attendants contrived their escape, and fled with them to their own country. A sense of the danger which threatened the common creed of the Hindoos overwhelmed all their international disputes.

Aurungzebe never could fully retrieve this error; nor is it in the spirit of intolerant bigotry ever to make a generous concession to those whom it has persecuted. The contempt in which the authority of his weak successors was held, did not allay the indignation which his conduct had excited. Senseless fanaticism had resorted to persecution at the moment when Mogul power was beginning to decline, and its enemies to arise in every quarter. Invited by weakness and provoked by injury, it was not surprising if the rajpoot princes and chiefs of Central India, once the defence of the Mogul throne, became secretly or openly the supporters of Mahratta invaders. Persian and Hindoo writers testify that the success of the Mahrattas in their first invasion of Malwa was attributed chiefly to the action of religious feeling. A communication characteristic of the times and parties farther illustrates the religious character of the movement. The Mahratta chief,

Bajerow, sent a verse of the Purana (the Hindoo sacred writings) to the rajah Jye Singh, which is thus literally translated : “ Thou art like the cloud which drinketh the waters of the sea, and returneth them with thunders to fertilize the earth. The mountains, in dread of Indra, fly to thee for protection. Thou art the tree of desires. Thou art the sea, from which springeth the tree of desires : who can tell thy depth ! I have no power to describe the depth of the ocean : but in all thy actions remember August Muni.” In Hindoo mythology, Muni drank up the sea ; the metaphorical communication, therefore, however flattering, conveyed a distinct warning of what might happen if he opposed the Brahminical sway. Jye Singh’s answer was given in words from the same volume : “ If the tribe of Brahma sin with me, I forgive them. This pledge I hold sacred. It was of no consequence that August Muni drank up the sea ; but if God should doom the walls that retain the ocean to be thrown down, then the world would be destroyed, and what would become of August Muni ?” The Hindoos believe the sea to be walled in ; and the allusion to that element being let loose upon the earth, addressed to a Brahmin, who should preserve instead of destroy the general order, was reckoned peculiarly apposite. A warning was conveyed to Bajerow of the consequences that would ensue from breaking down long-established authority. Sir John Malcolm appeals to these facts, “ as they show the effect produced by an

attack upon the religion of the Rajpoots, a warlike and superstitious race of men. It led them to welcome freebooters to their homes ;” and they still remember the causes which led to this revolution ; the attempt made to alter their religion then, excites indignation now. Their minstrels and bards—Charuns and Bhats—who are their only historians, relate even yet the injustice and oppression which overthrew their temples to establish the edifices of another system, and raised a revenue on their creed ; insulting as it was oppressive : since it was levied on all their religious ceremonies, even to those performed over their dead. The fame of those who overthrew the mosques of their tyrants, which had been erected on the consecrated spots of Hindoo idolatry ; and who restored the hallowed ground to its primitive and endeared associations, is celebrated in animated strains. The theme is familiar, in a degree hardly to be credited, to the modern Hindoos. Raised by the enterprise and genius of Sevajee to the proud rank of being the first scourge, and afterward the destroyer, of the Mohammedan empire, the cause of the Mahrattas had in all its early stages the aid of religious feeling. It was a kind of *holy war*, and the appearance of the Brahmins at the head of their armies gave in the first instance force to this impression.

The characters sustained by the Brahmins and soldiers among the Mahrattas, if properly appreciated, will afford insight to the nature of their warfare. From diet, education, and habit, the

Mahratta Brahmin is keen, active, and intelligent, but generally avaricious, and often treacherous. His life, in public business, is generally passed in efforts to deceive, and to detect others in deceiving; cunning is raised to the place of wisdom, and a mean, sordid, and interested bent is given to his mind; even when elevated from the lowest stations to the offices of minister or ruler in the state, which has been not unfrequent, the meanest features remain, and their character undergoes but little change. The unlettered Mahratta of the Khetri, or Sudra caste, enters upon his career as a soldier in the same dress, and with the same habits, with which he had tilled his field or tended his flocks; and the same simplicity of character has generally been preserved in all his vicissitudes of power and consideration, or reverses of defeat and obscurity. His patience under fatigue, hunger, and thirst—his manliness of resolution, unchangeable in success or adversity—are lauded by a diligent admirer: though it be admitted the Mahratta soldier was more distinguished by art than valour, and gloried as much in rapid flight as in daring attack. The mould in which he was formed is traced by the nature of Hindoo institutions, by the example of Sevajee and his leaders, and by the facility of his conquests. His strength lay in his contrast with the proud and formal Moslem, in his familiar association with the Hindoo population of the countries which he invaded; and his progress was never prevented by the pomp, luxury, or pride, which formed so

often, among the Moguls or their Hindoo soubahdars, an incumbrance and impediment to the most successful conquerors. Their character and actions as soldiers and invaders were singular ; they had few, if any, features in common with other nations. The means, ostensibly rejected by the pride of other conquerors, seem to have been always preferred by the Mahrattas ; the depraved, the desperate, and discontented, were invited to their standard ; robbers and plunderers were courted as auxiliaries, and permitted for a period to act for their own advantage in their own mode. If they could insinuate themselves by wiles into a share of the management, and make a party amongst the inhabitants of a district or a country, they judged it better than to use force, though possessed of superior power. Their patience and humility in effecting these objects were peculiar ; they were ever willing to divide the government and share the revenues with the Hindoo military chiefs whom they found in power. They flattered the prejudices and conformed to the usages of village communities ; and conciliated by every concession, provided they enjoyed the *choute*, or fourth of the revenue as their tribute. Yet the leaders were all as equals, were united only by a common thirst for plunder, and had no bond of alliance or confederacy except a common enemy and equal danger ; their armies depended, as predatory hordes, on success for pay, and the leaders were invested with powers for the *immediate* collection of tribute or revenues from

the provinces into which they were sent. This everywhere produced the same effects, and public interest was lost sight of in the desire of individuals to promote their own ambition. In a revenue account of Dhurrempooree for 1690, a district which lies to the north of the Nerbudda, and south of Mandoo, the revenue is represented as having been reduced from 81,072 rupees by an incursion of the Mahrattas to 32,589. Their absence in the following year caused the revenue to rise to 72,139 rupees ; the next year it amounted, from the same cause, to 89,684. But a return of these southern plunderers, as they are denominated in the Revenue Record, in 1694, brought it as low as 30,002 rupees, while their retreat, during the next year, made it reach its wonted value. By this it appears that the result of their exactions fell upon the government of the Mogul rather than upon the people.

Sevajee was succeeded by his eldest son Sambagee, whose ascent to power was resisted by a younger brother, the principal of whose adherents were ultimately destroyed. The Mahratta and imperial generals carried on the war in the Deckan for several years, by sudden inroads on the one side, and pursuit on the other. Akbar, a younger son of Aurungzebe, revolted from his father's standard, and took refuge with Sambagee. The Mahratta chief highly prized this acquisition, and received the prince with such honours as to refuse to sit in his presence. A desultory warfare, which

had no important result, was for a time carried on by the emperor himself; but he sent his son, Shah Aulum, into the Concan to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the coast. Provision could not be procured for the Mogul troops, the climate disagreed with them, and only a remnant of the army returned. But Sambagee exposed himself to treachery, and was caught in the snare of luxurious pleasures. Spies informed the emperor that his enemy was thus indulging his passions at a mountain fort not far distant, and imperfectly guarded. Sambagee had been too formidable an adversary, and with eager haste the Mogul despatched troops to surprise and take him. He was soon a prisoner, and his death followed immediately. The emperor glutted his eyes with the butchery of his enemy, and the Mahratta relaxed none of his haughtiness in the presence of death. Rayree, where Sevajee had died, and which his son had made his capital fortress, the asylum of his family, fell into the hands of the victor, with the wives and infant son of Sambagee. His brother Rama, however, escaped from the Concan, and threw himself into Gingee, where, by the great strength of the fortress and the bravery of his adherents, he gave occupation to the Mogul troops for many years. The final subjugation of the Mahrattas was eagerly pursued, and the principal army of the Mogul was carried into their own country, to be employed in the reduction of their forts. Under various chiefs, they issued from their mountain defiles, and spreading devastation over the

newly subdued provinces of Golcondah and Beejapore, and as far as Berar, Malwa, and Candeish, carried great plunder back, and left desolation behind. Their policy was to elude a regular action, in which they would be easily conquered ; they shunned rencounter, retired to their mountains when pursued, and hanging upon the rear of their enemy when obliged to return, they resumed their devastating pillage whenever the country was cleared of the troops sent to oppose them. The emperor's success was great among the forts in accessible parts of the Mahratta country ; but his adversaries so enriched themselves by preying upon his dominions, and so increased in multitude and power, being joined by the zemindars of the countries which they repeatedly overran, that the advantages of the contest were decidedly in their favour.

The last years of Aurungzebe were not marked by wisdom or vigour ; while the servants of his choice were incompetent and selfish ; and his government became so defective that the Mahrattas found the whole country south of the Nerbudda open to their incursions. The emperor expired in his camp at Ahmednuggur on the 21st of July, 1709, in the ninety-fourth year of his life, after having reigned nearly fifty years. His son, Shah Aulum, unable to subdue the Mahrattas, determined to accede to the terms of these marauders, who had offered to cease from their plunder on condition of receiving the *choute*, or fourth part of the revenue of the districts exposed to their inroads. He thereby delivered



some of the finest provinces of India from a perennial and dreaded scourge.

Ballajee Bishwanath, who was raised to the high office of paishwah, the FIRST, or head of the Mahratta confederacy, in 1714, revived the spirit of the Mahrattas, and restored them to activity. His son and successor, who became paishwah in April 1720, despatched a powerful force to lay waste the country, and collect tribute from the princes and government officers *north* of the Nerbudda. This was one of the earliest measures of Bajerow Bullal. It appears from the Poona Records, that incursions were made into Malwa in 1721; while Nizam-ul-Mulk was soubahdar of the Deckan, Guzerat was overrun and reduced by Oudajee Puar in the year 1722. His successor, Rajah Girdhur Bahadur, was attacked and defeated in 1724 by an army of Mahrattas, under the brother of the paishwah, Chimnaje Pundit, and his fellow-robber Oudajee Puar. These chiefs then proceeded to attack Sarungpore, whose Moslem governor was glad to purchase their departure by a tribute of 15,000 rupees. About the end of 1725 several officers were named to collect tribute. A permanent arrangement was made, and specific territories were appropriated to respective chieftains, in 1732, the paishwah having been tempted to march on the preceding year with a large army from Poonah, and made himself master of Nemauro and Malwa. In the latter he encountered Dia Bahadur, the relation and successor of Rajah Girdhur as soubahdar; but the

defeat and death of this officer gave the province to the Mahrattas. No commander was found resolute or courageous enough to attempt to arrest the progress of the paishwah and his adventurers. Sevai Iye Singh, though nominated to the high office, prevailed on the emperor to appoint Bajerow soubahdar of Malwa. Before the Mogul complied with this counsel, the Horse of the paishwah had ravaged the countries of Allahabad and Agra, and the imperial armies had failed in their efforts to expel them from that province.

This may be reckoned as the period when the Mahratta power and empire were consolidated, and ranked as a legitimate government. As rulers, the Mahrattas conducted themselves in a conciliatory manner toward the inhabitants ; their exactions were moderate, and their authority soon acquired a strength which had not been possessed by the Moguls for many years. The paishwah was elevated by *letters* from the emperor to the highest rank among the nobles of the empire—a grant of territories and a splendid dress (*khelaut*) were conferred, and he was succeeded by his son Ballajee in his power and honours, in 1740 ; only that, instead of soubahdar, the new paishwah (Ballajee) is designated *naib*, or deputy for a season. This inferior title was subsequently revoked by the emperor, and the paishwah officially installed by a *sunnud*, or deed, as the soubahdar of Malwa ; and he acted subsequently not as the servant, but the master of the Mogul, by the extortion of large

sums of money on the most groundless and insulting pretexts. The origin of the chiefs, whose word was given as guarantee for his fidelity, gives character to the transaction and the times. Ranojee Sindia had carried the slipper of Ballajee's father; and Mulhar Row Holkar had but a few years before herded a flock of goats at his native village in the Deckan. The territory over which Mahratta rulers bore sway—as the recognised authorities, to whom the subjects were required to yield allegiance, and with whom the British government held intercourse as such, when their dominion was most extensive,—exceeded 340,000 square miles—a surface more than equal to half the present empire of Britain in Hindostan. Changes have since passed upon their power, and the extent of their territory. They have lost the Concans, Darwar, Huttah, Saugur, Ahmedabad, Ajmere, Candeish, Guzerat, the Doâbs, Bundlecund, and Salsette. The rajah of Sattara is tolerated under British protection, and the paishwah is a state pensioner at two millions sterling per annum. There are parts of Malwa and Guzerat as native states, subject to British protection. Holkar and Guicowar are subsidized princes: Lahore and Scindiah, though independent, are unable to withstand British influence.

A Mahratta camp shall close this hasty sketch of these warlike banditti. Major S. says, “it is not quite what you would expect;” an immense village, or rather collection of villages, with about a dozen chunamed, or shell-plastered buildings, shapeless,

coarse, and without any sign of ornament, would give a more likely idea. Here and there many small trees and hedges of the milk plant, all of quick growth and late planting, and imparting to the whole a fixed and settled aspect. When you look again, and examine more closely, you see interspersed tents and palls, flags and pennons in myriads; in some parts hutted lines and piles of arms; in one range a large regular park of artillery; in all the open spaces horses regularly picketed, strings of camels, and a few stately elephants. On the skirts of this heterogeneous mass are a few smaller and more regular encampments, occupied by particular chiefs, with their followers, better armed and mounted. The sounds are heard of neighings, and prancings, of drums, of horns, and fire arms : occasionally the piercing trump of the elephant, mingled in confusion with the hum of a population, loud, busy, and tumultuous, proclaim, even afar off, that the trade here is war, and the manufactures are the weapons of destruction. Such is the suburban encampment of Gualior, the strong fortress of Scindiah.

The Bombay marine, sustained by the East India Company, and peculiar to the presidency on the western coast, had its origin in the early conflicts between Arab pirates, Persian war-boats, and a species of naval force created by the Beejapore, Mahratta, and Mogul powers on the coast. The Portuguese had, from their first voyage, encountered warlike fleets manned by Egyptian Mohammedans,

equipped by the sultan of Cairo, and fighting under the banner of the Crescent. The marine of Ormuz, too, had given them occupation, and put to the test their bravery and naval enterprise. We read of the squadrons of the Egyptian admiral, Mir Hocem, and the gallantry of Melique Az, viceroy of Diu—of the conflicts between these Arabs and the Portuguese, Lorenzo—the galleys of Almeyda and Albuquerque, and the combined fleets of the Moors in the gulfs of Persia or Cambay. These Abyssinian or Egyptian sailors had been attracted to the coasts of India, and found pay or plunder in the service of the Hindoo rajahs, or under the more congenial auspices of the Moslem moguls; and through the straits of Babel-Mandeb, a fresh stream of adventurers and mercenary warriors poured in upon the shores of India, during the succeeding centuries. Such were the progenitors of the Malabar Mauplies, the Concane Siddees, and the maritime subjects of Angria and his short-lived dominion. In the transactions of Sevajee's career we hear, for the first time in the history of India, of a naval war carried on by the Hindoo powers.

A chief, distinguished by the name of Siddee Jore, had then the government of the town of Dunda Rajapore—a sea-port to the southward of Bombay, belonging to the king of Beejapore—and commanded, at the same time, the fleet which that sovereign had formed to protect his maritime dominions and their trade. Enemies who needed to be watched now infested the coast of India,

and naval armaments were maintained for this purpose. Siddee was a name applied in common to those Abyssinian adventurers who now passed over from their own country into the service of the Deckan rajahs : by their prowess and their services they worked themselves into the confidence of the Hindoos, and often engrossed a great proportion of the principal offices of state. Siddee Jore was striving by signal services to resist the ambitious projects of the first Mahratta chief, and to commend himself for reward to the notice of the rajah of Beejapore, when Sevajee unexpectedly assailed Dunda Rajapore, and obtained possession of it by stratagem. The king was so enraged by the loss of this maritime port, that he procured the assassination of his unsuccessful mercenary. Siddee Jore had a son who was able to resent this murderous outrage. He commanded a fleet which lay at the fortified island of Gingerah. When the murder of his father was committed, he tendered his services, the surrender of the island, and the transference of the fleet and its instruments of war to the Mogul, which were at once greedily accepted. He was joined by a great number of his family and countrymen, who enlisted with the admiral under the banner of Aurungzebe. They seem ultimately to have conducted warlike enterprises on their own account, and to have extended their operations above the Malabar coast. The admiral was designated *The Siddee*, as a distinction : *Siddee* was *prefixed* to the names of his

principal officers, and their crew and followers were known as the Siddees. They carried on an active warfare along the whole coast of western India; were dangerous and troublesome enemies to the Mahrattas, and formidable to the British, as well as other European traders who frequented the coast. The Mahrattas deemed it necessary to check, if they could not overthrow, their piratical adversaries, and raised a permanent fleet to subserve their purposes. In this service a man, who had filled the humblest stations, and possessed no early title to distinction, acquired eminence, eclat, and power: he rose from one post to another, till he became admiral of the Mahratta fleet. He was so trusted that his masters appointed him governor of Severndroog, the strongest maritime fortress, in those days, in the East, situated on a rocky and inaccessible island, about a cannon-shot from the continent, and eight miles north from Dabul. The security of situation, and the extent and consolidation of his power, excited his ambition: he quarrelled with his masters, and revolted, with the greater part of his fleet, from the Mahratta government, whom he set at defiance with impunity; naval warfare was not their study, nor was the sea the element of their power! He rendered himself master of the coast from Tannah to Rajapore: an extent of sixty leagues. The Mahrattas recognised his power, and compounded their claim by receiving a small annual tribute as a mark of subjection! Conagee Angria was the name by

which this successful adventurer was known, and piracy and plunder were the source of his revenue. His power continued to increase: his fleets struck terror into all commercial navigators on the western coast of India. During almost half a century, the ships of the European traders were harassed by this predatory community, and repeatedly made futile and unsuccessful efforts to subdue them.

The whole line of coast is peculiarly adapted to this species of depredation: it is intersected by many rivers, whose embouchures upon the sea served as harbours for the light craft, and became nests and lurking-places for the pirates; whilst their strong-holds, in which to conceal or deposit their plunder, were hidden, secure, and contiguous. Moreover the interchange of sea and land breezes, and the numerous trading ports from Calicut to Diu and Ormuz, required the ships to keep close to the land. The combination of two of the greatest powers which have held sway in India for two centuries was required to extirpate these corsairs. In 1755 an English squadron under Commodore James, in union with an army of Mahrattas, attacked Severndroog and Bancoote,—a fort in the southern Concan,—which were taken in opposition to a formidable resistance. On the arrival of Colonel Clive at Bombay, the complete and final subjugation of these sailor adventurers was decreed. At first they had been, like their present adversaries, the regular naval force, the legitimate fleet of their masters: they were now



acting for themselves, and *therefore* a piratical state to be reduced! Gheriah was the capital of Angria, standing on a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, and was protected by a fort of extraordinary strength. The English fleet, consisting of eight ships, besides a grab and five bomb ketches, having on board eight hundred Europeans and one thousand sepoys, arrived at Gheriah on February 11, 1756, commanded by Colonel Clive. A Mahratta army cooperated with them, and approached on the other side. The number of the assailants, and the violence of the cannonade, terrified Angria and his adherents. They made a feeble resistance, and failed to profit by the advantages of their position. Angria submitted to his former masters, placed himself in the hand of the Mahrattas, and the fort was surrendered to the English commander. Thus the Company's marine became ascendant, assumed the dominion of those seas, and established the authority of the British flag from the shores of the Red Sea, the straits of Babel-Mandeb, along the Persian Gulf, by the mouths of the Indus, and to the remotest point of the Malabar coast, in all the creeks and havens which stretch to the straits of Malacca and Singapore.

The Bombay marine was stronger at the beginning of this century than it is now. But in our knowledge of it the Indian navy was inferior to the service of the regular British navy in no respect, whether in the naval tactics and bravery of the

men in times of danger; in the extent and usefulness of the valuable surveys made by its officers in the gulfs, bays, islands, and rivers, within the Company's dominion; or in the general character, friendly and obliging disposition and manners of the higher members of the service. They had several frigates, four eighteen-gun ships, six ten-gun corvettes, several brigs and armed steamers. Besides vice-admiral and superintendent, they had about one hundred and fifty commissioned officers, in the various gradations of rank which are sustained in the British navy, five hundred European seamen, with a large force of Lascars or native seamen. Ship-building on an extensive scale is carried on in Bombay, and men-of-war of the first size and strength have been constructed in that extensive dock-yard. A class of men connected with the city and port of Bombay, and largely engaged in the shipping and commerce of the presidency, are the Parsees; who form not one of the least valuable classes of British subjects in this region.

These fire worshippers, — *Guebers*, they are called by Mohammedan Persians,—suffered expulsion from Persia rather than abandon their religious rites and conform to the decrees of the Koran. They emigrated from Persia in the seventeenth century, and carried with them the emblem which, with religious veneration, they consecrate to the honour of God—the sacred fire, and which they deposited at Oodwara. Many of them travelled along the coast of Western India by Danoo

and Cape Sejan, till they entered the province of Guzerat, from which they have advanced to Bombay. Some among them have here risen to the highest opulence and influence, being partners in the chief mercantile houses: such as the Forbesses, and others of European name. The wealthiest are merchants, extensive land-owners, brokers and ship-owners; the majority are active, industrious, and intelligent tradesmen and mechanics; the only exception they make to any trade or art is, where fire is required; they do not work in *metals*; they refuse to bear arms as soldiers. The charitable resources among the Parsees for their poor are munificent and abundant: so that no one sees or hears of a Parsee beggar. Their people are divided into clergy and laity: but they may rather be called secular and religious: the clerical section are distinguished by a white turban,—are hereditary in their separation; their number is great, but this occasions no inconvenience, as, with the exception of the men immediately engaged in the celebration of rites, they follow all kinds of occupations equally with their secular brethren. They have no statues of the Deity, angels, men, or inferior animals; no altars or temples, properly so called; they reverence the whole vault of heaven, stars, sun, planets, earth, fire, water and winds, but offer to them no sacrifices. Their Zend-avesta, or sacred book, chiefly consists of a series of prayers and liturgic services. They regard *light* as the noblest symbol of the

*supreme Being*; they present their adorations to the rising sun, but they suffer not his rays to fall direct on the sacred fire. They suppose a continued warfare between good and evil spirits, as the Gnostics of old; they believe in three places for the reception of departed spirits: heaven, for the only good; hanustan, where the souls, whose actions have been equally balanced, remain till the judgment-day; and hell, which is not eternal. Since they believe God delights in the happiness of his creatures, they have no fasts, no polygamy, no celibacy, and no concubinage. They admit converts, and esteem the planting of trees among their good works.

The settlement of the British on the Coromandel coast, and the foundation of their power, now swayed over the entire population of the Western Peninsula, took their origin in small beginnings. Factories were commenced at Masulipatam and Pulicate; in the former the traders suffered oppression from the native government, in the latter the rivals of the Dutch withstood them; they therefore purchased a piece of ground from the chief of Nellore, and erected and fortified a factory at Armegum, to which they withdrew in 1628. It was not found a convenient station for their trade in piece-goods; the principal article of their commerce on that coast. They therefore eagerly embraced permission granted by a local chief to erect a fort at Madraspatnam, which they named Fort St. George, in 1639. To the prince

of Bijanagur they owed this favour. The cession extended along the shore five miles, and in breadth one mile inland; in lat.  $13^{\circ} 5'$  north, long.  $80^{\circ} 21'$  east. In 1653, it became a presidency of the Company, with a military force of twenty-six soldiers; and in the following year, the directors ordered the number to be reduced to ten! The town consisted of three divisions. The first, the white town, where resided only the English and other Europeans under their protection, contained fifty houses, besides the warehouses and other buildings of the Company, and an English and Roman Catholic church. Surrounded with a wall, it was defended by four bastions and four batteries, weak and ill-constructed. In the second division on the north side, and contiguous to the former, resided the Armenian and the richest Indian merchants; it was larger and worse fortified. The space lying still farther north was occupied by hovels and houses of native construction, and inhabited by natives only.—Black Town was the name given to these two divisions. The census of the inhabitants within the fort, the town, and the adjacent villages within the Company's boundaries, amounted in 1687 to 300,000. The English were only 300; of whom were 200 soldiers of the garrison. Hindoo Christians, or descendants of the Portuguese, were between three and four thousand; the rest were Armenians, Moham-medans or Hindoos. Thirteen years after this date it was besieged by one of Aurungzebe's generals.

In the year 1692, another factory was established at Negapatam, and a tract of country purchased from a native power, which was secured by an official grant. The factory was defended by a wall and bulwarks, and denominated Fort St. David. It lay sixteen miles south of Pondicherry, and was a hundred miles south-west of Madras. A grant of three other villages was obtained in the vicinity of Madras, by the influence of Surgeon Hamilton with the Mogul emperor.

About the year 1690 the ambition of the English authorities began to contemplate an *Indian Empire*; and they directed their servants in the East to use every means to become a nation in India. Another power, however, interposed an equal desire of empire and supremacy in the East, and pursued it with almost equal talent and enterprise. Their chief servants were as zealous, and, for a season, far more successful and adventurous. The French formed an East India Company in 1664, and directed their efforts first to Madagascar, and when unsuccessful there, to the two contiguous islands, then called Cerne and Mascarenhas, but now known as the Mauritius and Bourbon. They attempted the settlement of factories at Surat in 1668, and afterwards in Ceylon, at Trincomalee and on the Coromandel coast. They failed from unprosperous trade, or the hostility of the Dutch. A more prosperous effort was made by M. Martin and a few scattered adventurers, whom he collected and landed on the shores of the Carnatic. The site of the projected colony

was a sandy plain, producing only palm trees, millet, and a few herbs. There was a village and a slip of land about five miles, which the adventurers purchased from the king of Beejapore in 1672, and called Pondicherry. By judicious and conciliatory conduct, the attachment of the natives was gained, an advantageous trade opened, and the settlement was raised to a prosperous condition; and, as a populous city, continued the capital of the French power in India. The fortifications were strong, and the town contained many handsome and regular buildings: the houses being in general two stories high, with flat roofs, and colonnades in their fronts. Mahe on the Malabar coast, Carical contiguous to Negapatam, and Chandernagore in Bengal, were the next settlements acquired by the French. Varied success attended their enterprises in India. In the history of no power, even in the East, have there been such reverses and returning prosperity, such chequered vicissitudes, and such capricious and unlooked-for mutations of power and influence. At one time they gave law to the nabobs, rajahs, and soubahdars of the Deckan, leading the councils, presiding in the durbars, and dictating to the highest representatives of the Mogul; determining what candidate should hold the nominal sovereignty of the Carnatic, and installing the soubahdar upon the throne of the Deckan. At their capital settlement they appeared only to wait their own time and pleasure when Madras should be reduced to a fishing village, and its English occupants

expelled as outcasts from every territory or settlement of the Peninsula. By one successful manœuvre, we find them adding to their other extensive domains, six hundred miles of country in length, and territory in breadth so great as to yield a revenue of 855,000*l.* annually; their acquisitions in other parts being limited only by their discretion in demanding, and their power of retaining, the dominions of their native tributaries. At another time we do not find even a shadow of those possessions. Their territories occupied by their rivals, their armies dispersed by hostile troops, their chiefs, generals, and authorities, prisoners of war waiting the decree of their conquerors, and exposed to all the indignities of captivity and chains. Only three ruinous and unproductive settlements remain in their possession now; and their influence in India has passed away like a summer cloud.

The men who distinguished themselves in these early struggles were Labourdonnais, Dupliex, Bussy, De Lally, and Law. Labourdonnais, a native of St. Malo, entered when he was ten years of age on board a ship bound for the South Seas in 1709. Four years afterward he made a voyage to the East Indies and the Philippine Islands. From a Jesuit, a passenger in the ship, he acquired a knowledge of mathematics. In 1719, after several voyages to other parts of the world, he entered into the service of the French East India Company as second lieutenant, and sailed for Surat. In his second voyage he was first lieutenant, and in his



third he sailed as captain, in 1724. Every voyage was marked by some effort distinguishing his active mind. In his last voyage he acquired a knowledge of the principles of fortification and tactics, from an engineer officer, one of his passengers. Remaining in India, engaged as a private trader, he realized a large fortune in a few years. He was the first Frenchman who navigated a vessel on his own account in the eastern seas. By the force of his character, and an honourable generosity of mind, he prevailed to reconcile the commanders of some Portuguese and Arabian ships who had quarrelled in the harbour of Mocha. This service recommended him to the viceroy of Goa, who gave him the command of a ship of war in the Portuguese navy, adorned him with orders and rank, and appointed him agent of the king of Portugal on the Coromandel coast. For two years he held this situation; and having matured his knowledge of the traffic and navigation of those seas, he returned to France in 1733. His reputation obtained for him in his native country the highest distinction; he was nominated governor-general of the isles of France and Bourbon by the French government. When he arrived there, in 1735, he found the people few in number, poor, without industry, and without knowledge. Military or naval force, fortification, magazine, or hospital, they had none; nor yet roads, beasts of burden, or vehicles. But as every thing remained to be done, Labourdonnais seemed capable of every thing. He had a

head to contrive, and a hand to execute ; he was ship-builder, engineer, architect, and agriculturist. He introduced every means of improvement, and made industry and the useful arts to flourish. His assiduity and success created enemies. Captains and traders were displeased and disappointed by his rigid restraints upon their schemes of injustice and chicanery, and the subordinate authorities at home cooperated with his adversaries, till, disgusted with his treatment, he returned to France, determined to resign his office. A scheme, contrived between him and the ministry, was resolved upon, which, it was anticipated, would sweep English commerce from the eastern seas, and Labourdonnais was despatched in 1741 to carry it into effect ; but before he reached his destination, his plans were frustrated by the French ministry having adopted other plans. War was declared between France and England in 1744, of which he was apprised while fulfilling his duties as governor of the islands to which he had been originally appointed. He was ready to enter with national ardour into the warlike operations, but was compelled by orders to wait till 1746. His inventive genius supplied him with resources and instruments for the hostile enterprise, which took his adversaries unawares, and excited the hatred of his rivals. On the 6th of July he came in sight of the English fleet sailing off fort St. David. The battle afforded no advantage to either party, but it was the beginning of many bloody encounters. After

visiting Pondicherry, he proceeded to invest Madras, landed some troops a few miles to the south of the fort, and, with the ships on sea and the soldiers on shore cooperating, he arrived within cannon-shot of the town. His naval and military force amounted to about 3,600 destined for the siege. After five days the Madrassese capitulated, and Labourdonnais pledged his honour to restore the settlement to the British for a moderate ransom. He had not lost a man; four or five of the English had been killed by the explosion of the bombs; the magazines and warehouses of the Company were taken possession of by French commissaries, and Labourdonnais protected the inhabitants most honourably. The governor of Pondicherry refused to fulfil the captor's terms in the capitulation, and Madras was retained by the French; every article of property, with trifling exceptions, was seized. The principal inhabitants and their governor were carried in triumph to Pondicherry. This unprincipled conduct, which Labourdonnais could not prevent, disappointed and alienated his generous mind; he submitted to the authority of this superior, and sailed in charge of several French ships hardly able to float. He brought his squadron to Bourbon, and hastened to Europe, to meet the accusations of his adversaries. As a passenger he sailed in a Dutch vessel, in which, in consequence of the declaration of war, he had to enter an English harbour. Labourdonnais was recognised, and made prisoner. His conduct at Madras procured

for him now the most honourable treatment. He was received with honour and distinction by all classes. The directors of the Company and the government vied with each other in acts of greatest liberality; he was allowed to depart for France without any security but the *word* of Labourdonnais. How different was his reception in France! The representations of Dupliex, governor of Pondicherry, had arrived before him; and though the governor had violated a solemn treaty, and Labourdonnais had faithfully and honourably served his country, he was thrown into the Bastile, where he lingered three years. His authenticated vindication, his palpable innocence, the ardour and ability of his services, availed him not. His liberation came but a little time before his death; and he remained a melancholy and memorable example how a blind and despotic government encourages desert.

Joseph Francis Dupliex, the rival of this ill-used man, was son of a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the French East India Company; who had determined to rear his son to a commercial occupation; and, to prevent his mind from being engrossed by mathematics, engineering, and fortification, had sent him on board ship for several voyages to the Indies and America. He imbibed a taste for this occupation, and by his father's influence, was sent out in 1720 as first member of the council at Pondicherry by the French Company. His application and enterprise were uncommon, and crowned with success. He understood

the commerce of the country, and engaged in it for his own profit. From Pondicherry he was sent to Chandernagore, which so prospered under his administration, that more than 2,000 brick houses were built in it. He formed a new establishment for the Company at Patna, and rendered French commerce in Bengal the envy of all the other European colonists. He was then recalled to Pondicherry, and invested with the authority of governor and chief in command. For four years he had sustained this office when the generous Labourdonnais arrived in the Indian seas. Ambitious, active, and ingenious, he yielded often to the infirmities of jealousy and revenge ; with excessive vanity, his mind possessed little elevation, but indulged in the effeminate luxuries of the East. If he could circumvent by chicanery and duplicity his opponents as well as his enemies, there was no trick too mean for his spirit, and no subterfuge too disingenuous for his purpose. Eastern policy was for him a congenial element, and native courts and princes fit companions for such a character. His stratagems and treacherous deceptions, his promises made to be broken, and treaties made to delude, were practised alike upon his allies and colleagues, upon British and Hindoo authorities. He scrupled at nothing, and had no hesitation to employ any, or every means to annihilate British power and consolidate French supremacy and dominion in India. He was fertile in expedients, and indefatigable in their application ; he was energetic and daring in

his martial enterprises, and, rising with his difficulties, he acquired fresh confidence after every disaster. He never seems, in his active career, to have suffered despondency to overwhelm his mind. Accustomed to form schemes which from their magnitude appeared romantic, it was his practice to adhere to them with constancy: even when the defeats which he encountered in their execution seemed to counsel nothing but despair. His firmness of purpose was always sustained by the exhaustless inventions of his mind. It would be impossible in this brief sketch to follow the tortuous windings of his diplomacy with native chieftains, or his persevering efforts to reduce British power.

He repeatedly attacked Fort St. David and besieged Trichinopoly, defended himself against overwhelming forces in Pondicherry and in the Fort of Gingee, and gained many battles over the English and their allies. He obtained the sovereignty of eighty-one villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry from the nabob of Arcot, and was appointed governor of the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel, from the Kristna to Cape Comorin: embracing the whole Carnatic; and the nabob himself was nominated as his deputy. He was, however, at last superseded by a commissioner sent out from France, who resigned all the brilliant conquests made during Dupliex's administration, and Dupliex departed on his voyage to his native country on the 14th of October, 1754, after having spent thirty-four years in Asiatic regions. By his accounts delivered to

the commissioners, it appeared he had disbursed on behalf of the French Company near three millions of rupees more than had been received during the war: most of which was furnished out of his own estate; and the rest from monies borrowed at interest from the inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. These accounts were referred to the directors in France, who refused to pay any part of the balance due to him, because they asserted these expenses were incurred without sufficient authority. He therefore commenced a law-suit against the Company, but the proceedings were interrupted by the royal authority, and no discussion was ever entered into on the claims of Dupliex, or any measures taken to satisfy them; letters of protection against the prosecution of any of his creditors were the only *favour* granted to him. By all his bold adventures, as governor of Pondicherry, he added nothing to his personal possessions; but after twelve years' supremacy, he retired with a smaller fortune than he possessed when he entered upon the government. Mortification and chagrin hastened the end of this ambitious man. In India he had assumed the most lofty and haughty demeanour, invested himself with the ensigns and dress of a Mogul viceroy, and had often obliged the officers whom he admitted to audience to fall upon their knees before him. But in France, the position he occupied was that of a protected and unprincipled insolvent, a degraded adventurer, a dishonoured

partisan, and an unsuccessful candidate for power and renown : “ *Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin.*”

Four years subsequent to Dupliex's disgrace, the stage was occupied by another equally ambitious, but less politic adventurer. Imbued with even stronger hatred to the English power, but less successful in his projects, more sanguine in his temperament, and more disastrous in his final ruin, the Count de Lally presents in his history an overcast and sombre portrait of a soldier of fortune. An immediate descendant of one of those Irish families who had expatriated themselves as adherents of James II., he had entered into the French army, and distinguished himself by his courage. At the battle of Fontenoy, he took prisoner, in personal conflict, several English officers, and received upon the field the rank of colonel at the hand of the king. His hatred to the English was expressed in his daring proposal that 10,000 men should be landed in England—while Prince Charles Edward was exciting his partisans in another part of the island—and now marked him out as a fit instrument, and led him to accept the appointment of commander-in-chief of the French forces in India, to annihilate the British powers on the Coromandel coast. His own regiment of Irish, 1,080 strong, 50 royal artillery, and many officers of distinction, sailed under his banner. His squadron of twelve sail arrived in the road of Fort St. David. With the siege of this fort his operations commenced, in accordance with his instructions,



the triumphant anticipations of the French court, and his own headstrong presumption. His operations were conducted with dispatch, but his celebrity was not regulated by discretion. He landed at Pondicherry at five in the afternoon, and the same night 2,000 soldiers were by his orders on their march for the Fort St. David ; but they started without provisions, with guides who led them astray, and were brought to the fort under the blaze of a morning sun, worn out with hunger and fatigue. The whole affair exhibits the character of his mind. He advanced to this undertaking without a knowledge of what were the English forces on the coast ; whether Cuddalore, a neighbouring town, was surrounded by a wall or a rampart ; or whether there was any river to pass on his way ; or whether he could march along the shore without having to reduce intermediate places. His whole army marched without a day's provision, and many of them died of want. Thus naturally ardent and impetuous, with talents of great energy, he was vain and presumptuous, his knowledge being superficial and scanty. He counted not the cost ; if he was satisfied with the end to be attained, he anticipated no difficulties, and experience imparted to him no wisdom as to the means which were required. The technical part of the military profession was familiar to him as a theory, but its practical application needed more patience than he possessed. The character and manners of the people among whom he had

to act, had not been appreciated by him; and his ideas of the mechanism of war closed his eyes to the fact that his success depended upon the management of intellectual and moral instruments. The consequence was, that he disgusted the natives by trampling upon their customs and prejudices, and forcibly confounding distinctions which they held sacred; while he vented his disappointment upon his countrymen in reproaches and complaints, uttered in most offensive terms, describing them universally as rogues, and attributing to them dishonesty and misconduct whenever he experienced delay or missed his objects. The natives would not trust themselves in his power; and the animosity of the French followed him in rancour and rage, so as to preclude all cordial cooperation, and occasion mismanagement and distrust in every concern.

Yet the new governor was not a man destitute of resources, and he had the *will* to employ them, controlling and superseding every obstruction and discouragement. He stormed and carried the defence of Fort St. David, which he razed to the ground, and he captured Devi-Cotah. His fleet encountered and paralyzed the British fleet: Nagore, a town accounted rich, and Kiveloore, the seat of a celebrated pagoda in Tanjore, submitted to his arms. Lally ransacked and dug under the houses, dragged the tanks, and took away the idols, but he found no treasure—the idols were made of brass: he had hoped they were of gold. He attacked

and retreated from the capital of Tanjore, now aided by British troops. His next efforts were directed to the capture of Arcot, which with four secondary forts, surrendered to his arms; and as it was his resolution, after having taken Madras, to hasten to the banks of the Ganges, and thus destroy the British power in India, he summoned Bussy from the court of the soubahdar, and commenced the siege of Fort St. George. The Black Town submitted to his terms, but the fort was relieved by the arrival of a British fleet in the roads; when he decamped for Pondicherry: where his defeat was celebrated as a triumph by his countrymen. Though his own regiment mutinied, and his army was destitute of food and clothing, he repelled an attack of the English upon the fort of Wandewash, and then took possession of the rich island of Seringham upon the Cauvery. The English now assumed offensive operations, and advanced to the forts and territory acquired by the French. Lally withdrew his troops from Seringham, met a disastrous defeat at Wandewash, which his adversaries surprised and retained. Arcot and Chittapet surrendered to the same army. Gingee was weakened of its forces. Devi-Cotah was evacuated; Karikal, and all the minor forts, were taken; and Lally's difficulties ripened to extremity. Cuddalore, Chillambrum, and all other French possessions on the coast, were now reduced; Pondicherry alone remained, and it was invested by a British fleet and the conquering army. Lally

attempted by fruitless negotiation to enlist the ruler of Mysore in his ruined cause; but Hyder Ali was restrained by sagacity or fear; and the French were left to their doom. After a protracted siege under the able generalship of Colonel Coote, and after the besieged had made many skilful and daring efforts to destroy their enemies, the trenches of the attacking army were opened on the 12th of January, 1761. The French were reduced to the last stage of privation. Lally himself was sick; worn out with vexation and fatigue, and disarmed of all authority by the raging discussions of his people. On the 14th he despatched a commissioner to treat about the surrender, and Pondicherry passed unconditionally into the hands of the British. Gingee and Thiagur made a feeble resistance, and on the 5th of April the French possessed not a single military post in the peninsula. Raynal sums up Lally's character in few but emphatic terms:—"This man, whose ungovernable temper could never adapt itself to circumstances, had received from nature none of those qualities that render a man fit for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; so that there was a perpetual contrast between his conversation and projects, and between his projects and his actions. Passionate, suspicious, jealous, and positive to excess, he created a universal diffidence and dejection, and excited animosities never to be suppressed. His military operations, his civil government, his poli-

tical combinations, all bore evident marks of the confusion of his ideas."

Dreadful was the award which awaited the vanquished Lally. The lesson should be profitable to those who delight in war and trust on princes. Public discontent, excited in France by the domestic disasters attending a pusillanimous and imbecile government, was blown into a flame when the total loss of their valuable acquisitions in India was reported. To dissipate its influence, or divert it from their own proceedings, the French ministry eagerly turned public attention to the conduct of their discomfited general. Many persons had returned from the wreck of their fortunes in India, burning with resentment, and heaping the bitterest accusations against Lally. The troops which had fought at Pondicherry, and all the Company's servants, had been sent to Europe, and thus multiplied his adversaries. The popular indignation, easily swayed by first appearances, was carefully cultivated against the man who had had the more immediate guidance of the affairs, now involved in ruin; and the cruel and disgraceful destruction of Lally was resolved upon, by a species of imposture and villany, to screen the ministry from the deserved odium and hatred of the people. Upon his arrival in France he was thrown into the Bastile; and, as if this were a prison too honourable for such an offender, he was removed from it to a common dungeon. An accusation of *treason* and extortion, founded on

vague and frivolous pretences, was brought against him. He had been destitute of wisdom and prudence, but he had displayed the greatest ardour in the service, the greatest disinterestedness, fidelity, and perseverance. Yet the parliament of Paris, a supple tool of ministerial perfidy, condemned him to an ignominious death for having betrayed the interests of the king, of the state, and of the India Company: they professed to have convicted him of vexatious exactions and abuse of authority. Raynal answers these charges thus:—"He made use of violent means to procure pecuniary aids, but this money was put into the public treasury. He injured and oppressed the citizens, but he never attempted any thing against their lives or against their honours. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caused no one to be executed on them: . . . he was neither guilty of public extortions nor treason." Confident in his innocence, Lally had anticipated only an honourable acquittal. When his sentence was read to him in his dungeon he was overwhelmed in an agony of surprise and indignation, and exclaiming, "Is this the reward of forty-five years' service?" he snatched a pair of compasses, with which he had been sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, and struck them that they might pierce his heart. His arm was held back, and his execution was precipitated on the same day. Dragged through the streets of Paris in a dirty dung cart, and his mouth stuffed with a gag so large as to project beyond his lips,

lest he should address the people, he became the victim of a judicial murder—he was beheaded: a sentence which has been described as “murder committed with the sword of justice.”

M. de Bussy enters prominently on Indian scenes in 1750. Having signalized himself in several skirmishes between the native troops and the European adventurers, he left Pondicherry, January 1751, in command of a detachment of French soldiers—whom Dupliex had appointed as his spies,—as the guards or emissaries of Mirzapha Jung: or, *if possible*, of the princes who should succeed as soubahdars of the Deckan. Possessing great presence of mind and coolness, a clear judgment and patience in the pursuit of his object, he acquired a thorough knowledge of native character and ability to penetrate the folds and unravel the labyrinths of Hindoo cunning and perfidy. Having watched with great zeal for the service of his country and the extension of her ascendancy, he became versed in all the duplicity, the windings and versatility of eastern courts and Brahminical policy. Though generally avoiding those acts of harshness, cruelty, and revenge, which have stained European reputation in their Indian enterprises, we can scarcely discover any personal affection and attachment on his part toward his native associates, or any reciprocal confidence, as if they had mutually combined for a common good. His familiarity with the manners of the princes and their mutual jealousies enabled him to overmatch and counteract

them for many years, and in many intricate and important transactions. He was never afraid of battle scenes, of the dangers of war, or the most harassing adventures, yet he prevailed more by the weight of character and moral influence than by carnage or oppression. Had he been a chief, as he was a subordinate, while Dupliex and Lally governed; or had they suffered him to act an independent part in the Northern Circars, and in the court of the soubahdar, Britain might not have so triumphed, the eastern power of France had not so soon passed away. An outline of his career would not be uninteresting to an English reader. He subdued the Patan chiefs in the camp of the soubahdar, and elected Salabat Jung as the successor of Mirzapha, in whose counsels he continued to exercise the greatest control. He secured for the son of Mirzapha Jung, the government of Adoni; and its territory was increased by the forfeited possessions of the rebel Patans. He vanquished a strong force of Mahrattas, and preserved Salabat upon his throne; and in 1753, he obtained for his country the four important provinces of Mustaphanagar, Ellore, Rajemundry and Chicacole, called the *Northern Circars*. He conducted his master, Salabat, into Mysore, in 1755, and exacted from their chief large arrears of tribute, and an acknowledgment of the soubahdar's authority. In the following year, he defended himself at Hyderabad against the whole power of the same prince, and dictated his own terms. At the close of the



contest, he visited the Northern Circars, and adjusted their government, so as to secure the payment of their revenue. With 500 Europeans and 4,000 sepoy, he subdued the Polygar of Bobilee, contemplated a junction with Suraja Dowla to expel the English from Bengal, and captured Vizagapatam, an English fortress, making all the Europeans, civil and military, prisoners, and the Company's effects the prize of war. On an emergency which threatened the French influence, he retraced his distance, but by a road never before travelled by Europeans, a space of 400 miles in twenty-one days; and when he reached Aurungabad, he kept in check four separate armies, till his purposes were accomplished. By a sum of money, he gained admittance to Dowlatabad, a fortress held by his mortal foe; and that without the loss of a man, though his troops entered with him into the fort, and the governor of the fort was himself made Bussy's prisoner, while his accomplice in hostility to the French was obliged to succumb. Thus was Bussy placed in uncontrolled power over the government of the wide extended Deckan. From this proud eminence was he recalled by Lally.

Occupying an elevated station among the princes of India, the support and shield of the tottering throne of the soubahdar, it is not surprising if he should attempt by the strongest representations to prevail with his superior to restore him to his station, where he had left the prince in an agony of grief and despair for his departure. He joined

Lally at Arcot, and was treated by this presumptuous man as a madman, whose representations should be regarded as the visions of delusion, or the fruit of imposture. It was a rare merit with Bussy, that personally he was yet a poor man; and it was an honourable testimony to his merit, that six *colonels* and a major-general, all his superiors in rank, men of ancient and noble descent, signed a requisition that Bussy might supersede them in command. The place assigned him was commander of the cavalry. His counsels were rejected, his plans opposed, and his experience in the country rendered fruitless. The battle of Wandewash was fought contrary to his advice; the French were worsted; Bussy himself had his horse killed; attempting to lead on a regiment, was abandoned by his troops, and taken prisoner. Thus went down the sun of Bussy's glory; he held only a subordinate part in the remaining struggles of French existence. In the year 1783, he landed from the French fleet of Suffrien at Cuddalore, with a reinforcement of French troops, to enter into the wars of Tippoo Sultaun, when his vigour was again ready to be displayed. He had thrown up works of defence, and repulsed the English, who made an attack upon the place, when 1,000 British troops fell, either dead or mortally wounded. This was thirty-three years after he had joined Mirzapha Jung: no wonder, then, that the historian should have to record, "the spirit of Bussy was chilled by age and infirmities; and he

restrained the impetuosity of his officers, who confidently predicted the destruction of the British army." The English had lain upon their arms during the night in expectation of an attack, which the troops, fatigued and unprotected, would have found it difficult to sustain. Bussy and the French admiral were concerting vigorous operations, and prepared for making a grand effort on the 4th of July. The English were so reduced by the sword, sickness, and fatigue, that fatal consequences were feared and probable. Their army and fleet presented a dismal prospect to the alarmed authorities; and the sun of prosperity was again ready to cheer Bussy's path, as he imagined, when intelligence was received of the signature in Europe of a treaty of peace between the English and French. A flag of truce, a cessation of arms, and the withdrawal of French troops from Tippoo's service, immediately followed. Bussy's end was not like that of any of the other three; yet what has been his reward, or what were the benefits, lasting and extensive, which as a soldier-adventurer he conferred upon India? There are none who will bless the memory of his name as a benefactor to the people, or as a servant of the living and true God.

John Law was the eldest son of an Edinburgh goldsmith, and amidst the most singular gambling propensities, exhibited rare talents for financial and political economy. Though the *Abbé* Raynal designates him "one of those projectors or state

empirics who are constantly roaming about the courts of Europe, displaying their talents, and hurried on by a restless disposition ;” we apprehend we should do no discredit to him, or the gentleman to whom we would compare him, were we to represent him as the *first* edition of Dr. Bowring. He was a deep calculator, and endowed with a most lively and ardent imagination. He was permitted to establish the general bank of “ Law and Company” at Paris, in 1716 ; and was appointed director-general of the same establishment, when constituted the *Royal Bank of France*. His scheme for the “ Company of the West,” which obtained *éclat* as the “ Mississippi Scheme,” at first succeeded, and he was named *director-general* : after varied modifications, it assumed the title of the “ Company of the Indies,” including the East as well as the West ; and on the 5th of January, 1720, Mr. Law was appointed *comptroller-general* of the finances, and held the high station of prime-minister of France. After having acquired immense property, estates and titles, his power and possessions passed away as a dream, his *scheme* burst like an airy bubble, and his chequered career was closed at Venice on the 21st of March, 1729 ; when he died in a state but little removed from indigence. We are told that, when his whole property was confiscated, his brother William was sent to the Bastile. Twenty years after Law’s death, the Chevalier Law appeared before Trichinopoly as one of the French officers in command, besieging

that fort, and leading his troops to the occupation of Seringham. It is probable, that though publicly dishonoured and ruined, either from personal regard or influence, some of his kindred enjoyed a kind of heirloom connexion with the French East India Company. For, besides this Chevalier Law, we found as governor of a French settlement, on the Malabar coast, nearly a century after the baron Law's disgrace, a Monsieur Law, who traced his pedigree to the projector, and claimed association and intercourse with the regal families of Europe. The *Chevalier* Law was inspired by the example of Bussy, but seems not to have possessed the same talent, as he did not attain to the same success in eastern enterprise with his gifted model. Law was in immediate subjection to Dupliex, and was required to perform the purposes of his superior, rather than accomplish his own plans. He was driven by the British from Trichinopoly and the head-quarters of Chundah Saheb; and in Seringham Pagoda, was obliged to surrender himself and his associates prisoners of war. After an exchange of prisoners and subsequent arrangements we find Law at the head of the factory in Cossimbuzar, in cooperation with the nabob of Bengal; and, as a partisan in the contest, proceeding to Bahar, furnished with money, arms, and ammunition, by Surajah Dowla. Law had here traced a conspiracy for the destruction of Surajah, but he had neither power to prevent, or influence with the nabob to guard him against it. The native prince, therefore,

dismissed Mr. Law, telling him “that if there should happen any thing new, he would send for him again.”—“Send for me again! be assured, my lord nabob,” exclaimed Law, “that this is the last time we shall see each other; remember my words—we shall never meet again; it is nearly impossible.” When this nabob was removed by British policy, and Meer Jaffier was raised to his place, Law attached himself to the service of the soubahdar of Oude, and cooperated with the Mahratta horse, employed in collecting the arrears of Choute. The Mahrattas were defeated and obliged to fly, and the Chevalier Law betook himself and his band of French adventurers to Chitterpore, on the borders of the Mahratta country, waiting for service or plunder. The emperor of Delhi invited him, in 1760, to make an incursion upon Bahar, and on his way he passed Patna; but ignorant of its defenceless condition, he failed to profit by his advantage—so would not Bussy have done, in the like condition. Law returned to assail this wealthy city; the emperor was eager to besiege and take it; and twice did the French and their confederates attempt the assault: they demolished part of the wall, and scaled the rampart; and, though compelled to retire, they prepared for a new assault on the following night, when they were unexpectedly attacked by a dashing soldier, Captain Knox, who surprised them when asleep, drove them from the works, and made them raise the siege. This active officer, who had brought relief to Patna, had conducted his

forces nearly 300 miles in thirteen days, under the burning heat of a Bengal sun, himself marching on foot in company with his men; immediately encountered the army with which Law was cooperating; and, though it consisted of 12,000 men, well appointed and prepared, with 30 pieces of cannon, and his army only numbered one battalion of sepoys, 200 Europeans, and 300 horse, with five field pieces, he repulsed them at every point, and compelled them to quit the field. Chevalier Law, though he made mercenary war his trade, and was brave as a soldier, yet he gained few laurels of victory, and often met discomfiture and disappointment.

Bahar was, however, severely harassed and impoverished by the repeated incursions of the confederates, and the English and their allies were prevented from reaping the harvest of their power, or the benefits of their conquests, so long as such predatory adventurers hung upon their territory: they therefore made a decided effort to subdue the emperor, who employed Law. A battle was fought at Gyah Maunpore, between Major Carnac and the Delhi monarch: the victory was complete, and the Chevalier Law was taken prisoner. The following is the graphic description from the pen of a Hindoo noble, who witnessed the closing scene of Law's martial career. "When the emperor left the field of battle, the handful of troops that followed M. Law, discouraged by this flight, and tired of the wandering life which they had hitherto led in this service, turned about likewise, and followed the

emperor. M. Law, finding himself abandoned and alone, resolved not to turn his back; he bestrode one of his guns, and remained firm in that posture, waiting for the moment of his death. This being reported to Major Carnac, he detached himself from his main, with Captain Knox and some other officers, and advanced to the man on the gun, without taking with him either a guard or any sepoys at all. Being arrived near, this troop alighted from their horses, and pulling their caps from their heads, they swept the air with them, as if to make him a *salaam*; and this salute being returned by M. Law in the same manner, some parley in their language ensued. The Major, after paying high encomiums to M. Law for his perseverance, conduct, and bravery, added these words, ‘You have done every thing which could be expected from a brave man; and your name shall be undoubtedly transmitted to posterity by the pen of history: now loosen your sword from your loins, come amongst us, and abandon all thoughts of contending with the English.’ The other answered, ‘that if they would accept of his surrendering himself just as he was, he had no objection; but that as to surrendering himself with the disgrace of being without his sword, it was a shame he would never submit to; and that they might take his life if they were not satisfied with that condition.’ The English commanders, admiring his firmness, consented to his surrendering himself in the manner he wished; after which the



major with his officers shook hands with him, in their European manner, and every sentiment of enmity was instantly dismissed on both sides. At the same time the major sent for his own palanquin, made him sit in it, and he was sent to the camp. M. Law, unwilling to see or to be seen, shut up the curtains of his palanquin for fear of being recognised by any of his friends at camp ; but yet some of his acquaintances, hearing of his being arrived, went to him. The major, who had excused him from appearing in public, informed them that they could not see him for some days, as he was too much vexed to receive any company." The writer recites how a Mohammedan, Ahmed Khan, had attempted to wound the sensitive honour of M. Law, and how the British protected him from insult, as they declared their "nation had it for a standing rule never to offer an injury to a vanquished foe." The pleasure which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced by such generosity, "lead the bulk of mankind," it has been forcibly remarked by the historian Mill, "to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge ; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependence which mark the insect on which you tread ; a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made the insect. When that is done, it is a slight, if any, addition to your misfortunes, to be

crushed at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be to restrain *in time* the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating, with a *sort of pity*, after we have made it."

The following description will serve as a key both to the terms in frequent use by writers on Indian affairs, and the causes of ramified and extended hostility throughout the Deckan, while British power was extending. In the great soubahs, or *provincial* divisions of the Mogul empire, there were primary subdivisions more extensive than the Zemindaree and Fouzdaree districts. This was particularly the case in the Deckan. The titles which designated the governors of these provinces were the soubahdar, or viceroy, as the governor of the soubah; the nabob, or deputy of the viceroy, who governed one of the greater subdivisions, as of the Carnatic; and under them were the zemindars and fouzdars, the collectors of the rents, and protectors of the cultivators, and the magistrates of police. During the vigour of the Mogul government, the nabobs were not always nominated by the soubahdar, though subject to him. Their nomination was more frequently by the emperor, and designed often as a check upon the dangerous exercise of the extensive power of the soubahdar. The rajahs were princes of Hindoo origin, included within the soubah, whom the Mogul left with their primitive titles, which signified king or chieftain,

but required them to farm the revenue, and render all other services as his dependents and tributaries. Nizam-ul-Mulk had been soubahdar of the Deckan, and An'war-ad-Dien was the nabob of the Carnatic, when the French and English armies contended for Madras. Chundah Saheb was member of a family which had held the nabobship before An'war-ad-Dien: the latter was disliked in the province, but the family of his predecessor was popular. The French espoused the cause of Chundah Saheb, who by treachery had obtained the command of Trichinopoly, and afterwards was held a prisoner by the Mahrattas; and strove to elevate him to the place of the nabob of the Carnatic. Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, and was succeeded by three relatives, raised through the French influence, who were each removed by a violent death. A contest was maintained by the parties for the appointment of soubahdar during many succeeding years; but the representative of the viceroy in the Deckan is now the nizam of Hyderabad. Into the well of oriental policy, and the accidents of war, we shall not enter. An'war-ad-Dien was slain in battle at 107 years old. Dost Ali and Mahomed Ali followed as successors. Omdut-ul-Omrah reigned after his father, Mahomed Ali, only six years; his grandson was appointed by the English nominal nabob in his stead; and his representative is now a state pensioner at Madras. Chundah Saheb was destroyed by cruelty; and the French and English continued to use, as their puppets, the several

aspirants to the office, who promised most liberally to aid their cause, or seemed, in the judgment of their leaders, most able to forward their objects. And the rajahs of Tanjore, Mysore, or Travancore, were involved in the same partisan and subordinate strife, in such a manner as cannot be detailed within our limits. The British prevailed, and every native prince or functionary which was drawn into the warfare was ruined, slain, or kept as a state prisoner. From the Mogul to the humblest polygar—from the emperor to the village potail—all have suffered reverse, or been swept away. The powerful struggles of Hyder Ali, and his brave son, Tippoo Saib, or Sultaun, deserve more special notice.

The career of Hyder Ali was eventful and adventurous. His success was equal to the highest ambition, as a usurper and a trader in war. The British encountered no such antagonist to their conquest or supremacy in their Indian enterprises. His ancestors had journeyed from their native country, the Punjab, in the north-west of India. The grandfather of Futtee Mahomed had practised as a faquir, the religious functions of a Mohammedan teacher, and acquired property at Calburga, about 110 miles to the north-west of Hyderabad. Futtee's father, Mahomed Ali, travelled southward, and obtained the situation of an armed collector of revenue at Serah, on the north of Bangalore, and died at Colar, where his grandson, Hyder, erected for him a mausoleum. Futtee was then driven an exile from his birth-place by the unkindness of

an uncle, and obtained employment as a common foot soldier. He was rewarded with promotion for his services; was made a *naik* of peons, or petty officer; and then the fouzdar of a district. The nabob who had retained and distinguished him was dethroned and plundered, and Futtee lost his life in his defence. Hyder Ali was his younger, and Shabas his elder son, who survived him. Shabas found, by the recommendation of a maternal uncle, the opportunity of speedily acquiring distinction, and a military command of 200 horse and 1,000 peons in the service of the rajah of Mysore. Hyder Ali was idle, dissipated, and addicted to the pleasures of jungle hunting, till he was twenty-seven years of age. He had never learned to write or read, but possessed a tenacious memory, and was expert at arithmetical calculations, without book. He joined the Mysore army as a volunteer in 1749 in an attack upon Deonhully, a polygar's castle twenty-four miles from Bangalore. His mental resources, courage, and ardour, commended him to the general Nunjeraj; who raised him, at the close of the siege, to the command of 50 horse and 200 peons, and entrusted to him one of the gates of the fortress. He was next chosen to defend Dindigul; where he employed a body of armed banditti, who should engage in depredation as their trade. Cattle, sheep, clothes, turbans, and earrings, from friends or foes, men, women, or children, travellers or villagers; and convoys of grain, were alike the prey of this gang and their master.

By such means he furnished his petty exchequer, and was able to lead forth 3,000 regular infantry, 1,500 horse, 2,000 peons, and four guns, when employed against the French at Trichinopoly; and he proceeded to the province, subjected to his government, at the head of nearly 10,000 well armed troops. This enabled him to practise force and fraud with equal success. Deception, and the distracted state of the country, gave him opportunity for rising successively through the higher gradations of power: and the fort and district of Bangalore were bestowed on him in personal jaghire. Treachery and massacre were weapons which he scrupled not to employ: he murdered Herri Sing merely because he was a rival among the Mysore chiefs. He subdued the Mahratta invasion, and was raised to the rank of commander-in-chief; and successfully plotted to set aside the man who had been his benefactor, and, as minister of the rajah, was the only barrier between him and supreme power. Nunjeraj retired upon a provision for himself; and Hyder procured as his own portion the assignment of the revenues of more than half the territory of the state, which he held in his immediate possession. He now became the confederate of the French, and by an unlooked-for incident escaped destruction from a large Mahratta army.

The queen mother of the Mysore rajah saw the thralldom of her son, and had resolved to destroy the rising usurper. The struggle was desperate, and but for a mean and yet daringly hypocritical

stratagem, Hyder must have perished. Unexpected, unarmed, and alone, he prostrated himself at the feet of Nunjeraj, the minister whom he had supplanted and disgraced; bewailed, in terms of bitter anguish, the wrongs which he had perpetrated against his first, his greatest friend; vowed to devote his future life to their reparation, and all the power he should ever possess to establish Nunjeraj in the station of honour and power he had formerly occupied. The ex-minister was beguiled; Hyder was delivered; and then by fraud and forgery, and the appearance of conspiracy, he intimidated his dupe, who fled and left the field undivided to Hyder's ambition. A message of haughty insolence delivered to the rajah was the prelude to an arrangement, by which some thirty or forty thousand rupees were to be assigned for the personal expenses of that prince and his minister: and the management of the whole country was taken by Hyder, with the charge of providing for all the expenses, civil and military. From that period he was the undisputed master of the kingdom of Mysore. Hyder Ali was formally invested with the nabobship of Serah, where his grandfather had been a revenue *peon*; and having assumed the title Hyder Ali Khan Behauder, he reduced the country to his obedience. He added to his acquisitions the Balipores, Ghooty, and the country of Bednore; and rendered his tributaries the nabob of Sevanoor and the polygars of Chittledroog, Raidroog, and Harponelly. He took Soonda, and sacked the capital of Bednore, where his booty

was estimated at 12,000,000*l.* sterling. He repeatedly assailed Madras, and dictated his own terms to the governor and council while he lay within ten miles of Fort St. George. He took the fort of Mulwaggle; he plundered and laid waste the provinces of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevely, and acted in concert with the French authorities at Pondicherry. In one of his campaigns into the Carnatic he commanded an army of 100,000, of which 30,000 were cavalry, and 20,000 regular battalions of infantry, officered by Europeans, and 100 pieces of cannon managed under the direction of European artillerymen. He stormed Arcot, destroyed Colonel Baillie's gallant little army, and took the officers prisoners; who suffered a captivity under his merciless cruelty, more terrible than death. He threatened by his successes to involve the British interests in the Carnatic in utter ruin: so that the Company's servants were fain to sue for peace. Tanjore, and their possessions on the Malabar coast, were overrun or occupied by Hyder's generals and forces, while his sons were as busy in the field as was their father; who, having raised himself to be the sovereign of a great empire, was enabled peacefully to bequeath his dominions and power to his son. Hyder Ali died at Chittore of the Carnatic in the beginning of December, 1782, more than eighty years of age. This event was said to cheer the gloom which darkened the prospects of the English in Hindostan.

The name of Tippoo Sultaun, as of his father



Hyder Ali, is always associated in the representations of the Company's historians, and the partisans of the government, with the most odious epithets. The vices which would disgrace any hideous monster, the tyrannic and ferocious cruelties of the brutal barbarian, the treachery and malignity of some truce-breaking usurpers, are all ascribed to the son of Hyder, in such measure as if language could not furnish terms of obloquy expressive enough to paint the wickedness of the man. Yet there must have been something good in the mode, and beneficial in the operation of his government; for his country was, even in the judgment of his enemies, "well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, and presented cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and every thing flourishing, so as to indicate happiness." The prosperity of Mysore, under both father and son, though its energies had previously been distracted and dissipated by misgovernment, was equal to that of any part of India. The fidelity with which Tippoo's people adhered to him under the most trying reverses, would have done honour to the wisest and most beneficent prince. In all his campaigns, no instance of treachery occurred among his commanders, and the discipline of his troops in the field was implicit, while murmurings and complaints were not heard among his subjects. His despotism is said to have been the rule of a politic and able sovereign, who nourishes, not oppresses, the inhabitants of the land. His revenues from

one of the richest provinces of the peninsula, in extent equal to Great Britain, did not exceed two millions and a half. No doubt he had the finesse and weakness of most oriental princes. The inflated vanity and exaggerating extravagance common to eastern pride, induced him to boast of his resources, and to talk big of his power, his vengeance, and the effects of his displeasure; but with all his vapouring weakness, he maintained himself on the throne for sixteen years, though opposed by the allied operations of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and the British. The British found it requisite to bring into action, before they could count upon success against Tippoo, an army "more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, than any that had ever taken the field in India." Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, supplied their contingent to the last man which could be spared; and one governor-general after another took the field against him, to the imminent hazard of the armies of both. What a mass of talent the petty prince of a petty country must have been supposed to possess!

Tippoo had established his military reputation while his father was yet alive; had not alienated himself from the confidence or excited the suspicion of Hyder, as his ruler and predecessor; and was employed on a distant expedition when the death of his adventurous parent occurred. To the

address and fidelity of the leading officers he owed it that the fatal event of Hyder's death was concealed till Tippoo could hasten from the south-west boundary of the Mysore dominions, and arrive in the neighbourhood of Chittore. The immediate payment of the arrears of his troops, and a few popular regulations, followed;—and Tippoo was firmly seated on his father's throne. The first proof he gave of his energy in defence of his dominions was to revenge the depredations of a Colonel Matthews at Mangalore, Bednore, and other contiguous forts. Tippoo suddenly appeared in April, 1793, recaptured Bednore, and forced the greater part of the British army to capitulate, and become his prisoners in his dreariest fortresses. He then besieged the fortified town of Mangalore with vigour and perseverance. The protracted sufferings and harassing services of the English troops, endured under Tippoo's policy and resolution at Mangalore and several neighbouring forts, made the Company glad to sue for peace on any terms. His signature to a treaty of mutual restitution of conquests, was, after much perseverance and almost abject humiliation, obtained by British commissioners in March, 1784.

He threw the greatest alarm into the councils of the presidencies by his negotiations with the French and his presumed cooperation with Napoleon Buonaparte. He engaged in his service the most warlike partisans of that nation in India,—invited others from the Isle of France,—and pre-

pared an embassy to be sent to the Executive Directory in Paris, to secure a cordial union between revolutionary France and the kingdom of Mysore. He is represented as having so far conformed to the predilections of these allies, as to have himself designated the "citizen Tippoo," and to have planted the "tree of liberty" in his own capital. A wiser precaution was adopted by him in soliciting the alliance of Persia, Turkey, and Caubul, against the British; and in attempting to alienate from them the Mahrattas and the soubahdar of the Deckan. He overran the country of their confederate the king of Travancore; broke through his lines of defence; seized the territory; and taking possession of his fortresses, spread desolation in the most fruitful provinces. He encountered the most experienced English officers, and took such precautions as left the British army without provision; he compelled them to retreat from their advanced positions, and abandon their most valuable depôts and strongest fortresses; and by a successful manœuvre, distracted their attention, till he invaded the Carnatic, threatened Trichinopoly, and took the island of Seringham. The reverses of war, however, came upon himself. He had a small revenue; he does not appear to have sought its increase by impoverishing his subjects, and keeping up a large standing army. His country was attacked from many points. He was called to the protection of its capital. He withstood, for a time, the assault on Bangalore, and

retreated upon Seringapatam; where he was followed by Lord Cornwallis, and assailed by tens of thousands of Mahrattas, and 15,000 well-mounted cavalry of the Nizam. The British army, however, from unwholesome food, from scarcity, fatigue, and exposure, from disease and the horrors of an ill-conducted and unsuccessful campaign, could not, at the extreme line of their operations, attempt a single measure of attack. They were forced to destroy their battering train and heavy equipments, and strive by retreat to save themselves from destruction. Their attack was, however, more successful in a renewed effort. The forts of Mysore, peculiar for their inaccessible strength, yielded to the perseverance and military superiority of British tactics. Nundedroog and Savendroog, Kistnagherry and Ootradroog, were stormed and taken; and an immense force, with battering guns, tumbrels, heavy carriages, field-pieces, battering trains, infantry and cavalry, moved on to Seringapatam. Tippoo awaited them in a fortified camp under the walls of the citadel; and after a protracted and sanguinary assault upon the Mysore lines, which gave way, the invading generals accepted terms, negotiations, and hostages, and withdrew from Seringapatam: Two of the hostages were sons of the sultaun. Their reception is thus described:—

Lord Cornwallis, attended by the principal officers of the army and his staff, received them as they dismounted from their elephants, at the door of his great tent; embraced them, led them in by the

hand, and seated one on each side of himself; when the head vakeel (commissioner) thus addressed his lordship: "These children were this morning the sons of the sultaun, my master; they now must look up to your lordship as a father." With earnestness, he assured the vakeels and the princes that they should not feel the loss of a father's care. The children's faces brightened up, and every spectator was moved. His lordship presented each of the boys with a gold watch, much to their delight. They had been taught to imitate the reserve and politeness of age, as is common in the East: the propriety of their deportment astonished the witnesses of it. Lord Cornwallis paid them a visit next day at their tents; and when they came out to receive him, he embraced them, and conducted them, one in each hand, into the tent. They now spoke with animation and gracefulness; and each of them presented Lord Cornwallis with a fine Persian sword, which he acknowledged by a present of elegant fire-arms. The state, order, and magnificence displayed about them were much superior to what was seen among other Hindoo princes; their guard of sepoys were clothed in uniform, regularly and well-armed, disciplined, and in high order. The attention paid to the young prisoners gratified their fond father, and to announce his satisfaction with it, a royal salute was fired from the fort ramparts. The treaty despoiled Tippoo of more than half his dominions, and left him exasperated and revengeful, though enfeebled and impoverished, in 1792.

New pretexts were found for encroachments in 1798. Lord Wellesley conducted the war against him then, and crowned it with a fatal and overwhelming triumph. The French alliance was the alleged motive for hostility. Seringapatam was again besieged and stormed; and amidst fearful carnage, and what in military phrase is called great bravery, the fortress was taken, and Tippoo slain fighting in its defence. Previous to the assault, the sultaun had attempted, by letters and military movements, to turn aside or arrest the progress of his adversaries. He was disappointed; and having summoned the whole of his principal officers, "we have arrived at our last stage," said he; "what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the universal reply. Having taken their determination to find either victory or death, the sultaun and his friends took a most affecting leave, as if for the last time in this world, and all were bathed in tears. A fortnight after this, a fact was discovered which might have led to his deliverance had he known it. The provision for the English army in a hostile country was ascertained to be so diminished, that eighteen days' supply, at half allowance for fighting men, was all that remained in the camp. This forced on the active operations of the English; and on the 4th of May, 1799, Seringapatam was taken by assault. The martial gallantry of the British forces was great; their enterprise, courage, and success, were complete. Generals Harris and Baird were the chief in com-

mand. Baird and Dunlop were in the thickest of the fight. The sultaun was generally on the ramparts; but was often misled in council by flatterers and inexperienced courtiers. He was a devout Mohammedan, and observant of the forms of superstition: on the day of assault, he was busied with religious rites and astrological operations. While engaged in taking his midday repast, he heard of the loss of a wise and faithful general, Seyed Goffhar; and before he could recover from the shock, he was told that the assault was begun. He hurried along the rampart to the breach. The sultaun continued to defend his fortress, on foot, during the greater part of the time, engaged rather as a common soldier than a general, firing carbines, carried by his servants for his use. When abandoned by his men, he sought no escape, but hastened to defend the gates into the interior fort; crossing from the outer rampart, he received a musket-ball in the right side, near the breast, but still pressed on to the gate. British soldiers were pouring in to this place, when he arrived, a destructive fire, from which he received another wound; his horse being also wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground. When his attendants placed him in his palanquin, they could not remove him, the dead and dying having now choked up the passage. An English soldier attempted to pull off his sword-belt, but Tippoo made a cut at him with his sword, which was still in his hand, and wounded the soldier on the knee;



the soldier fired, and the sultaun receiving the ball in his temple, instantly expired. After search had been made among a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies, wounded and dead, the palanquin was found, and *under* it a person lying wounded, who was ascertained to be the rajah Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, and his faithful attendant during the whole of the fatal day. He pointed out the spot where the sultaun had fallen. The body was recognised ; it was yet warm, the eyes open, the features not distorted, and some doubted for a moment whether it was not alive. It had four wounds ; three in the trunk and the one in the temple, the ball having entered a little above the right ear, and lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, his girdle crimson coloured, tied round his waist ; and a handsome pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm, but there remained no jewels about his body : his turban had fallen off. The body thus recognised was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace. The story of his children may close this tragic tale.

The two who had been received as hostages in 1791, were restored to their father in March 1794, and were not the less endeared to their family by their exile. This family, now bereaved of their father and friend, were in the palace when the city was stormed. A Major Allan was com-

missioned to secure and protect them from the unlicensed fury of the soldiers. The princes answered his repeated messages, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured : in a few minutes he was introduced, and found two of the princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants. The same officer had witnessed the former scene of their humiliation when delivered up as hostages to Lord Cornwallis ; the present sad reverses and their ill-suppressed alarms of what now awaited them, excited his commiseration, and he acted toward them with great tenderness. He succeeded by assurances of evident sincerity and friendship, in allaying their apprehension, and in procuring their consent to the opening of the palace gates. Their confidence being gained, he persuaded them to quit the palace, and go under his escort to the quarters of the general who had stormed their city. General Baird had suffered all the horrors of three years' imprisonment in the place where he now stood victor, and their father had been the author of it. Baird had just heard a rumour, too, that Tippoo had ordered the murder of all the European prisoners ; yet he was, Major Allan assures us, " sensibly affected by the sight of the princes. His gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation which he on this occasion displayed. He received the princes with every mark of regard ; repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them ; and he gave them in

charge to two officers to conduct them to headquarters in the camp." They were escorted by the light company of a European regiment, and the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presented arms as they passed. It was afterwards arranged, that the fortress of Vellore in the Carnatic should be the residence of the survivors of this family: it was fitted up commodiously for their reception, and an allowance granted for their support more liberal than had been provided by Tippoo himself. The principal adherents of the house were pensioned, by jaghires or tracts of country, conformably to their past rank and influence, with a generous profusion which greatly astonished themselves. The mutiny at Vellore, which occurred ten years subsequent to the fall of Seringapatam, and which excited serious apprehensions of the allegiance of sepoy troops in the peninsula, was ascribed to the machinations of some of Tippoo's followers or his sons. The government, therefore, transferred their place of restraint to the Bengal presidency; where, for many years, the lingering branches of this family have resided in comparative ease and obscurity. Royal pensioners, they have been humbled as the children of a warrior, and disappointed as the heirs to a throne, but they have escaped many reverses. The surviving son of Tippoo has recently visited England to transact some business with the government; and, if he can, to recover some large arrears of his pension from the Company.

It would be no difficult task to fill a volume of military enterprises from the achievements of English officers in India; nor might the work be uninteresting or profitless. It would, however, interfere with the present design. The chief captains and mighty men who have gained celebrity in oriental conquest have had their chroniclers, or have for themselves recorded their triumphs. Lord Clive's eventful career, which he began as a volunteer, in a crisis of the greatest peril, and by which he rose through every gradation, till he took rank as commander-in-chief, as a British nobleman, and as governor-general of India, gave the first and greatest *éclat* to the Company's service. Major Laurence was not so celebrated; but he fulfilled a perilous commission in the defence of Trichinopoly: he was a clear-headed soldier and an honourable man, and it was his last service, as the "veteran Laurence," to head the troops in the defence of Madras against the unsuccessful assault of Lally. Sir Eyre Coote led the English arms against Pondicherry, which he took, and followed by the reduction of French power in the peninsula; and though chequered with occasional reverses, and chargeable with fickleness and self-sufficiency, and perhaps more fit to be a general than a commander-in-chief, he possessed virtues which inspired affection, and commanded respect, with extensive military reputation. He was not always successful against Hyder, and was outwitted by Tippoo; and, attacked in an enfeebled and irritable

state of mind, by a third stroke of apoplexy; he died three days after he landed at Madras, appointed a second time to be commander-in-chief. Sir Hector Munro entered on eastern warfare by a desperate suppression of mutiny among the native troops at Patna, blowing the ringleaders from their guns; and then broke completely the force of Suja Dowla. As commander-in-chief of the Madras army, he destroyed Pondicherry; and being superseded by General Coote, and having quarrelled with a General Stuart, he refused to act in a perilous engagement. When all prospect of success was abandoned, he swore that he never had *retreated* in his life, but agreed that his army should *fall back!* A compromise, rather than a reconciliation, brought Sir Hector into active service, and there was rich booty in the spoils of the war. He commanded when the Dutch settlements in the peninsula fell into the hands of the English, their whole warlike stores, and two years' investment of their commerce. Not many British officers within a period so limited, seem to have merited distinction equal to Colonel Baillie for gallantry, generalship, and suffering in his march from Guntoor, his conflict with Tippoo, his stand against Hyder; Baillie in the command of a detachment of a few hundreds, and Hyder with an army of many thousands; and in his subsequent capture and captivity under the ruthless grasp of the Mysore despot. Few generals have passed over the plains of India with such unstained laurels as did Meadows; who, from the

office of chief in command at Bombay, succeeded as governor in Madras, and who, with as much grace, resigned his supremacy to his superior when Lord Cornwallis assumed the command in chief against Tippoo. He shared every danger with the men; was as zealous when called to obey as when empowered to command; seemed to possess as much presence of mind in the heat of action as at the council table; and was as willing to resign his share of prize-money to the privates as to cooperate in the most dangerous attacks with Lord Cornwallis. General Lake has no equal in Asiatic warfare. Not so brilliant as Clive, or so *fortunate* as Wellesley, his victories were complete, and his progress was sure. He was both a general and a soldier. The emperor of Delhi entitled him "the sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of the age, and the victorious in war." Lord Wellesley lauds the "indefatigable activity, zeal, ability, and energy of General Lake, whose personal exertions have surpassed all former example." At the battle of Laswarree he led the charge of the cavalry in the morning, and, at the head of the 76th regiment, conducted in person every operation of the day. Two horses were shot under him; and his son, a young officer acting as his aide-de-camp, was wounded by his side, in circumstances peculiarly fitted to affect the father. The son had but just persuaded the father to mount his horse, after one of his own had fallen under him, pierced by several shot, when he was himself struck with a ball, and at

that instant the father was obliged to lead on the troops, leaving his wounded son upon the field. His victories and fidelity were honoured by a peerage ; and his name is remembered in India as a talisman against Britain's enemies, and a banner for her armies. Baird and Harris were associated at Seringapatam. Sir David Baird was a captive in the dungeons of that fortress, and obtained as a favour that he should lead the storming party who carried the citadel by assault ; his courage and generosity were eminently characteristic of the man, and found fields for action in other lands than the East. The Hon. Arthur Wellesley was also, by the influence of his brother, the governor-general, placed in situations of trust and influence. His own enterprising, energetic, and decided temper, gave augury of his future triumphs. He was attached to the army at Seringapatam, in command of the 33d regiment ; and when Tippoo's cushoons began to give way before his infantry, Colonel Floyd charged and pursued them with the cavalry. Wellesley was one of a party ordered to attack an advanced post of the sultaun's, in which he failed, not without loss. He attended the dead body of Tippoo ; and almost thought the sultaun was yet alive. His succeeding adventures were more auspicious. At Poona, Assye, Ahmednuggur, Argaum, Gawilghur, he was daring and triumphant ; defeating Scindia and Holkar. In India the duke of Wellington had opportunities and facilities for distinguishing himself, and he made the best use of

his means to gain a name and establish a reputation. Dhoondia, Holkar, and the Mahratta Jaghirdars, were his first antagonists, and with them he schooled himself for more skilful warfare and deeper diplomatic artifices; and after having escaped many dangers, he returned to Europe, prepared to take a prominent and active place in the sanguinary strife then raging between England and the nations of the continent.

The distinguished men who have sustained the chief authority as British governors in India, since the acquisition of sovereign power by the Company, deserve more than we can afford here—a passing remark on the character of their several administrations. Lord Clive was a military dictator; sought British dominion; trampled on or set aside at pleasure native rulers; defied all restrictions on the means of accumulating personal wealth; and disregarded despatches or orders from home, except as they squared with his own conceptions of utility or aggrandizement. Warren Hastings was the first governor-general according to act of parliament; he had risen through all the gradations of the Company's foreign service, and was appointed the oriental viceroy in 1772. His impeachment in parliament, and trial in Westminster-hall, which lasted during more than eight years, have given his name a celebrity in Indian history, which his conduct had not merited. His treachery to the Rohillas, whom he sacrificed for the most sordid purposes; his prostitution of vice-regal power, in return for presents,



bribes, &c. from native princes and princesses ; his duplicity to all, his deception practised upon the authorities at home, and his tools and emissaries whenever it suited his purpose ; his heartless cruelty to native victims, and relentless and malignant hostility to all who opposed his caprices or plundering extortions ; would, if severally detailed, exhibit as odious a character as ever bore rule among the worst princes of Asia. When he ceased to be governor-general, his successor found his difficulties to be such as arose consequent upon “the close of a *ruinous* war ; the *relaxed* habits (bad government) which had left all their armies in *arrear* and their presidencies in *disorder*.” The first *nobleman* who succeeded him was the Marquess Cornwallis, appointed in 1786, who sailed on his return for England in 1793. He was a second time invested with the authority of governor-general in 1805, but lived only to fulfil its duties in India for three months. He died at Gazeepore, near Benares, on the 5th of October, 1805. His virtue and patriotism were unsullied ; his character for dignified simplicity, soundness of understanding, and strength of judgment, were only equalled by his integrity as a governor, his zeal for the consolidation of the British empire in Hindostan, and for the equitable administration of law among the people. He has been accused of breaking faith with Tippoo ; but his desire, as generally exhibited, was to treat the native princes with justice and kindness. His financial and judicial systems, though

far from what a settled country requires, were well intended; in many respects more comprehensive and beneficial, and a great improvement upon former plans. Sir John Shore was his successor, and ranked among British nobles as Lord Teignmouth. He had been a civil servant of the Company, and by assiduity, moderation, and respectable talents, had commended himself to the Directors at home. It was expected he would maintain—it was not desired to extend—the possessions of England; that he would improve the details of the revenue, and render a more profitable return to the Company's stock. He cherished a pacific disposition, and his government refused to interfere between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, and incurred the condemnation of such as desired to strengthen British supremacy. The period of his administration, they asserted, did not add to the strength, or improve the security of their Indian dominions, but placed them in a situation of comparative danger. He resigned his dignified office, and returned to England in 1798. But he was subsequently far more extensively known and beloved as the long, faithful, and useful president of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Lord Mornington (the Marquess Wellesley) was called to the supreme government of India, and entered upon his office 26th of April, 1792. On the 20th of August, 1805, he sailed for England; his successor having arrived at Fort William. His administration was the *beau ideal* of vigour, ambition, and supremacy. He rooted out the French influence;

whenever it was in danger, as was apprehended, of resuscitation, among the native courts. He annihilated the Mohammedan power in the Mysore; new modelled the government of Upper India; opened diplomatic intercourse between the British eastern empire and Persia, reducing the strength of the princes Holkar, Scindia, and Bhonslah; he shook the power of the Mahrattas, and rendered the Nabob of the Carnatic the pensioned puppet of the Company: in whom was henceforth vested the whole civil and military government of the nabobship. He extended the British empire, and by an accumulation of Indian debt, oppressed the Company with pecuniary difficulties. Lord Wellesley was regarded by many as an ambitious and very expensive ruler; the greater part of whose administration had been a scene of war and conquest. Mr. Malthus, however, called him "the greatest governor-general India ever saw," and dwelt with especial approbation on his measures for elevating the character and qualification of the Company's civil servants in the establishment of Fort William College: as a proof of the necessity of which, the Marquess had defined the new duties of these functionaries. "To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain order in one of the most populous regions of the world;—these are now the

duties of the larger portion of the civil servants of the Company." The college, however, which he reared with so much care, was first reduced, and has ultimately been abolished. The marquess has been lauded by other panegyrists. Sir John Malcolm, confidentially and publicly employed by him, celebrated his virtues in the highest eulogy. "His great mind," he affirmed, "pervaded the whole empire, and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed; his authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India as in Fort William; all sought his praise; all dreaded his censure;" those whom he employed "were urged to exertion by every motive that can stimulate a good or proud mind to action. He was as eager to applaud as he was reluctant to condemn. It was the habit of his mind to be slow in council, but rapid in action," &c. Sir George Barlow, a Company's civilian, held the place of governor-general till Lord Minto was appointed, who ruled from July 1807, till October 1813. There was either less to conquer, or less disposition on the part of government, during his administration, for war; or, otherwise, the native rulers, requiring to recruit their resources and consolidate their power, were indisposed for hostile aggressions; for Lord Minto is not numbered among the great conquerors or *brilliant* rulers. It was more his policy to follow in the course intended to have been pursued by Cornwallis. There were internal changes, if not reforms, which seemed requisite in the military as

well as civil department of the Company. The army was disorganized in the Madras as well as Bengal presidency: European officers and native sepoys were insubordinate and discontented. The mutiny at Vellore had not been more alarming than was the disaffection of the Company's officers, when it was deemed expedient to supply the ranks of several native battalions with officers for command from the king's troops. Such matters required the attention of Lord Minto. In 1811, however, he planned and accomplished most successfully, the conquest of Java, and all the other Dutch colonies. The eastern Archipelago was thus brought under the control of Lord Minto, giving a great accession of territory, in addition to the *desideratum* of an abundant revenue. He first reduced the Mauritius and the other French islands, and then established an English provisional government at Batavia, under Sir Stamford Raffles. Commerce had been less a matter of concern, yet it was now beginning to force itself into notice, and to demand a share of influence and attention. In the year in which his vice-royalty expired, a modification of the Company's Charter was conceded to the wishes of the English nation. Merchants who would trade freely, and missionaries who would preach the gospel to the poor *heathen*, had been hitherto excluded from British India, and those who returned were subject to banishment. But by the new charter, a license was secured to both trade and religion, and a new era dawned upon India.

The Marquess Hastings became governor-general of India in October 1813, and sustained that dignity till January 1823. His administration subdued the Ghoorkas of Nepaul, the Pindarries of Central India, and broke up the Mahratta confederacy, which had been again revived, and was now threatening the revenue and even security of many British provinces in India. The Ghoorkas were the followers of Ameer Sing, a brave chief and warlike leader of savage hordes, who held possession of the beautiful valley of Nepaul, not far distant from the gigantic Himalayas. The Pindarries were a predatory band of mounted plunderers, and had their origin in Malwa; their cavalry amounted sometimes to 30,000, and their marauding excursions were often extended to the heart of British India, and occasionally to the vicinity of Calcutta and Madras. The Pindarry and the Mahratta war were the events which most signalized the government of the Marquess Hastings. His patronage of place and official distinction was peculiarly auspicious to *Scottish* aspirants: "Louden's bonnie woods and braes" were not forgotten in the widest plains or loftiest mountains of India. The liberty of the press acquired, under his measures, a powerful impetus, and such an accession of power as ultimately insured its triumph. The *bar of public* opinion was reared in India by the generous, frank, and liberal *courtesy* of the Marquess Hastings, and missionary enterprise acquired accelerated progress. Religious liberty was recognised and maintained, and the

heralds of the Cross were welcomed from every land. The successor of the Marquess Hastings, appointed from home, was Lord Amherst, who arrived in August 1823, and left in April 1828. During the time of his continuance in India, the Burmese war, the destruction of Bhurtpore, a remaining native fortress, thirty miles from Agra, and a mutiny of native troops at Barrackpore, near Calcutta, occurred. Lord Amherst was not popular; he travelled much in India; visited many native courts; received many presents; was supposed to be exceedingly economical, and to have accumulated money, which he was said to require; and retired, being regarded as an unimportant man. The Burmese war was begun without preparation; was carried on without a commissariat; was disastrous in the loss of troops,—who were first famished, and then while diseased were left in swampy and inhospitable regions; was expensive, and produced no advantages to the empire. The addition of territory which followed, might flatter the pride and soothe feelings of wounded vanity; but it will be long ere it yield increase to the coffers of the revenue. Lord Amherst was often overruled, it is said, in council deliberations; but there was exhibited, during his administration, a most unconstitutional and persecuting hostility to the liberty of the press, and nothing was done to prevent the Suttees or immolations of Hindoo widows.

Another, a better, and a greater man followed

him. Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras almost twenty years before, arrived in Calcutta as governor-general, in July 1828. His administration for nearly nine years was a time of peace; conquest or subjugation formed no ingredient of his policy. Improvement in the economy of government; the cultivation of the native mind by schools, improved literature, the use and extension of the English language; the abolition of corporal punishment among the native soldiery; the suppression of female sacrifices, in Suttees and other modes of immolation; enlarged liberty to the press; a fostering care and active patronage of benevolent, literary, and christian efforts to exalt the people; the rejection of much of the pomp and glitter which had surrounded the oriental viceroyalty; and an unostentatious observance of religion, proved that the governor-general was "*honest William Bentinck*" still:—the eulogium of the eloquent Canning. The sufferings of injured man shared his sympathy; the measures of freedom and philanthropy enjoyed his cooperation; he testified to the safety and utility of free intercourse between Hindoos and British colonists, to the beneficent operation of unrestricted commerce, and free discussion by the press or the forum; and, during his administration, India was opened to all the sons of Britain, her markets and ports to all merchants, and her fields and rivers to the enterprise of emigrating colonists, to trade and manu-



facture. Lord William Bentinck returned to Britain, a citizen and a friend of liberty, an advocate of freedom, a benefactor of India, and a patron of whatever will improve her people, enlighten their minds, or add to their enjoyments as men and immortal beings. Death has closed his career; but has not defaced his laurels! His successor, Lord Auckland, will do well if he follow in the path which a Bentinck marked out.

It would seem an oversight were the mention of some other names omitted. Illustrious and honoured men are not wanting among the servants of the Company, who attained eminence in the higher, though not the highest places of trust and power; and whose signal services and success were the more worthy of commemoration, since, in almost every case, these gentlemen had distinguished themselves as emerging from obscurity, and rising from among the humbler ranks of society. Sir John Malcolm was the son of a Scottish clergyman in Dumfriesshire, and went out to India so early in life, that, as a youth, he found pleasure in the amusements of Hindoo children; and, by such intercourse, acquired a fluency in their language, and an intimacy with their manners, ideas, and predilections. In the character of envoy to Persia, he sustained a distinguished reputation as a diplomatist. As the British resident at Mysore, he was the confidential agent of the Marquess Wellesley, in his plans for arranging and governing that country after the fall of Tippoo. He finally ob-

tained the high office of governor of the Bombay presidency. The numerous instructive and elaborate works, illustrative of the state of India, which he produced, will remain a more honourable and enduring memorial of his assiduity, talent, and research, than all his military achievements and titular honours. Sir Thomas Monro, Bart. was the son of a Glasgow clothier, who had failed in business, and was unable to support his son in a counting-house. As a cadet, on his way to India, we find him in London, wearing "a false tail, exactly the size and shape of a farthing candle," an ornament which he kept long afterwards. He had for many years to contend against poverty, while struggling to maintain his rank, and live within the limits of his pay : he made himself the companion and fellow-sufferer in all his campaigns with the native soldier. His rank as a major-general in the Company's service was acquired after long, painful, and self-denying service ; but his fame as a statesman was discerned by Canning, and established by his far-seeing and politic settlement of Canara, where he so long officiated as the Company's agent, with all the power of a political chief. A higher tribute still was rendered by the willing homage of the peasantry in that province, whenever he passed through their country. Perhaps few military conquerors ever stood so high among the people whom they had subdued. The elevation of Sir T. Monro to the situation of governor of Madras afforded him farther opportunity for displaying his

sagacity and exercising his intuitive knowledge of the Hindoos, for improving their government and extending among them the benefits which he thought suited to their state. Had Sir Thomas Monro not been the governor of Madras when Lord Amherst conducted the Burmese war, another issue, disastrous and dishonourable, would have followed. He died in the country where he had seen so many fall, and left a name in the peninsula which will be long held in grateful remembrance.

Sir Stamford Raffles was born at sea, and having lived the wandering life of a sailor, he became a clerk in a subordinate department of the India House, Leadenhall-street; was then appointed an assistant secretary at an establishment which was to be formed at Pulo Penang; from which, almost as by a leap, he attained the exalted office of lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies. His easy acquisition of languages, and intimate knowledge of the customs, manners, and feelings of the people; his good faith, public spirit, matchless temper, catholic liberality, correspondence with able men, and fidelity in the duties of his trust; secured him a high place among the benefactors of Asia. Sir John Macdonald, whose father was the occupant of a small property in the Highlands called Kinnier, was one of the most zealous and singularly gifted of the Company's servants. His works on Persia display his talent and research; his employment as political agent in Malwa, and his occupation in

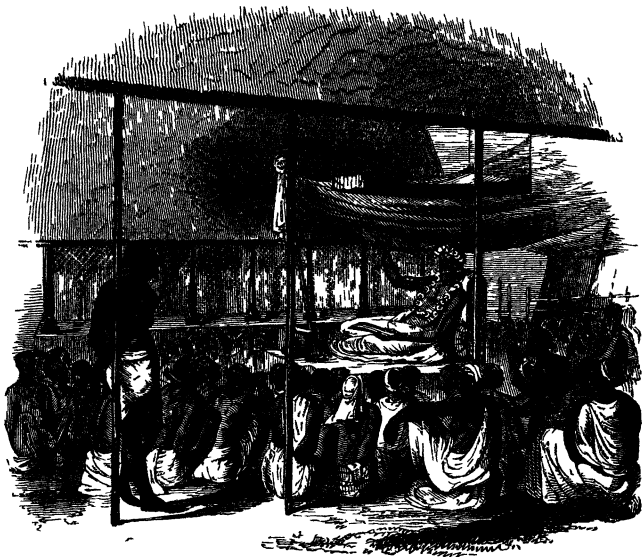
the mission of Sir John Malcolm, were but steps to his preparation for, and appointment as, resident at Ispahan. Sir Charles Metcalf passed through every gradation of the Company's service, till he attained the government of Upper India, and finally became the temporary successor of Lord W. Bentinck. His administration proved how competent he was for the duties of an enlightened and liberal governor of India itself. To him is due the credit of breaking every shackle or hindrance of a free press in Hindostan, and giving full scope to the native and colonial mind of India. Monstuart Elphinstone, though of noble lineage, was at first one of the Company's subordinate, but faithful and honoured servants. His visit to Caubul, and management of native princes; his protracted and successful career as a civilian; his lengthened and popular government of Bombay and its dependencies; his singular and extensive knowledge of all matters connected with India, accompanied by a simplicity almost child-like, a perception of character almost intuitive, and a liberal and frank generosity and confidence towards the natives, which endeared him to all who held intercourse with him or were subject to his government, mark out Mr. Elphinstone as fit for any subsequent employment which will give scope to the most profound and intellectual powers, the most philosophical and enlightened mind.

We have glanced over this wide and chequered field of enterprise and conquest rather that we may

be familiar with the events and characters by whose influence and operation India has been opened for the missionary and the philanthropist, than for our own gratification, or the indulgence of passions which delight in carnage, or to contemplate the spoils which ambition and revenge pursue. We have read the achievements and conquests of warriors ; we have seen some of the honours and distinctions which the children of this world distribute among their favourites, or bestow upon their chiefs and heroes. Power is sweet, and applause is soothing to the candidate for fame ; but what profit is there in all these things to an immortal soul—to one who must give account of his ways ? What title or possession, what plaudit or deed of renown, can the dying man give in exchange for his soul ? What gay trophy, what laurel wreath, will deck the tomb, withstand the withering blast of death, or outlast the triumphs and encroachments of corruption ? Will the inscription upon the marble mausoleum of greatness, of titled honours, or a nation's applause, give life to the sordid dust which lies beneath, or convey to the once proud and ambitious heart—one thrill of pleasure, one emotion of joy ? Will the remembrance of these deeds, and their consequent renown, afford peace to the conscious, but disembodied spirit, whether in the presence of God, or exiled from his throne, add to the joys of an eternal heaven, mitigate the horrors of endless woe, or come up in the judgment of the Almighty Ruler as a palliation of crime, as a justi-

fication of the soul, a meritorious claim for divine favour, a matter of reward, and an occasion of rejoicing in the regions of bliss? Let them be contrasted with the labours and sufferings, the rewards and glory, of the servants of Christ, who have fought the good fight, who have kept the faith, who have finished their course, and for whom was reserved the crown which fadeth not away; let the world, by triumphs of conquering and warrior heroes, be compared with the extension of Messiah's kingdom, prayed for and accomplished by apostles and evangelists, by missionaries and martyrs, and how will the glory which excelleth shine forth! how will the honour which cometh from God only exceed in glory! how will the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give, prove its lustre and immortality! They shall be named the Priests of the Lord, they shall be called the Ministers of our God; they shall eat the riches of the nations, and in their glory shall they boast themselves. Their glory shall be proclaimed by Him, whose voice is as the sound of many waters; they shall sit under the smiles of Him whose countenance is as the sun, shining in his strength. To them will be fulfilled the abundant promises of their exalted King, who has said, "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from

my God ; and I will write upon him my new name.”  
“ Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection : on such the second death hath no power.” They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament ; they that turn many to righteousness as the stars ; and, as the righteous, they shall shine forth as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father, for ever and ever. Thus shall christian servants enter into the joy of their Lord !



MOHABAUROT EN SHOPA

THE EXPLAINING OF THE TEXT AND COMMENTARIES OF THE MOHABAUT BY A BRAHMIN

## MYTHOLOGY OF INDIA DISPLAYED — THE SYSTEMS OF THE BRAHMIN, THE JAIN, AND THE BUDDHIST.

THE character of a people is not always easily discriminated, and the theme becomes almost boundless, when it embraces the nations spread over the wide surface of continental India. For though the Hindoo race inhabit the whole of Hindostan, the varied tribes are not less diversified than are the distinct branches of the elder Scythian family now



scattered over the continent of Europe ; it would, therefore, be no less indiscriminate to hold up the Gentoo as an exemplification or model of the whole Indian community, than it would be to denominate the Italians the representatives of every European nation. It is true that the religion of Brahminism possesses sway in the principal seats of commerce and of population throughout British India, and religion is the general modeller of human character. But the unity is a name rather than a reality, and that which is prevalent is susceptible of shades as varying as are the changes of colour. A glaring discrepancy and source of diversity, if not also of division, are visible in the objects selected for male and female partiality and devout adoration. While Brahmins celebrate their licentious and midnight orgies before the goddess Kalee, or the males of another caste adorn themselves with gross representations of sensual pleasure, and render the homage of their passions to the emblematic lingam, which in a silver casket is suspended upon their bosom, and exposed to the view of all, the Indian women embrace Krishna (an eighth incarnation of Vishnu) as the darling god of their affections, and hymn his praise in strains of amorous delight, some of which are far from being inoffensive by their indelicacy, and prohibit our transcription. A specimen, the least objectionable, will suffice to exhibit whether their worship has any claim to devotion or spirituality: "With a garland of wild flowers, descending even to the yellow mantle that girds

his azure limbs," these are the words of their divine song, "distinguished by smiling cheeks, and earrings that sparkle as he plays, Heri exults in the assemblies of amorous damsels, of whom, one presses him to her heaving bosom, while she warbles with exquisite melody; another, affected by the glance of his eye, stands meditating on the lotos of his face; a third, on pretence of whispering a secret into his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle, and draws him toward her, pointing to the bower on the banks of the Yamuna, where elegant vanjulas interweave their branches. He applauds another who dances in the sportive circle, while her bracelets ring as she beats time with her palms."

The theory of Brahminism itself affords scope for schism and distraction. There are three great gods, distinct not in name merely, but in essence. They have each their respective worshippers; and while the followers of Mahadeva (Seva) contend for the preeminency with the votaries of Vishnu, the Buddhist, who adores, according to the Brahmins, the ninth Avatar of Vishnu, has been reluctantly, and perhaps with difficulty, constrained to give place to the domination of proud and supercilious Brahmins. Boodh, or Sakya Singh, who first taught the religion of the ninth Avatar, has various names, and is ranked as the last Buddha. He is represented as the son of Suddhodona, or Siddown, the prince of Bahar, or king of Oude. His mother, Maia, was delivered of him in an extraordinary

way. At his birth, there shone forth a wonderful light; the earth trembled, and the water of the Ganges rose and fell in a most ominous manner. The very hour he was born he walked seven steps, and discoursed with an eloquence which ravished the hearts of his hearers!! The astrologers foretold, that after twenty years and seven days he would become a monarch; but that, despising the world, he would prefer retirement, and introduce a new religion. In the order, and precisely at the time predicted by the astrologers, it came to pass. All this is related with gravity by the devout Buddhist; who adds, that he turned his mind from the affairs of the world, and made choice of a life of retirement. His followers believe that, by means of his good actions, he gained perfect knowledge, and at length arrived at the state of *muckut*: (absorption into the nature of the Supreme Being). They reckon it about 3,200 years since his birth, and that he died at the age of 120 years. Cushan-rish-Athaim, king of Aram, may have been his contemporary. They affirm he had the gift of prophecy, and could change the course of nature. He had visited Benares, in which, and in the adjacent cities, are laid the scenes of his mythological adventures. Rajgird, and several other fine temples, are enumerated as his places of retreat. He then travelled to Cashmere, where he made many proselytes: he also gained for his followers people of Hind, of the sea-ports of Thibet, and Khatai. He made extensive inroads upon the sect of the Jains, and diminished their numbers, as

they were known by the denomination *Arhats*. His religious system was embraced as the national faith in adjacent countries. It was established in Bootan as well as Thibet. Its influence in Tartary is still commensurate with the extension of letters and civilized life. The people of Ava, Pegu, and Siam, adopted its doctrines. The Tartar sovereigns of China introduced, as the royal religion of the celestial empire, the dogmas of Buddha, whom they term Fo. The island of Japan contains thirty millions of its votaries, who have received its rites probably through Tartary. The Cingalese of Ceylon have, by a great majority, refused the Vedas, and bowed to Buddhism. When the religion of the Brahmins finally triumphed over the Jains and Buddhists in Continental India, and drove those votaries from the fair and fertile regions which had been the cradle of their ancient superstitions, the latter found, for a season, an asylum in neighbouring countries: but from Sind, Candahar, Bahar, Bengal, and the Deckan, their last seats in India, they have been long ago expelled. Rising in the eastern provinces, and traversing northern India, they passed on from the north to the south, till they reached Cape Comorin. It may have been, however, that the waters divided, and half of them turned towards the east and north, while the western and southern streams were impelled by the force of Brahminical persecution. The track which they still occupy stretches due eastward from the most southern point of India—from Ceylon across the Bay of

Bengal, through Pegu, Burmah, China, Tartary, Thibet, and Siberia. In the regions of Cashmere a few straggling votaries, and the ruins of ancient temples, serve only to indicate that Buddhism *once* prevailed there. Among the nations with whom the votaries of Boodh found an asylum, the Huns are expressly mentioned. Their name occurs in Bahar inscriptions, and is repeatedly found amongst other barbarian tribes enumerated in the prophetic chapter annexed to some of the Puranas. It would be a singular fact in history, could it be ascertained, that the bands of Attila, who laid waste the plains of Italy, were the followers of Boodh. The learned among the Persians and Arabians call the priests of this religion Bakshee, and in Thibet they are styled Lama. The meaning of *Budh*, in Sanscrit philology, is “to know;” whence it is said the Saxon and English verbs, *bodian*, *bode*, *forbode*, &c., are derived.

Although Brahminism be the more general appellation by which religion is known throughout the peninsula of India, and its mythology be more specifically the prevalent theory: the higher elements of which are expressed in elaborate and mystical terms indeed, exhibiting, however, far more obscurity than profoundness; the reign of this priesthood continues to be not unfrequently disputed, and their authority is often deemed not incontrovertible. Besides many pretenders to ghostly and divine commission, the Jains have long been as thorns in their eyes, and vinegar to their teeth. It is recorded of

this sect, that in a central part of India, and at a recent period of their history, they endured most vexatious persecutions from the intolerance of the Brahmins, and the prevalence of the Beydantee religion. The hatred and malignity of these priests excited a conspiracy among them to invade the sanctuary, and alienate the very altars of the Jain worshippers at Oojien; they even resisted the local authorities, contemned the menaces of government, and the personal interposition of the reigning prince. My military chronicler has furnished a narrative of this disgraceful and violent transaction; and as it illustrates both the character of the one sect, and the conduct of the other, I shall here introduce the story.

It is not many years ago that the Jains built a handsome temple at Oojien. A jattee or priest of high character arrived from Guzerat, to consecrate it, and to place within the shrine the image of their favourite deity (Parswanath). The morning fixed for this purpose had come, the ceremony had commenced, and Jains had filled the temple, expecting the arrival of their idol god, when a Brahmin appeared, conveying an oval stone from the river Sepra, which he proclaimed the emblem of Mahadeva. A concourse of Gossiens and other Brahmins, armed with bludgeons and other missiles, joined him, and soon drove the unarmed bankers and shopkeepers from their temple. Mahadeva's rude symbol was placed in the niche prepared for the Jain god, amid the shouts of Brahmins and other

Hindoos, and proclaimed as the overthrower of Jains—the omnipotent Mahadeva. An application to the governor of the city was made by the discomfited party; but the aggressive tribes were secure in their power and influence, and defied his interference on a point of this nature. Reference was made to Dowlut Row Scindiah, but his authority was treated with no greater respect; and though the fear of seeing Oojien deserted, and the prospect of distress both there and at Gualior (for in both places the Jains had suspended all business and closed their shops), led that Mahratta chieftain to use every means to obtain redress for the violent outrage and insult they had suffered; his applications, threats and influence, were alike derided. A fear of proceeding to extremities in a case of religion, constrained him to rest satisfied with only a partial reparation; he himself remunerated in part the expense the Jains had incurred; while the sufferers were obliged, by their comparative smallness of number and peaceable habits, to content themselves with this partial redress, and to endure the additional mortification of seeing the building which they had erected, become the most popular temple of Hindoo worship in all Oojien: from the manner in which the occupation of it had been obtained.

The adherents of the Jain faith have yielded to the overwhelming force of a more sanguinary and less tolerant sect, and their fugitive progress may be traced through Continental India by their sacred

edifices, generally in ruin. They have left these scattered over the peninsula, as numerous fragments of their devotion and free-will offerings. At Woone, in the province of Malwa, many vestiges of Jain temples remain. The number is said to have amounted to ninety-nine in early times ; but the ruins of more than twenty temples may still be distinctly traced, and some in tolerable preservation. The kingdom of Curnata, the central elevated region of the peninsula, was governed by rulers, who held the creed of the Jains, till the twelfth century. One of the most perfect remains of their antiquity is seen in a venerable pile of architecture, called the Jain temple at Kurcal, which is now desolated by Brahminical influence. This town is placed on the Malabar coast, in the ancient kingdom of Tulava, and is distant about ten leagues from Mangalore. At Billicull, or Belligolla, in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, once the residence of their high-priest, a gigantic image of Gomat-Iswara-Swami stands as one of their idol representations ; the foot of the image is nine feet in length, and the entire statue is more than fifty feet high. There is a much nearer approximation in sentiment, or their doctrines of belief, between the Jains and Buddhists, than between either of them and the Brahminical system : yet the civil and social life of the Jains, in their four castes, distinguished from each other by privileges and manners, more nearly resembles the other Hindoos than the Buddhists. It would not be from the



Brahmins, therefore, that we could derive impartial information of the Jains; nor *vice versâ*: for as an imperial author declares, “ though from the most remote times down to the days of his own reign, the learning and wisdom of Hindostan were confined to the Brahmins and the followers of Jain, nevertheless, (and we presume it is too true of all religious polemics,) ignorant of each other’s merits, they have a mutual aversion. Kishen, whom the Brahmins worship as a god, the Jains abhor as an infernal slave; while the Brahmins carry their hostility so far as to say, that it is better to encounter a mad elephant, or a furious lion, than to meet a man of the Jain sect. Yet the Jains are a peace-loving people; they hate whatever destroys life. They are scrupulous, to the strictest degree, in avoiding whatever will cause the death of any living thing, even the minutest insect. To guard against the danger of guilt on this matter, (for they have no ceremony whose efficacy they reckon so great as to relieve the soul from the burden of such a trespass,) the more conscientious will not eat after sunset; they have always a small broom to sweep the ground before them; and they never drink water until it is strained through a cloth. They consider it unlawful for a widow to marry again; but they discountenance the barbarian practice, so prevalent among other Hindoos, of sacrificing herself with the body of her deceased husband.

The more opulent members of this sect find it convenient, in their persecuted condition, to seem

to belong to the orthodox persuasion. Conformity is an easier matter with them than it was with the Buddhists, so far as the distinction of castes had an influence. They are as merchants still found dispersed over the whole continent of India, but it is only in the central and western parts of the peninsula they are sufficiently numerous to constitute a distinct population. Their proper designation is *Arhats*, from Arhat, to *be revered*; because thus they distinguish the objects which they worship. They are an ingenuous, simple, and mild people, in their social intercourse, and in their transactions with others. They have been sought after by some of the most devoted missionaries in the peninsula. Mr. Rhenius, late of Palamcottah, made several excursions among them while he lived at Madras. Numbers of them reside at Arnee, in the vicinity of Arcot, where they maintain the reputation of a mild, unsuspecting, and plain-thinking people, much disliked by the Brahmins, whom they never acknowledge.\*

\* During the last two years they have been repeatedly visited by a young and zealous missionary, raised up in India, whose career I rejoice to witness so marked by piety and devotedness. Few events have afforded me more sincere pleasure than his dedication of life and substance to the cause of missions. I knew him when a boy, and when his thoughts, wishes, and dispositions gave little indication of his present activity in gospel labours. He says he is "intimate with a few of the most influential among the Jains, and he has often felt peculiar gratification in conversing with them; they frankly concede to almost every doctrine, and the *only* stumbling-block" (I fear there are *many* more) "in their

The generous desire of the imperial Jilaleddeen Mohammed Akber, for establishing truth, induced him to illumine the world by the light of his researches, for the diffusion of universal peace and harmony; he sought to dispel the darkness of delusion by his literary labours, for he desired that men of different persuasions might quit the narrow paths of prejudice, to associate together. Through the liberality and intellectual exertions of the son of Hemaioon, the favourite dogmas of the Brahmins were represented under the appellation of the Beydant science. His writings remain one of the few monuments which possess an established title to any literary antiquity. It was toward the close

way at present, is the practice common among Europeans, of killing and dressing animals for food. They are so tenacious about this that they repeatedly strain water before it is used. Nevertheless it is a matter of fact, for it is a feeling that has been often heard and expressed, that a strong conviction rests on their minds, that Christianity will ultimately become the prevailing religion." A few months ago a Jain priest visited a small christian flock at Arnee, and sent repeated messages to the teacher to beg a conference with him. The christian teacher embraced the opportunity to provide a collection of choice tracts and portions of the sacred Scripture. The Jain priest desired nothing more; he wished to examine them for himself. Various hindrances raised up by caste and superstition were overcome, and the interview afforded mutual satisfaction. The christian teacher maintained the honour of God's word. A wooden bench was placed before the Jain priest by his disciples, on which, when wiped and covered with a cloth, the books were placed. The priest took them up with apparent veneration, thanked the teacher for the gift, and returned next day to his own district.—Abridged from a letter written by the *Rev. J. Bilderbeck, Chittoor.*

of the sixteenth century, that this studious prince gave to the world, chiefly in the older Persian style, his Institutes, or summary of all he knew in the religion, laws, and usages of the many myriads who bowed to his sceptre in Hindostan. He was the sixth in succession from Tamerlane (our Indian Timur), and was generally esteemed a wise and tolerant prince. Nor are the vestiges yet to be met in India of his munificence and power, few or deficient in sovereign splendour. His writings are those rather of an observing philosopher, than of a polemical partizan. He was a follower of the crescent.

The following narrative will, perhaps, not be found in its present phraseology among the oriental records which are extant; its claims to credibility are, however, not less valid than many other eastern tales.\*—‘The provinces of many rajahs, and the conquests of numerous kings, had submitted to the dominion of the imperial prince Akber. In him benignity was generously blended with the varied and numerous virtues of a royal heart, as well as the discernment of a philosophical mind. His breast was the seat of an ardent desire for intellectual distinction and attainment; literary ambition inspired his soul, and religious inquiry urged forward his studious pursuits. He had long felt

\* The names and incidents only are imaginary: the scenery of the country, the character of the people, and the religious opinions of the hostile sects are, from authentic documents, truly delineated.

that the diversity of language which prevails had served to produce misapprehension, and occasioned strife; and that remoteness of situation had prevented the confidential intercourse which is necessary to secure a reciprocal acquaintance with the various philosophic doctrines, and the deep sciences of distant nations. And though he had exerted himself and his imperial influence to assemble the learned of all nations, who might aid each other in their researches after truth, yet he continued unable to satisfy himself; and complained that the musnud must be filled by such a monarch as Nurshervan, who amidst the splendour of royalty sought, almost in vain, after the jewel of wisdom; until, by the hand of his vizier, the unenvious Buzerchemehr, he found out Puzrulah the philosopher, and sent him into Hindostan, under the disguise of a merchant. The industry of this celebrated man when absent was as great as when present; so that, after various indefatigable exertions and laborious researches, he acquired possession of the stores of knowledge. The son of Hemaioon observed with grief, and was perplexed when he saw the subjection of men to their external senses, and the indolence of mankind, their habit of imitation, and the jealous reserve which prevents a candid communication between persons of different persuasions. Such causes had prevented the voluntary conference of two or three disputants to discuss the tenets of their respective creeds, and ascertain the principles on which they are founded, and

how far their derivation may be traced to the same source.

‘He had also perceived with shame and vexation, that even monarchs, deeming such an investigation unimportant, had either treated the inquiry with indifference, or, actuated by the pride and conceit of sectaries, had prohibited free controversy and public instruction. A regard for self-preservation, therefore, induced men either to be silent, or to express themselves in obscure language, or appear to conform to the fashion of the times. The monarch’s example is a law to all, and thus every sect becomes infatuated with its particular doctrines; animosity and disunion prevail, and each man, concluding the tenets of his sect to be the dictates of truth itself, aims at the destruction of all others, vilifies reputation, stains the earth with blood, and has the vanity to imagine he is thereby performing meritorious actions. If the voice of reason were attended to, mankind would be sensible of their folly, and lament the weakness which misled them to interfere in the concerns of each other. Persecution, after all, defeats its own ends; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them.’ Such were the sage and ingenuous reflections of his majesty Jilaleddeen Mohammed, when the cares of his durbar, or the discussions of the divan, permitted him to withdraw from the musnud for the retirement of the harem. But practically he was as sound in his philosophy as he was judicious and liberal in his theory.

‘ The third time that the author followed the imperial stirrup to the delightful territory of Cashmere, he met some old men who were learned in the Beydant, some who were conversant with the doctrines of Boodh, and some who had imbibed the principles of Jun—advocates of the Brahminical, the Buddhist, and the Jain systems. It was an occasion too gratifying to the burning thirst of his majesty after knowledge, and his desire to illumine the world with universal peace and unanimity, to be misimproved or allowed to escape. Akber enjoyed boundless delight in entertaining with princely splendour these philosophers—the sons of light—that by their discussions the darkness of error might be dispelled ; and that the mists of selfishness being exhaled, the beautiful scenes and flowers of paradise might be beheld, and their odoriferous fragrance breathed by men of different names, who should then be induced to abandon the narrow path of prejudice, and associate together under the broad light of the genial and all-encircling sun.

‘ Musjid-baugh was a delightful valley, which spread to the right and left, and whose horizon was bounded by distant mountains, down the rugged sides of which a hundred sparkling rills poured their silvery waters to fill a pellucid and silent lake, that lay embosomed, and was fringed by the softest scenery. Here the servants of Jilaleddeen stretched the cords of his imperial tent ; and here, exalted high, waved the glittering crescent. The beauty of the falling streams, on which the bright

sun shone, and over which the light and azure vault was suspended, and their successive cascades, which rolled from hills covered with luxuriant vines; the crystal lake itself, whose clear bosom reflected not only the shadow of the overhanging mountains, but also the tributary streams; the rich fields beneath its *bund*, or on the broad margin, and the roses, hyacinths, and almost every species of flower growing in unpruned luxury on its borders, fitted it as a Laul-baug for majesty itself, and was suitable for the purposes of the emperor. Here the nemmed of royal distinction was spread out upon the rich carpet of majesty: under a splendid canopy, adorned with oriental magnificence, was placed a temporary musnud, or throne; and seated on this, the conqueror of India held his durbar or court; and as the pageants of his train, princes, chiefs, and officers of state, bowed around his feet, the respective suite of each;—a motley group fell back to the rear.

‘Gorgeous was the display, as the court of Akber, a king of kings, ought to be. On his right hand and on his left were stationed, as huzuriahs, or servants of the presence, nabobs, princes of Mohammedan states, who had become his subsidiaries; rajahs, princes of the Hindoo race, who had been subdued, and rendered tributary to his throne; omrahs, noblemen of Mohammedan family, and heads of tribes; khans also, the brave warriors of his army, whose gallantry had been ennobled on the field of blood and battle, each clothed in the



dignified attire of their station : behind him were arranged, according to their rank, the viziers of his divan ; the dewanee, or chief of his ministers ; his karbareyan, the counsellors of state ; his dufturdars and chitnavese, the financiers and scribes, or secretaries of his government ; with the principal vakeels, the messengers of his court, who might also be despatched as his temporary envoys to other courts. Nor was the khasjee-walah, his lord high steward of the household, absent from the place of his trust ; while such of his soubahdars as could be withdrawn from the government of their provinces, mingled with the sirdars, general officers in command of his troops, and his bukshe, the paymaster of his army ; accompanied by killahdars, zemindars, thakoors, potails, wuttumdars, and chobdars ;—the commanders of contiguous fortresses, the collectors of revenue, and hereditary lords of the surrounding soil, the village magistrates, chief and subordinate, by hereditary right and royal appointment, his mace-bearers, and royal constabulary force ; and though last, yet not least in their own esteem, the shaikh ul islam, the cadi, the mujtahids, the muftis and moullahs ;—the expounders, judges, and administrators of justice. The priests and lawyers of the Mohammedan court were placed in the theatre of discussion, not as umpires—bigotry and blind zeal incapacitated them for such an office—but that the religion of the prince and his court might be respected in its representatives—the hierarchy and public functionaries who had followed the camp.

‘The war-horse and his prancings were hushed; the glittering spear and brandished sword were laid aside; the helmet and scymitar were ungirt; the warrior ceased from his toils, and the camp, all but the habiliments, assumed the air and quietness of the studious assembly. Poets, historians, astrologers, wits, and reciters of stories and fables, who had acquired eminence, were introduced and honoured. But these were not destined to be the principal performers in this august scene. The grey-haired Brahmin, the revered Jatti, and the representative of Shakmune, were called upon, each to declare before the prince and his retinue, now waiting in solemn and expectant audience, for the sentiments of their several religions. “Behold,” said the king to his favourite Abul Fazel, “behold the Brahmin stand forth, proud of his knowledge of the Vedu, and vain of his descent from Brahma, with a countenance which tells the subtilty of his mind, and the presumption and ambitious aspirings of his soul. The upper part of his body is naked, showing a clean yellow-coloured skin; his loins are clothed in a large pale salmon-coloured garment, untouched by the scissors or needle; his head is bare and shaven, except a few thick falling locks clubbing behind; his forehead ornamented with the ashes of cow-dung, in red, yellow, and white stripes, the emblem of his peculiar worship, while his sacred zenaar or twisted thread, is drawn over his shoulder, distinctive of his boasted caste. Look now at the Jatti, the proficient in the

doctrine of the Jains ; he has never, (at least such are his pretensions since he assumed the religious order of his sect,) he has never gone within the hearing of a female voice ; he has not eaten flesh, fruits, nor sweetmeats ; nor has he dressed any food ; his drink has been confined to warm water ; he never eats nor drinks in the night ; he never lights a lamp, nor any fire in his house ; whatever has fallen from his hand he has never taken up again. The demureness of his countenance indicates the restriction under which he has laid himself, never to cherish a jocular turn, nor commit what he considers a mean or idle action ; he carries his wardrobe with him, more than which, in summer he never uses, a shirt, a blanket, and a square piece of cloth of about two feet ; this last he makes into four folds, and when he speaks, applies to his mouth, that no insect may enter it. In the winter he has an additional sheet ; he holds in his hand a *deh-rimdig*, which is a broom made of woollen threads, or woollen cloth fixed in a wooden handle ; he carries this instrument, that with it he may softly sweep the ground before he sits down, lest he should kill any insect. You perceive by the posture of his body, the severities which he has practised ; his arms have been stretched down on both sides, and the body kept free from motion, while the head has been frequently reclined upon the breast for several hours together. Such were the austerities inflicted upon him, in conformity with the injunction of his (peer) spiritual guide ;

that he would eat sparingly, and at appointed times only; that he abstained from eating ghee, milk, curds, sesame oil, and sweetmeats, nor would he ask food at more than five places; and in order completely to reduce the body, he covered himself with sand in the heat of the sun; his awkward, unseemly, and squalid appearance, will not be reckoned unaccountable, after this statement of the causes which have operated to modify his form.

‘ Now, observe the contrast which is presented in the appearance of that third person, a priest of Boodh, and the first, his successful rival. In the latter you might perceive the deep subtlety of deceit, the cool deliberation of a selfish expediency, and the obsequious compliance of a fawning parasite; but in the profession of the Buddhist, the avowed sources of good or personal enjoyment consist in knowledge, disinterestedness, and reciprocal pleasure in the success of others. The things which he has held meritorious, have developed themselves in his character, and are displayed in his pursuits. His theory has influenced his conduct, and modified even his external appearance. He has come short of, rather than infringed upon, the standard of excellence. You perceive in his manner the command which he exerts over himself, the control under which he has brought the powers of his mind, the self-denial with which he is familiar, his dignity and independence of relative character, and the elevated course in which his thoughts are directed. He seems to be what he professes. Six

things he esteems to be highly meritorious: subduing anger; improving the understanding; bestowing money in charity; studying theology; boldly asserting one's own rights, and continually contemplating the Deity. No trembling step—no smile of sycophancy—no pretended sanctity—no badge of voluntary suffering is here; a muscular and energetic frame is the tabernacle of an independent and vigorous mind. His only distinction consists in a shaven head, and a garment of leather and red cloth. His ceremonial purifications are observed by frequent ablutions, but he is not so particular as to his diet. His principle is not to refuse whatever is offered to him, but to receive all as the gift of God; even the creatures which die of themselves, he believes have been killed of God for his service, and therefore he eats them: though he would deem it cruelly profane and sacrilegious to kill any animal, or root up, or cut any plant, for he imagines they possess vitality, and are susceptible of enjoyment. He has adhered to a state of celibacy, and believes that God has never been defiled by incarnation; and that he is so infinitely above, and so perfectly removed from any terrestrial or sublunary transactions, as to consider it beneath him to create the universe or control its affairs; while the world itself is such a self-existent and uncontrolled agent, that it has neither beginning nor end; that it vanishes, and then appears in its original form time after time. He is not perplexed by the existence of moral evil; he finds the origin of evil as well as of good in eleven things, viz. the five

senses, his faculties, and *mun*—the abstraction of intelligence.” Such then is our Buddhist, and such are the authorities to whom we shall listen for a development of the religions of Hindostan.

‘It was an imposing and appalling eminence these three were required to sustain, and to a religious zealot, it would appear a proud day. Had they been summoned upon this arena, that they might gain proselytes to their cause, it would have gratified the fondest devotion; but it was a philosophical enquiry concerning religion, to gratify the curiosity, and to extend the literary and general knowledge of the studious Akber. It was not to soothe a distracted mind, nor deliver a conscience ill at ease from its disquietudes. As one of the faithful, Akber was too confident in the divinity of the prophet’s mission, and in the inspiration of the Koran. He feared no competition of the Indian idolatry with the simpler faith of Mecca, and the revelations claimed by Mohammed. Fixing, therefore, upon Narain Roy, Braminee, to propound the mysteries of his faith, and addressing him with affability and courtesy, the emperor encouraged him to state explicitly the dogmas of his religion, and assured him, that a patient ear should listen to his exposition, and an impartial hand should weigh the value of his words. The worshipper of Brahma stepped forward, and doing obeisance toward the royal presence, he gravely informed his majesty, that every one is not fit to be instructed in the Beydant; that it would be sacrilegious in any but Brahmins to

listen to the sacred words of the Veda ; that it would be worse than profanation, for any other eye to peruse the holy page ; and that every one is not capable of comprehending the sublime theology which it contained. “ He who seeks,” says Narain, “ this knowledge, must be able to distinguish what is eternal from what is created—must despise the world—study with intensity—must not be disturbed at not finding the non-existing comprehensions—must disregard joy and sorrow—must daily increase in the contemplation of the muckut, (absorption into the deity.) But at the command of your highness, with reverence, I venture to declare, that excepting the deity nothing exists—the universe being only an appearance without reality : just as a man in a dream sees imaginary objects, and in that state experiences ideal pleasure and pain. So that life is nothing but a dream, there being only resplendent light, which assumes different appearances. In our theology the work of abstraction, metaphysical and abstruse, has been carried to perfection ; and those who hate our gods, charge us as indulging in the excess of subtlety, till it is rendered practically destitute of moral influence ; but this refinement we consider a proof of its high origin, an emanation from the divinity, and a source of muckut to the devotee. Our supreme deity is Brimmah, the sole bestower of justice. Omniscience, omnipresence, and inertia are the fountain of his essence. He is without beginning and without end. Omniscience is an

abstraction which we call Geeyan, endued with independent powers ; its external operations are also an abstraction called Maia ; and when the divine essence unites with Maia, it becomes manifest, and is called Issur ; when Issur unites with Raj, (the fountain of desire, another abstraction,) it is called Brumha, the creator ; when it unites with Sut, (a second abstraction, the fountain of virtue,) it is denominated Vishnu, the preserver ; and when it forms a union with Tum, (a further abstraction, the fountain of anger,) it is styled Maha-deva, the destroyer. Many of our learned men believe that the deity manifested himself under the form of a woman, called Maha-letchmeen, from whom proceeded the three attributes, Sut, Raj, and Tum. When she willed the creation of the world, Maha-letchmeen united herself with Tum, and produced Maha-kalee, a form sometimes spoken of as Maha-maia. After this, Maha-letchmeen produced Brumha, under the form of a man, and Sree, under the form of a woman. Then from Maha-kalee issued Maha-deva, under the form of a man, and Teeree, under the form of a woman. Maha-letchmeen joined herself with Sut, and another form, called Sirsotee, appeared ; and from Sirsotee issued Vishnu, under the form of a man, and Gowree, under the form of a woman. Maha-letchmeen willed the union of these three bisexual productions, from whose cooperation all creation proceeded in heaven and earth. The lower creation commenced from the sun ; this luminary is a repre-



sensation of God. Brumha formed a hollow sphere of gold, composed of two parts, to which he imparted a ray of his own light, and it became the sun; from this glorious fountain emanated the twelve celestial signs, and from them the four Vedas derived their origin. Then were created the moon, the akass or ether, the air, fire, and earth. Hearing in man is produced from the akass, touch from air, sight from fire, taste from water, and smell from earth. These five senses are occasioned by the power of Sut, and are called Gayeen Indree, or knowing senses. The Brahmin is the representative of Brumha, and is the sole possessor of wisdom on earth; none can be so wise as he is, therefore he is warranted to entertain a sovereign contempt of all the pretended sciences, arts, and new discoveries, which other teachers attempt to communicate; but I cannot allow that he is justly charged with a disregard of justice, so as to have no feeling of mercy or pity for even the most miserable of the poor and dependant." Such, then, is Narain Brahminee's confession of faith.

'Aruhujine was now invited to give a summary of the sentiments peculiar to the Jains, and informed that he had as full liberty to express his opinions as had been indulged to the Brahmin. He was further encouraged with the assurance, that impartiality would render a patient ear to his sentiments, and he proceeded: "We do not pretend to a unity of sentiment which excludes variety; yet our diversity possesses a relative correspondence in all its parts.

We are sensible of human ignorance, and on the doctrine of a deity would be silent, confining our opinions to sensible actions ; but the ignorance and malice of the world attribute our silence to a denial of the existence of a Supreme Being. We believe there is only one God, who is incorporeal, neither begetting nor begotten, and free from all the defects belonging to human nature, whom we call Nirgoon-pirmeysir ; and to him we ascribe analytic and synthetic knowledge, omnipotence and total rest. We do not, indeed, believe that Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahadeva, are emanations of the Deity ; though they may have been human beings who attained perfection through their righteousness. We do not receive the Vedas as our guides, and do not worship the great objects of Brahminical veneration. That which can be the object of the senses we believe, but doubt the existence of any creatures superior to man, though men have been raised, by their merits, to the rank of divinities ; and to some of our ancient saints and priests, as to Gomat Iswara, we ascribe the highest conceivable attributes. It has been said by our enemies, that our opinions concerning the origin of the world are hostile to the honour of God ; but, while we believe that the component parts of the universe existed from all eternity, to God we give the glory of forming the universe from the one substance of which all the elements are composed. He, the true uncompounded Spirit, is the preserver of all. He created a body, into which he entered ; this body is

Brumha; and in the manner in which a human body acts, from its union with the soul, so does the body of Brumha act, from its relation to the deity: the holiness of the deity is not hereby defiled. We do not believe that the whole universe will suffer dissolution; but of everything, some part will be left, whence creation will be renovated. It is our conviction that man is a free agent, for whom are reserved rewards and punishments: but there is a subtle essence in which knowledge resides and illumines the body, in the same manner as a lamp enlightens a house; and this knowledge has the power of doing good or evil. Though we do not believe in the avatars (incarnations) of the deity, we think men, for their virtuous conduct, may become omniscient; and whatever such men say, on the subject of religion or legislation, should be considered as the word of God: we reckon twenty-four such, whom we call Saka-pirmeysir. Our acts of merit are all displayed in religious penance and voluntary humiliation, in abstaining from any indulgence which would cause the death of any creature, and in the worship of our Swamies, and implicit obedience to our spiritual guides. We have three orders of Yatis (ascetics). The first, called *anuvrata*, can be attained only by him who forsakes his family, entirely cuts off his hair, holds always in his hand a bundle of peacock's feathers and an earthen pot, and wears only clothes of a tawny colour. The second, *mahavrata*, requires that all dress should be abandoned, except so much as will

cover nakedness, and that the hair should be, not shaven, but pulled out by the roots. The third, *nirvana*, throws aside all covering, and remains entirely naked, eats nothing but rice, and that only once in two days. The name of such a one is almost synonymous with deity, and he is rewarded with the veneration due to priests, rajahs, and images. He that would enjoy absorption into the deity, must endure many hardships ; besides nakedness and abstinence, must cover himself with sand in the heat of the sun, act as a menial to those who inflict austerities upon themselves, study with attention the great books, drawing up the arms and legs, reclining the head upon the breast, and sitting thus for hours in a state of abstraction. There are in this earth fifteen grand divisions, and between its creation and dissolution are comprised twelve universal monarchs ; nine with only half their power, and nine with but a fourth. The dominions of a chuckerwurt (a universal monarch) consist of thirty-two thousand kingdoms, with sway over thirty-two monarchs. He has also eight millions four hundred thousand elephants, and the like number of cavalry and chariots, together with four thousand viziers : Thus, O Jileldeedeen, mighty prince, your power is excelled, even as the sun, and the many lamps of the glorious heavens surpass the dim lights of your palace ; and his retinue exceeds yours, displayed as it is now, even as the many waves of the boundless ocean transcend the gentle ripples of that peaceful lake. For he has ninety-two

millions of infantry, eight millions four hundred thousand philosophers, three hundred thousand cowrburdars, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand handmaids; besides possessing sixteen thousand mines of precious stones, nineteen thousand gold mines, and one hundred and twenty thousand mines of other metals; and within his empire are sixteen thousand nations of mileetch, and sixteen capital cities; and, to complete the account, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks, three hundred and sixty of whom are for his own particular use. In the present cycle, the first chuckerwurt was rajah Bhirt, the son of Adnaut, some of whose family, in reward for their virtuous conduct, are now enjoying paradise. Besides the earth inhabited by mankind, we expect a higher and happier state. It is a very extensive country, at the distance of forty-eight coss (a measure of three miles) above the uppermost region; its lustre resembles the bright reflections of the richest crystal; its breadth and length cannot be compared by any measurement known among men; the people clothe themselves with the leaves of trees, and feed upon wild fruits, and the earth is there very sweet. They are handsome and well-behaved; their stature is from one to three coss; their lives extend to a great and unaccountable length: the man who has not led a perfectly virtuous life in this world, but has bestowed charity, will receive the reward thereof in the territory now

described. In a region still more elevated and glorious, is the holy habitation of muckut, where men assume luminous forms, and are absorbed in the deity. To this happy consummation we devoutly aspire; but we know that muckut cannot be obtained without an union of knowledge and good works; the necessary connexion of these we have been taught by the following apologue; hear it, O prince, and may you be wise. Fire fell upon a house, in which dwelt a blind man and a cripple, neither of whom could escape without the help of the other; therefore, the blind man took the cripple upon his back, to avail himself of his eyes, and in return gave the cripple the use of his legs; thus, by mutual assistance, they both got out in safety. These, great king, are all the peculiarities of our religion which we desire to be made known. May your sun never go down till you shall enter into muckut."

‘ His majesty now invited Yokaja, the disciple of Boodh, to make known the theory of his doctrines. “ Declining to enter into the more abstruse parts of our system, or to dispute the statements already made, Yokaja, the slave of your illustrious crown, begs to inform you, that the worshippers of God-ama are divided into four tribes: the Webhakekh, who admit the existence of knowledge and things; the Sootranitk, who consider all things to be only the imagination or pictures of the senses; the Lookaja, who believe that nothing exists but knowledge, things being only the various forms thereof;

and the Medheemuck, who call knowledge, as well as things, *sun*, or a cypher, and who never argue upon their existence or non-existence. I believe that knowledge has two causes:—whatever is obtained by means of the senses, and whatever is gained by proofs. But we seek practice rather than theory; and the duties which we hold as indispensable towards obtaining the state of muckut, are plain and profitable:—bestowing charity, abstaining from evil, such as killing, molesting, stealing, uncleanness, lying, speaking ill of the good, seeking what is unprofitable, bad inclinations, and associating with those of a different religion. It is also of sacred obligation:—that the Buddhist entertain respect for his *peer*, or spiritual guide, implicitly believing his words; that he venerate the idols; that he be not elated by praise, nor depressed by reproach; that he frequent the chietee, or temples, and place no more than a proper value upon the things of the world—striving to obtain yug, a complete victory over the passions; which also involves the acquisition of so much power, that on whatever object the heart is set, it does not wander, and implies a state wherein all desires of the heart cease, and it begins to have some knowledge. And thus the heart, confining itself to one contemplation, arrives at perfection by degrees, and conceives an ideal form of the divinity; and when greater progress is acquired, this imaginary form disappears from the mind, and nothing remains but the contemplation of his essence. On no other

subject should the heart dwell while we are called upon to waste the mind and body by suffering austerities, that we may improve in knowledge, and perform those exercises by which muckut is obtained. These are some of our doctrines and duties, sovereign prince; but the personal obligations devolving upon each, will at once appear to the wisdom of your majesty sufficient to preclude any exertion to propagate our sentiments among the religious of other communities. May all pass through yug, and finally obtain muckut; and may the peace and dignity thereof be the distinction of the great emperor of Hindostan!"

'Akber bestowed presents on each of the wise men, according as his judgment decided that which was suited to each character; and he felt thankful to them for the agreeable contribution they had added to his pleasures in the valley of Musjid-baugh; and though he had been taught he was not yet a chuckerwurt, it was a practical lesson; and he thought he could improve by what he perceived, that every man is right in his own eyes, till his neighbour cometh and findeth him out. He was convinced, moreover, that though he had heard the chief representatives of the great tribes who inhabit the East, yet there were many divisions whose peculiarities he could not expect speedily to learn; and he was strengthened in this conclusion when he remembered, that among the Brahmins, who inhabited one province alone of his own dominions, there were not fewer than eighty-



four different sects. To be the primary inhabitants of any particular country, or to have descended from Brahminee emigrants of distant regions, as of Guzerat, Hindostan Proper, Canoje, Oude, Joudpoor, Odeypoor, Jeypoor, Malwa, Malabar, and Bundelcund, is enough to separate them from social intercourse or intermarriage. They boast with as much jealousy of their various appellations, such as Roy, Row, Ram, and Singh, as they would of their superiority to the lower castes. So is it with the Sudra tribes, who are distinguished according to the art, trade, or occupation, which those who belong to them pursue; and are ramified, probably, into not fewer than fifty branches. Each has its different denomination, from the cowherd, the shepherd, the goldsmith, carpenter, tailor, musician, oilman, gardener, weaver, and confectioner, down to the lowest classes of labourers, distillers, ropemakers, dancers, and sweepers. None of the Sudra families will eat or intermarry with the other. They follow the usages and profession of their fathers. Every one, even the barber, the washerman, and sweeper, has his *baht*, or bard, who preserves his genealogy, and gratifies his vanity with the tales of his ancestors. The bard is continually employed among the tribe to which he belongs. His arrival at a village is hailed as a day of festivity; and with the lower classes he settles all matters relating to their intermarriage. Here, then, is wide scope for curious research, and abundant store of amusing incident; but minuter details

would, perhaps, fatigue his beloved Abul Fazel, for whom the author designed this more popular sketch and narration, with a design that it may excite further inquiry. He has set down what occurred upon a review of the whole proceedings, rather than from notes taken on the occasion, therefore they may be thought too loosely, and perhaps, vaguely expressed; yet all has been honestly given, and from no other than the kindest feelings towards the people. And now it may be concluded, that the charbarren, or four principal divisions of the people into Brammin, Khettre, Vaisya, and Sudra castes, supply a very inadequate representation of the distinction and lines of separation which run between the numerous divisions of the Hindoo race. Not only among the Brahmins and Sudras, but even among the outcaste tribes, the ramifications are endless and perplexing, and can only be traced by intimate intercourse, local knowledge, and observation.'

Fitful and changing is the tide of public opinion; and varying almost as the successive waves, are the representations of man by his fellow-man, or of one nation by another. Men look upon different scenes with different optics; and the lights and shadows of national character fluctuate with constant rapidity. When a little is known, the surface only is perceived; when more knowledge is acquired, it is proved how deceptive are first appearances. It is not many years ago, that the virtues and the national features of the Hindoo character were lauded

almost to extravagance, till the particulars of their panegyric were summed up in the phrase, "the innocent Hindoos!" The authors of the encomiums had generally been sojourners in their land; and, it might have been supposed, were intimately conversant with the varied shades of peculiarity by which they are distinguished. They declared themselves too, with a tone of authority which would bespeak unquestionable truth, and with a boldness of assertion which seemed warranted only by personal examination and conviction. The object only, of their efforts, threw a character of dubiety over their testimony; and this, as discovered in their hostility to the progress of an evangelizing church, and their opposition to missionary efforts, served as a key to the motives by which they were actuated. They desired to prove that the Hindoos, as they required not, so they could not derive any amelioration from the diffusion of gospel-truth throughout the land. It perhaps was not their design, but it would certainly have been the tendency of their communication to delude. Perhaps they were deceived: they had certainly formed a very low standard of innocency; and they greatly misjudged the purpose and the efficiency of the gospel. Their misapprehensions and erroneous representations, however, were exposed and justly reprobated by the eloquent and forcible, because faithful statements, of Mr. Charles Grant, Dr. C. Buchanan, and Mr. Tytler; and more recently by the historian of British India.

Certain latitudinarians will avow it as a sound axiom, that it matters not what a man's creed is, if his life be good ; that therefore men should not be perplexed with the dogmas of a new faith. Practice, say they, is the point of last importance ; but as one passes through the shifting scenes of life, it will be learned as much from observation as authority, that sound practice will only proceed from pure principles ; and that when principles are erroneous, the conduct will be objectionable too. We have presented a brief summary of Hindoo systems ; the creed of the Brahmin, the tenets of the Jains, and the dogmas of the Buddhists, were adduced without argument or controversy. A supplement may not be unacceptable, which shall develop what the practical influence of their doctrinal principles is upon life and character. History, if honestly narrated, would present a broad speculum for the examination of the inquirer ; and if its faithful details were perused, there would be no complaint of ignorance. Biography, again, like the framed mirror, exhibits the miniature form in natural habiliments, and renders the beholder familiar with the less prominent features of character, and the modes of social intercourse. But transient sketches, and local details, with the casual incident, supply even the listless reader with scenes and recollections on which a wandering memory and a fugitive imagination may find a resting-place, and food for thought, when pursuing the rapid survey of a wide world.

When anticipating a much longer sojourn among the people of strange lands than I have yet enjoyed, often would I picture to myself the habits and character of the nation among whom I might reside; and gladly did I embrace the hour when circumstances brought me into contact with one who had visited these distant regions, and mingled with the people. If I could hear a few sounds of their language, and learn a few traits of their character, and if my informant could add,—I was there, and witnessed these scenes,—I felt a species of momentary enlargement, a temporary superiority to all who had not been favoured with such an interview, and almost fancied myself familiar with the distant people, and able to conform myself to their intercourse. But these impressions were evanescent, and my knowledge came short of the reality: then, again, would recur the desire of seeing and judging for myself. Now I am among them, I can listen to their own tales, and read, with the scenes around me, the facts of their history, and the character of the people. To me they possess a charm which imagination could ill supply; and they call forth an interest unequalled by the influence of a well-told tale. And could I transplant my reader, without his suspicion of the fanciful illusion, to the purely native circle by which I am surrounded:—the Indian bazaar; the shroff's doucan, or banker's office; the sable, effeminate, and turbaned figures of Hindoo society; and could he understand the bold and fluent Hindostanee which the Hindoo

soldier speaks, he would soon distinguish the sources of oriental licentiousness, and how unprincipled is the Hindoo in conduct and character.

In nothing is the general want of principle more evident, than in the total disregard to truth which they show: no rank or order among them can be exempted from the implication. The religious teachers set the example, and they are scrupulously followed by all classes. Perjury and fraud are as common as is a suit at law; with protestations of equal sincerity will a witness stand forth who knows the falsehood of his testimony, and he who is ignorant of what he professes to testify. No oath can secure the truth; the waters of the Ganges, as they cannot wash away the filth of lying and deceit, so they cannot preserve the court of law from being the scene of gross and impious contradiction. No task is so difficult as is his who would elicit truth from the mouth of a witness. Venality and corruption are universal; they are remarkable, too, for their ingratitude. Ameer Khan is an instance of modern date, whose history will exhibit the Hindoo character. Habits of intimacy with the military circle, afford facilities for acquiring such information; nor is it uninteresting to trace the vicissitudes of his life, and the final rank of "his excellency."

Ameer was a soldier of fortune, had taken up arms, careless whom he served, or if he served any one besides himself. With ten adherents, he entered the service of a Zemindar, and passed as a hireling from the employment of one master to another,

till he was entertained as a leader of six horse and sixty footmen, by the dewan, or secretary of a subordinate chief: renouncing his service, he joined the plundering bands of a marauding party, who now subsisted upon the fields they had once cultivated. Having distinguished himself in one of the first actions of his new associates, he was elevated to the command of five hundred men, and receiving a palanquin, he became a personage of some importance. His further advancement among the confederacy was obstructed by the issue of an almost fatal contest, in which he was so severely wounded by stones, that he lay three months before he could move to any distance. This suspension of his progress led to his junction with a Mahratta chief, who was able to invest him with the command of fifteen hundred men, and confide to him the care of an important fortress. Here, again, the reverses of mercenary war proved the juncture of his richest prosperity; for henceforth he became associated with the fortunes of an aspirant, whose princely connexion and successful enterprises were crowned with a diadem and rewarded by a musnud. This alliance with Juswunt Row was first that of equality, owing to the reverses of his family, but it gradually subsided to that of prince and dependant. Now Ameer became the general of his own troops; but such troops! they were banditti, and lived upon rapine; they laid waste the most fertile districts, destroyed the most populous cities, and spoiled the palaces

of the great and the treasures of the wealthy. The leader of this predatory horde was ennobled by his royal confederate, and Ameer Khan was saluted by his master as a nabob, in which capacity he received a magnificent present—an elephant, a horse, a rich dress, and jewels. He conducted his followers into Bundelcund, and visited Saugor. A witness and companion in this expedition related the story to the soldier from whom I received my information: the army came down upon this ancient city as a flight of locusts; and, as under these destructive insects all herbage speedily disappears from the country on which they alight, so the fruits of human industry vanished from the region where the Patans and Afghans planted their standard. During nearly a month they carried on the work of ruinous devastation, and rendered the once famous city a scene of promiscuous and unrestrained pillage. Saugor was set on fire during the day of onset and storm, and the raging flames in one quarter or another continued while the plunderers remained. A few hundred inhabitants only were killed, but all were ruined; no property was spared: the tanks were searched, the wells were explored, and every place of temporary concealment was ransacked; soldier and chief were mingled as one confused rabble, and indiscriminate rapine was the object of each follower of the camp. If the leader attempted to enforce subordination, insolent disobedience was the return: they derided him with his former low condition;



they tauntingly asked if he had forgotten by whom he had acquired his greatness, and warned him how he provoked their resentment, which could hurl him in a moment to his original insignificance. Every species of insult and torture was inflicted on both male and female inhabitants of this devoted city. If the Afghan soldiers caught a Brahmin or Hindoo of high caste, they proceeded to feel his head, and examine the skin with great care, and if they discovered a softness and delicacy, they judged he had been leading a luxurious life, and not one of labour; and according to the result of their inspection, they adopted ulterior measures to make the most of their captive. Once the Khan ventured to repress their outrages, or limit their excessive depredations, and he became the object of their hasty passion; and not only was he seized, beat, and bruised, but almost strangled with his own turban fastened about his neck.

Yet when the harvest of their excesses had been consumed, and they again required to be led to new spoil, they submitted. From his alliance with Juswunt Row, whose connexion with the musnud secured him an influence, and from his supposed ascendancy over his own Patan hordes and warlike adventurers, his aid was often implored, and his interference frequently became most arbitrary and decisive; while he many times sowed the disunion and distraction, from which afterward he reaped the pillage and plunder—the resources for subsistence to his mutinous followers. In a few years his

presence, and the excesses of his troops, brought Joudpoor to the lowest state of poverty and political weakness. The minister of the principality, and the spiritual guide of the hereditary prince, determined to clear the country of its destroyers. Ameer Khan was desired to depart; he promised that his compliance should be delayed only to the previous settlement of his pecuniary claims. His demands were met according to the exigencies of the state, and a promising prospect appeared of a favourable arrangement. The Patan chieftain had left the town; a few only of his troops remained, under pretext of enforcing payments still due. These had incarcerated Induraj, the minister, and brought on a warlike affray, in which the priest, attendant upon the prince, and the minister were slain; and though Ameer Khan protested his innocence, there was deemed sufficient reason to conclude that it was perpetrated with his knowledge, and perhaps by his directions. The prince, Maun Singh, seemed so confounded and alarmed at this proceeding, especially the murder of his gooroo, that he instantly affected the habit of a religious recluse, whose mind was abstracted from all worldly concerns. He spoke to no person, allowed his beard to grow, and soon had the appearance of one who, though he continued to exist, was dead to all the cares, and incapable of excitement by the interests of life. After he had sustained for some time this character, his son undertook the duties of government, and swayed its power till his own death,

when the father, recovering from his devotional and hypocritical insanity, reascended the throne, secure in the alliance of the British government. Ameer Khan is now in the receipt of a yearly revenue of 150,000*l.*, is recognised as the princely head of a consolidated government; and having sheathed his sword, he sways the sceptre as an ally of the British power, the present reward of successful, but hazardous adventure and political profligacy.

The climate of the country, the debased standard of morals, the corruptions of the human heart, and the violations of decency of which Hindoos are daily witnesses, even in their religious ceremonies, have conspired to render them impure to the grossest degree. Domestic affection can scarcely be said to exist among them. They are severe and tyrannical to their women; and instead of gentleness and modesty in the females, fidelity to their husbands, attachment to their children, and care of their education, with love of family, comfort, and peace, I find them ill-tempered, quarrelsome, regardless of their reputation, displaying extreme carelessness about the moral improvement of their offspring, ever living amongst domestic quarrels and broils, and jealous of their husbands, though devoid of affection for them. Men of any caste may assume the air of a devotee, as well as perform the functions of priest, or gooroo, when they have established their celebrity among the people. But the most grievous delusions are practised to impose upon the ignorant, and obtain a religious ascen-

dency. This success is sought both among males and females, and obtained only in too many cases. Although they profess to follow a life of celibacy, and pretend to strict fidelity to their vows, they are licentious, and give a free indulgence to inordinate passions. Tulsah Bhye was the daughter of a gooroo, whose vow of celibacy threw a mystery over her parentage; she was introduced as his niece. Adjeebah was a priest of one of the modern sects which sprung up in Southern India; he had obtained such credit and local influence in one of the towns in Central India, that the favourites of princes and their dependants became his proselytes and disciples, and elected him as their holy father. A professed mendicant, he became rich by the favour of his disciple, Hureka; and while advancing the boldest pretensions to sanctity, he was the slave of worldly ambition; he resided at Mhysir, and was allowed a palanquin, horses, and numerous attendants. His daughter, Tulsah, was introduced as a member of his family, and the wife of one of his followers. Her beauty was admired by the suite of the devout princess; their praises excited the curiosity of the reigning prince, and she soon found herself the most beloved and powerful concubine of his harem, and saw her husband, first the inhabitant of a prison, then the mercenary abject, who, being released from his bondage, and sent to his home, accepted liberty, a horse, a dress, and a paltry sum of money, at the intercession, and in lieu of his wife. Henceforth she maintained a sove-

reignty over the prince's affections, and her **authority** in his household was so **completely** established, that she **acquired** **supreme** influence and direction in all public affairs, and secured to herself the seat of regent, when a diseased mind had rendered him unfit for the government. Her connexion with the priest had, besides abetting her relative influence, given her qualifications which Hindoo **women** rarely possess ; she had acquired the **ability** to read and write. Such have been the vicissitudes of the children of the **East**, that she who, from a descent **so** dishonourable, the child of a mean and low impostor, had become the concubine of a successful plunderer, (for such was Juswunt Row,) was raised to sit in the Durbar ; and, holding her daily court, swayed the sceptre of a numerous people, and ruled the almost lawless leaders of military hordes. Seated behind the curtain, she communicated with **her** ministers and officers by means of her confidante Menah Bhye, another more aged disciple of the devotee Adjeebah.

The eventful and varied fortune of this female would serve as the basis of a voluminous tragedy ; her story would seem more the dream of fiction than the narrative of a personal adventure ; and could we follow its labyrinths and developments, we should see what is woman, even at her best estate, in India. She had her moments of terror, under which a mind of ordinary calibre might have sunk, but fear only quickened her ingenuity, and gave activity to the efforts of her friends. Once

she was conducted by some, who could ill brook her ascendancy, to the centre of a densely-wooded forest; the design required little penetration to discover it. But, as in the days of knight-errantry, or of the achievements of the knights of the Tower and Sword, her rescue was boldly planned and effected. A Mahratta, chief of the household troops, advanced almost single-handed to the lurking-place of the daring conspirators, and held the party in indecision, till he was joined by a force sufficient to liberate the captive; and now the work of retaliation was prompt, and the energy of revenge awfully precipitate. The imprisoned leaders of the conspiracy were brought to the tent of Tulsah, and by her sole directions, were thence conveyed in a *garry*, or cart, to the place of execution. Her enemies succeeded in setting her again in perilous circumstances; her residence was a citadel, which they surrounded by hostile bands; but the adventurous bravery of a Mahratta soldier postponed her doom. Jotteebah Naick, commander of the household guards, was a favourite of Tulsah Bhye, and his fidelity was accompanied by a critical display of his gallantry. The instant he learned the peril of his mistress, he hastened from the camp to the town with two hundred men, scaled the wall, and reached without opposition the outer gates of the citadel; a company of the mutineers guarded this entrance; his movement took them by surprise, and he attacked them with such fury, that they were all either killed or wounded. How slender is the thread by

which the fatal sword may be suspended, and how apparently fortuitous are the events which avert destruction ! When Jotteebah entered, Tulsah was sitting with a dagger, ready to plunge it into the heart of the child, Mulhar Row, the precarious tenure by which she possessed her authority. The clouds of adversity began to gather and lower over her wayward path, and soon she experienced that the sun of her prosperity had gone down. A few faint gleams indeed burst forth, ere total darkness and gloom overwhelmed her, but they were lurid and portentous. Her power and her money flew from her, nor could they delay an hour of ignominious wretchedness ; she had so alienated all at last, that not a voice was raised, and not a foot stirred, to save a woman who had never shown mercy to others. She was taken from her palanquin, on the Sepra banks, where her head was severed from her body, and the latter thrown into the river, being denied even the common rites of a Hindoo funeral. It has rarely happened to woman, since the primeval curse, that she has enjoyed the advantage of a proper estimate of her character. Placed generally in a condition of great, of almost abject inferiority, her rights trodden upon, and her influence not duly appreciated, she, who was made to be a help meet for man, has been driven as his slave, or fondled as the weak object of sentimental passion. And only seldom has she occupied the dignity of a rational intelligence, breathed the freedom of an equal relationship, or engaged in the pursuits of

intellectual society. The mythology of India binds with fetters of iron-slavery the doom of womanhood to degradation and misery. The orgies of its temples, and prerogatives of its priesthood require, that she should minister to lust, drag out a life of debasement and crime, and perish in the midst of cruel burnings and suicidal guilt. Under the benign influence of Christianity alone, and more especially in the community where its holy principles have become most paramount, has woman moved in her own element, and proved an honour and a blessing to her kindred and her race.

END OF VOL. I.





# **CONTINENTAL INDIA.**

**VOL. II.**

**LONDON :**  
**RICHARD CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD-STREET-HILL.**

# CONTINENTAL INDIA.

TRAVELLING SKETCHES AND HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS,  
ILLUSTRATING THE ANTIQUITY, RELIGION, AND MANNERS OF THE HINDOOS,  
THE EXTENT OF BRITISH CONQUESTS,  
AND THE PROGRESS OF MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

BY

J. W. MASSIE, M R.I.A.



HINDOO FOUNTAIN FOR THE REFRESHMENT OF TRAVELLERS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON :  
THOMAS WARD & CO. PATERNOSTER ROW.  
1840.



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\*.\* *The MAP of CONTINENTAL INDIA, prefixed to this work, is the most complete and comprehensive which I have seen of its dimensions, and will be found generally correct. I have been indebted to Messrs. A. and C. Black, of Edinburgh, Booksellers to Her Majesty, for permission to copy it from their British Atlas.*

TO  
THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

I GRATEFULLY acknowledge the frank and gracious condescension, which has permitted me to dedicate the following sketches descriptive of "Continental India" to your Majesty's acceptance and patronage.

These volumes are designed to develop the condition and character of many millions of Asiatic lineage, subject to the sceptre which a benevolent Providence has placed in your Majesty's hand; and to unfold the treasures and resources of your wide Oriental dominions: the largest over which any European monarch has ever been called to preside. They trace, and, under the influence of Christian principle, attempt to survey, the heroic deeds by which the conquest

of these many lands was achieved, and their possession made an appendage to the British Crown. They also mark the steady progress of a conquest, still more glorious and beneficent, in which already your Majesty has discovered a generous sympathy; and to complete which, the battle of the warrior, with confused noise and garments rolled in blood, will not be required.

It will not displease you, Madam, if I anticipate that the triumphs in which the Christian delights, will add to your royal pleasure, as they will contribute to the glory of your Majesty's reign, when the hearts of myriads shall "be made willing in the day of *His* power," by whom "kings reign and princes decree justice." If the people of India shall, by the influence of instruction and the persuasion of wisdom, throw off the thralldom of spiritual slavery and the chains of idolatrous superstition; and, having bowed to Messiah's sceptre, stand up as citizens of Zion, whom the truth has

made free,—your Majesty will rejoice in their devout allegiance, and your Government will enjoy peace in their obedience.

In the SACRED VOLUME, which your Majesty has manifested a desire to see circulated among all your subjects, this promise is made, concerning the Divine Government, by Him who is the Redeemer of mankind: “Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, the possession of continued salvation. The fear of Jehovah, this shall be thy treasure.” If temporal princes follow the model of this heavenly King, then will *wisdom and knowledge be the stability* of their times. As one of your Majesty’s loyal subjects, I therefore hail with gratitude the determination of your Majesty to promote the means of an enlightened and liberal education among the poor of the land, without distinction of creed or party. “*For lack of knowledge the people are destroyed;*” and, while religion without knowledge is a bald superstition,

religious truth teaches its votaries to “fear God and honour the King.” Your Majesty’s desire to extend the advantages of education among all your people, and to remove every obstruction which would prevent its universality, is the dictate of a wise benevolence, and accords with the judgment of enlightened piety.

I would thankfully ascribe the same benevolent wisdom to the policy zealously pursued by your Majesty’s Servants, entrusted with the administration of Government, in British India. They have judiciously given the impulse to the native mind, both to desire and to promote education; they have opened channels and afforded abundant facilities for diffusing knowledge: whereby European literature and Christian truth may become the possession alike of the Hindoo and Mussulman, without distinction of rank, of caste, or of wealth. They have adopted a means, of a character analogous to the rapidity and pervading progress of rail-

road intercourse, by which English literature and science may be acquired by the peasant at the base of the Himalayas, the sikh among the many waters of the Punjab, the brahmin on the banks of the Ganges, and the sepoy who has been trained to arms in the camp. Thus your Majesty's honoured Servants may become the harbingers of the brightest and holiest times, and follow his example, who, as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," prepared the way of the Lord, and made his paths straight.

The prospect which thus opens to the vision of generous philanthropy, presents, under your Majesty's auspices, the people of India combined in sympathy and benevolence, in principle and hopes, with the inhabitants of the British isles. They shall then constitute a united people, enjoying a common literature and the same language as a source of instruction; and, as the citizens of one empire, in the bonds of affectionate allegiance and obedience to the laws and administra-

tion, under the same earthly Sovereign, they shall inherit the same immortality, as heirs together of one faith and in communion through the same blessed Mediator.

I have thus freely, and under the strongest emotions of respect and loyalty, by your Majesty's most gracious permission, expressed my aspirations and the feelings of my own mind; and have the distinguished honour and sincere gratification,

MADAM,

To subscribe myself,

Your Majesty's dutiful Subject,

JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE.

LONDON,

11th *November*, 1839.

## P R E F A C E.

MY Publisher now calls on me for a Prefatory Introduction; and it is an injunction of the Persian poet, which Eastern courtesy enforces—"Tinge the sacred carpet with wine, if the master of the feast orders thee; for he that travels is not ignorant of the ways and manners of banqueting-houses." But what style shall I adopt for a preface? It is a maxim, almost two thousand years old, that "every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and after men have well drunk, then that which is worse." But is it not notorious, that prefaces are not only the last part which is written, but also the last which is read? I fear, therefore, I may do more than *tinge*; I may stain the carpet: and what shall mine host then say?

I have no great marvels to declare. I have not brought home the magic rods of Jannes and



Jambres, possessed myself of the charm of Midas's touch, or discovered the philosopher's stone. I can boast of no wonderful invention. I have not unveiled any long desired mystery of nature, by profound research or shrewd sagacity; or fathomed any depth of science hitherto unexplored. I did not catch the first trace of my treasure at Pompeii, or take possession of it at Herculaneum. Neither Moulavee or Pundit, neither Arabic or Sanscrit scholar, I have no pretext for self-gratification; and why should I come before my readers, exclaiming, "I have found, I have found it?" Mine is no sibylline book, no translation of a far-famed master, from Sanscrit, or revelation of some untold vision from Mohammed's dreams. I bribed no Brahmin to purloin it from a Benares College, or smuggle it from beneath the serpent-coiled pillow of Vishnu. Were Menu the judge, and Mahadeva the assessor, and all the penalties of Brahminical law my portion, I am unconscious of any intrusion upon their mysteries. I pretend not to have deciphered the *Zendavesta* of Zoroaster; to give a new version of the sacred *Vedas*, or a parallel exposition of the Greek and Hindoo Mythos. *There was no duplicate of the work which I now beg to present to my readers in the Alexandrian*

Library ; Solomon never saw such a book ; nor will a copy of it be found in the Vatican. I do not undertake to relate any thing which others could not as well narrate, or to impart any interest to my page which others cannot give. I am literally, and only, a truth-telling author ; and, travelling at an immeasurable distance from Charadin or Heber, from Buchanan or Burnes, I can brag of nothing except my good intentions.

I think India is an extensive, rich, and productive country, and that the people of England do not know so much of the country, of the people, or the resources of Hindostan, as is desirable for their mutual interest, and for the credit of Britons. Different writers have their divers modes of discussion, their various and peculiar styles, and their distinct class of readers, the congenial circles in which each may move. I imagine there is a sphere in which a book, composed in the strain, on the principles, and with the object of *CONTINENTAL INDIA*, may be accepted, and become profitable. Time will tell whether my anticipations be well founded. I may have failed to provide the kind of work I should recommend, but I have no doubt there is an opening in the reading circles for such a production.

The principal parts of these volumes are the gleanings of personal travel, and the results of local observation. Where historical recollections, allusions, or narrations have been introduced, I have invariably consulted the most original and best authenticated records. The archives of the Asiatic Society; the works of Orme, Wilks, Mill, and Martin; of Jones, Colebrooke, Buchanan, and Ward; of Malcolm, Heber, and Burnes; of Sherar and Caunter; the Ayeen Akbery and Seer Muttuckhareen; Heeren and Raynal, Stevenson and Buckingham, have furnished facts and suggested reflections which I would gratefully acknowledge. By their direction, I have, now and then, led my readers aside to scenes and transactions which I neither explored personally, or witnessed: but my local experience and observation in other and similar proceedings enabled me to judge of their propriety in description, and the justice of their animadversions. Where my observations did not correspond with theirs, I have either marked the discrepancy, or omitted their statements.

My object has been to blend instruction and entertainment; to mingle light reading and practical information; to combine religious principle and historical truth; to season the narrative of

bold and warrior adventures with the discriminating, sober, and faithful strictures of reason and justice. I am not conscious of undue severity; perhaps, I have too often eulogized or spoken in holiday phrase of men, or actions, whose condemnation should have been more marked. Yet I would rather be thus blamed, than deemed censorious and uncharitable. None of the readers for whom I write will condemn me for the extent of the information, or the variety of incident which I have introduced. My personal adventure might have borne a more conspicuous part, had autobiography been intended. But I had another, and, I hope, a more dignified end in view. Still in all that I have written, except the "adventures and conquests," I have been personally interested, in a greater or less degree, even where I have not seemed to introduce myself.

There are many faults, I am conscious, in style, and blemishes in the manner in which I have fulfilled my task: and yet I can only expect my guerdon as it seems deserved, of my critics and judges. I have no right of exemption, and can plead no excuse for a mitigation of their sentence. I have sometimes been employed to criticize others, and always sought to do them justice. If

my censors shall applaud, because they may deem my service merits their approbation, I shall indulge the hope that I have not laboured in vain. If they condemn for faults which they may detect and expose, I shall only have this consolation, that I meant well, and aimed after success; which even the wisest among men cannot command. The Sultaun Togrul Ben Erslan, the last of the Seljukian race, in the conflict in which he lost his life, was heard reciting a passage from Ferdousi's *Shah-Nameh*. "When the dust arose from the approaching army, the cheeks of our heroes turned pale; but I raised my battle-axe, and with a single stroke opened a passage for my troops: my steed raged like a furious elephant, and the plain was agitated like the waves of the Nile."—I quote the words only to assure my readers that I am conscious the loudest vauntings might be the prelude to the darkest misfortunes. I make no implied boast; but await my destiny with unaffected composure.

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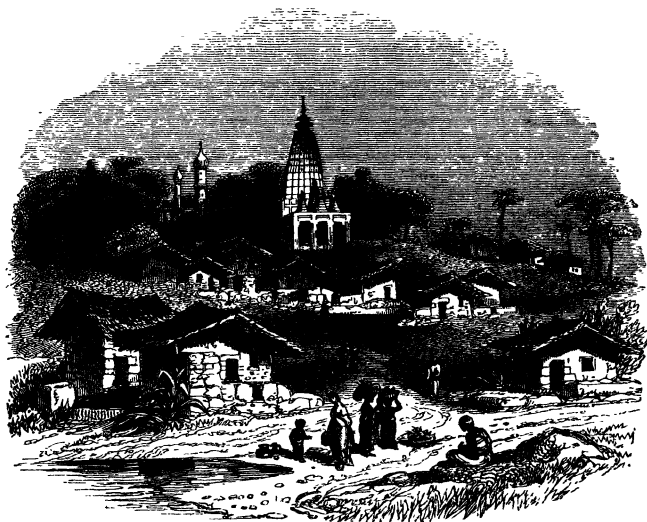
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# CONTINENTAL INDIA.

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## NOTES OF A MISSION.

BEFORE three months, my residence in India had produced changes in my plans and relations which totally revolutionized all anterior arrangements. The sure and fatal arrow had smitten one of fairest mould and warmest heart, in whose life



and happiness I had hoped for much of enjoyment and all needful cooperation. The event was unlooked for, and came with a crash upon the energies and resources of my constitution, to sustain which, in a strange land and among foreigners or strangers, more of philosophy or resignation than I possessed, was required. Painful, and perhaps unwise brooding upon the dark and mysterious separation, had ultimately, such influence upon the mental frame, and the capabilities of my body, that changing scenes and various occupations were deemed expedient. A lovely, a fragile, and delicate flower remained—it had been the sweetest rose-bud from a parent stem prematurely cut down. To nurture and water it, and, if possible, rear it, as a tender and fragrant plant, continued for a year of months the object of parental and widowed solicitude. It may be a weakness in a father to confess how the heart clung to this dear child, and allusions to it here may seem misplaced: it may appear as if the oak depended on, rather than supported, the parasitical tendril. But he was the image and only living memorial, of one whose sympathies, affections, and associations had been dear as life itself. He had been left, five hours old, to my only care, by “my late espoused saint;” by her who, I believed, was now “vested all in white, pure as her mind.” My earliest dreams, my midnight watchings, and often sleepless nights, had been consecrated as vigils beside his pillow. Many fond hours were devoted to minister to,

almost to adore, this fair and truly beauteous child; while his cherubic infancy inspired the delusive hopes that my son would become a substitute for his mother, so far at least as a companion, to occupy the affections, and preserve them from the entire void, which bereavement had produced. A few more weeks, however, and the flower was cut down and withered. Ere the fragrance of the sweet plant had passed away, his remains were deposited beside the beloved and now mouldering mother. They are my richest inheritance in the dust of India; and, were my years multiplied a hundred fold, the spot where they rest would continue sacred; nor do I fear but all that was mortal of them shall become immortal, and their corruption shall become incorruptible and glorious—the grave is only a temporary veil to the love, sweetness, goodness which shone in their person!

These two bereavements had more than a casual influence on my future course. I lingered round the scene, rather than wrought in it, as I had hoped to do: the place was endeared as a mausoleum; and often the desolate and heart-stricken went “to the grave to weep there.” Familiarized with the person of death, rather than only a sojourner in the valley of his shadow, I was not reluctant to take my place in his bed, beneath the clods of the valley; and yet this was not right: there are “twelve hours in the day,” and it is then that men ought to work. It was my duty to think more of the dying than of the dead; and, to rouse

myself from this stupor, plans of activity in the region round about were devised and adopted. The claims of my countrymen in neighbouring stations, as well as of such Hindoos as I could hold intercourse with, were considered; and itinerancies to contiguous and more remote villages and cantonments were undertaken. Circumstances led me to cherish a desire to do good among the military ranks, and to seek their religious improvement. Opportunities most favourable to the indulgence of this disposition occurred, and I embraced them. In this path of duty, which became also a path of pleasure, the highest of all rewards was enjoyed in the attached gratitude of those who shared my affection, and in the instances of success which attended renewed efforts. Besides the barracks in Fort St. George, military and invalid stations were situated contiguous to the Presidency. The Mount, Poonamallee, Tripassore, Wallajahbad, and Arcot, were occupied by British troops or invalids; while detachments of native troops, officered by Englishmen, garrisoned the same places, or other contiguous stations, as Palaveram, Vellore, Arnee, and Cuddalore. To such places I made repeated visits, and either in them, or neighbouring stations, as Conjeveram, Chingleput, or Chittore, remained sometimes for a week or weeks, as the sphere of duty appeared to require. Some of these excursions I shall by and bye describe.

The modes of travelling were various, according to the time I intended to remain. My journeyings

in this land were never merely to visit or see the antique ruins, the picturesque grandeur, or the strongholds, which might attract the antiquarian, the man of refined taste, or the soldier. There were no stage-coaches; many of the roads were unsuited to wheeled carriages; and I never travelled in such oriental state as to sit upon an elephant, or have my luggage carried by camels. Occasionally have I met these useful and sagacious animals with their loads, and admired their docility and submission. My shorter journeys were performed in a bandy, or *covered gig*, drawn by a single horse: if I went to a greater distance, and expected to return in a few days, my horse and his keeper sufficed for the way; but if I designed to spend some weeks on the tour, then the palanquin and native booties, or *bearers*, were required. This equipage has been already described, and is so familiarized to the English reader, that more than a few words is unnecessary to convey an idea of a travelling palanquin and its furnishing. Behind the cushion, against which the shoulders recline, there is a space which may be occupied with a few changes of linen, or rather *cotton*, and almost all a man's travelling apparel may be thus designated. There is room enough along the sides to stow away a few volumes of such literature as is most valued. At the foot is placed a shelf deep enough to receive a writing desk, a dressing case, two or three minor matters, a knife and fork, and one or two other conveniences or indispensables for the

traveller. Lashed to the pole outside is a basket frame, containing a goglet or *earthen* jar of water, a tumbler, and a bottle of brandy, generally esteemed a necessary appendage for the European traveller in this sultry region. The complement of bearers is twelve, and a massalchee or *torch-bearer*; with one or more cavery coolies, who are employed to carry, suspended from a split bamboo over their shoulders, two baskets containing culinary vessels for the traveller and his bearers, his tea and sugar, and other supplies, which bazaars by the way do not furnish. The bearers may be obtained of contractors, who are certified and registered at the police cutcherry, or *office*, which is an assurance against loss or disobedience; they may be hired by the mile, and to go a certain distance, or for the journey by the day, each man receiving three fanams, or *sixpence* for every ten miles; or if the traveller means to go *dawk*, or *with speed*, he can have relays of bearers posted at stages of ten or twenty miles; but one set of bearers will run forty miles for two or three successive nights, from sunset to sun-rise, if well used. They are, however, prodigal of their time, and if left to themselves will bring the traveller into disappointment and difficulties by their delays. I have awoke in the middle of the night, after a most *laborious* struggle with that fearful incubus the night-mare, apprehending that a powerful *copra-de-capello* had wormed his way through the bottom of my palanquin, and was about to pierce me, by the poisonous fang,

which protruded from his hooded and circular form; and when I had recovered self-possession, found my palanquin set down in the middle of the highway, and every bearer sound asleep, lying on the open and unsheltered road.

In some of my journeys, I came into the vicinity of other travellers—men of influence and station; envoys, residents, and governors, in progress towards their appointments, on parties of pleasure, jungle-hunting, or other sport; or in tours of observation, or diplomacy. It is only then that the state and display, the pomp and circumstance of eastern magnificence are seen in South-Western India. For detachments of troops, bullocks, and sometimes camels, are the carriage cattle: elephants are above the mark of captains or subaltern officers for conveying tent furniture and commissariat stores. For field service, brigades under field officers, and European regiments, a few carriage elephants are supplied. It was an imposing spectacle truly, and, I suppose, was employed for that intent, to witness a governor's escort, his body guard, fifty or sixty camels, and six or eight elephants, traversing the country by slow and deliberate stages, and encamping in a tope of palm-trees, or under the shade of the banian. It requires some previous training before the horses will associate with confidence among the larger quadrupeds. I have seen my own horse draw back on the road side, and, with the hair of his body standing on end, shake and tremble like an aspen leaf, at the approach of the



elephant; nor would he stand to face the moving mountain: and yet no creature can be more perfectly tamed and made obedient to the will of man than this colossal animal, whose dimensions are only rightly appreciated when you look at the mahout or *attendant* sitting astride upon his neck, and ten or twelve travellers placed in the howdah, or *seat* upon his back, all which seem not to occasion to him any incumbrance. The intelligent and almost rational obedience of this huge and mammoth-like domestic is proverbial: but when you look at the powerful and ungainly creature, kneeling down at the bidding of the human voice, the movement of the hand, or the glance of the eye, and behold him rise again, stretch out his proboscis as a stirrup for his mahout, and help him into his seat; when you stand by and witness his docility and submission, bending his hind leg, so that those who are to travel on his back, may make a step of his joint, and climb up behind; and then, when all seem ready for starting, if any loose cloths or cords have fallen off, with a sagacity and minute sense of touch, which can pick up a needle, gathering them together with his trunk, and conveying them to his mounted driver, you are willing almost to confess that the instinct of the elephant surpasses, in too many instances, the reason of the men who employ the creature's power capriciously, or only for the purposes of destruction. I have seen the elephant moving onward, swinging to the right

and left a broad waving branch of a tree, larger than a man could carry, and which he had broken off from some lofty stem, that he might fan himself in the heat, or flap off the flies which might gather round his head. It seemed to him an amusement, and required from him no greater effort than was suited to the most indulgent pleasure. The pace at which an elephant walks, from its seeming slowness, but positive speed, takes the beholder by surprise; the breadth of his foot, the size of his limbs, and the constancy of his movement, render his progress quick, though imperceptible. I have seen them crossing the river not only where it could be forded, but where a deep and precipitous stream rolled with a torrent's power, and made it hazardous for boats to cross: but the elephants stemmed the torrent with ease, and passed over in a straight direction, without a curve in their course. The utility and fitness of the elephant for this country and climate, form one of the wisest and most beneficent provisions in nature for the service of man.

St. Thomas's Mount is the nearest station beyond Madras for military—a little more than nine miles brings you to the place; but the cantonment and contiguous bungalows stretch far off from the mount, and by a circuitous sweep, the visitor might reach, at a few miles further, Palaveram. The latter was a station for native infantry, and contiguous to it were the governor's gardens, a kind of suburban retreat, to which Sir

Thomas Munro frequently retired. Connected with the station, as was customary for all cantonments, was a bazaar, but no town lay nearer than Covelong. This place was the principal factory of the Ostend Company, and having built a fort, they retained possession of it till their charter was suspended, in 1727; it is now subject to Madras. The Mount was the point to which Hyder Ali dashed forward when he dictated terms to the Madras government, and held out no other prospect to the alarmed civilians than a journey to Seringapatam, should their lives be spared. This circumstance, perhaps, induced the authorities to fix upon the mount as a chief station for their artillery. Towards the barracks, a sloping ascent brings you to the foot of the Mount—it is but a mount, not even a hill, but planted with pieces of ordnance, and furnished with military stores and weapons of war. Many neat garden bungalows have been built and occupied round the base of the Mount; a church has been erected, and is occupied by a Company's chaplain. Although the place seems intended principally for an artillery garrison, yet I have frequently found king's infantry and persons residing; connected with other branches of the Company's service: some warrant, or non-commissioned officers, conductors of ordnance stores, &c., and their families, have houses here. Among the latter class, and their country-born connexions, as also among the European soldiery, there were frequent opportunities for usefulness; prayer

meetings and domiciliary visits, and occasional services, afforded the privilege of speaking to the consciences of some, and appealing to the judgment and hearts of others. I have known four chaplains of various talent and principles successively employed at this station; yet I have never seen it when the temporary or more protracted labours of a visitor were unseasonable or intrusive. A constant and resident teacher, wholly devoted to the good of the people, would be an arrangement advantageous to the cause of religion, and acceptable to many.

The road leading between the Mount and Fort St. George is equal to any drive of the same distance I have ever seen in Asia or in Europe. An avenue of the finest, most verdant, and umbrageous trees, extends for about six miles from Madras. The cenotaph, to the memory of the Marquis Cornwallis, is the general rendezvous for the Madras loungers, who come out for an evening drive. Marmalong bridge terminates the more shady portion of the road, and opens upon a nullah, or brook, which, in the warm season, is almost dry, and in the wet, or monsoon season, flows as a rapid torrent. Here many of the washermen of the neighbourhood may be seen following their cleansing occupation, dashing the clothes against a stone in the bed of the stream, and then spreading them on the pebbly banks, where not a spot of verdure is visible, under the vertical and scorching rays of the sun. This process, repeated, without the aid of soap or the friction of the hands,

for a few times, produces a snowy whiteness, unmatched by the labours of the English laundress. Within two miles of the fort, St. George's church stands, on the Mount road, an airy, commodious structure, occupied generally by the senior chaplain at the presidency, and well attended by the civilians and merchants of Madras.

Poonamallee lies at a greater distance than the Mount from Madras, and beyond it, about twelve or fourteen miles, is placed the invalid station of Tripassore: a visit to these places was more necessary than to the more contiguous station. The people were of a humbler and more neglected class, and the local advantages were fewer, though more required. The road to Poonamallee has been described by an English officer in graphic terms, but with great justice. Its beauty and richness are perfectly oriental. Starting from the Hospital gate of Black Town, you pass the Ophthalmic (a government) Institution on the right, and St. Andrew's, or the Scotch Church, on the other side. The style of architecture in the latter building is mixed and splendid—more as a monument of Scottish ambition, than as a becoming fane for sacred worship. To look at it outwardly you would conclude it fit to contain some fifteen hundred or two thousand; but I have repeatedly attended when the congregation might be fifty people. The building was not erected, nor are the two chaplains paid, by the liberality of the people. The road continues onward till we reach the Spur Tank and the garden-

houses of Kilpauk. The Female Asylum is one of the last buildings till the traveller has fairly entered the country. This institution deserves a passing notice ; is supported by government liberality. The matron was an elderly lady, the widow of a German missionary ; the chaplain was also a missionary of the same nation ; but there were assistant teachers, and the institution was visited by a board of ladies, the wives of the higher functionaries at Madras. The scholars were generally children of a parentage which would be thought discreditable in well-ordered society, though the poor offspring could be chargeable with none of the guilt of their fathers, or the ignominy of their mothers. It might be considered a refuge of mercy, and rendered a nursery for virtuous and enlightened sentiment. According to the training here, would be the character of future wives and mothers among the British soldiery and country-born community.

“ I shall never forget the sweet and strange sensations, which, as I went peacefully forward, the new objects in nature excited in my bosom. The rich broad-leaved plantain ; the gracefully drooping bamboo ; the cocoa-nut, with that mat-like looking binding for every branch ; the branches themselves waving with a feathery motion in the wind ; the bare lofty trunk and fan-leaf of the tall palm ; the slender and elegant stem of the areca ; the large aloes ; the prickly pear ; the stately banian, with its earth-seeking, and reproductive, and dropping branches ; and among birds, all strange in plumage, and in note,

save the parroquet, here spreading his bright green wings in happy, fearless flight, and giving his natural and untaught scream;—these, and more than I can name, were the novelties we looked upon. My dream of anticipation, more than realised, gave me a delight which found no expression in words. I felt grateful that I had been led and permitted to see India; I wondered at my own ignorance, and at the poverty of my imagination, when I reflected how much the realities around me differed from what my fancy had painted them. How some things surpassed, and others fell short, of my foolish expectations; and yet how natural, how easy all appeared!” One of my visits to this depôt was rendered in compliance with the earnest request of a poor soldier, whose brief history may interest some of my readers.

Many considerations give British inhabitants of India a claim upon the zealous labours of ministers of the gospel, though their ostensible designation primarily respect the natives of that land. Apostolic practice affords a clear precedent for such proceedings; the fact that they are often overlooked by their nominal chaplains strengthens their claim; the sad effects of their dissipated and immoral lives among the Hindoos cannot be calculated; while the obstacles which such conduct raises against missionary labours are most disheartening and deplorable. It is not less true that genuine Christianity, in the lives of its professors, commends the truth to the consciences of the surrounding idola-

tors; and the cooperation of such fellow-christians is of the highest value in the field of missions. With such views, I did not hesitate often to visit the garrison, the fort, and the cantonment, where I enjoyed numerous facilities, through the friendly countenance of superior and subaltern officers. Regular ministrations of the gospel were maintained weekly in the barrack school-room of Fort St. George. At the close of one service, when the words addressed to the doting rich man, "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee," had been the subject of consideration, as I was retiring, one of the soldiers, in a state of poignant distress, met me. I turned aside to ascertain his motive for waiting on me. His words were—"Did J. C. (a fellow-soldier) speak to you about me?" My reply was, "No." "Then did my wife tell you any thing about me?" "No," I said; "I do not know who you are, and know nothing about your wife—what is it you want?" "Because, Sir," said he, "you have been preaching about me all this night." This led to inquiry and intercourse. The poor man was a nominal Roman Catholic; had been very profligate, and even *awfully* wicked, while in the field, as his commanding officer assured me. After passing through a process of severe mental anguish, and encountering much ridicule and opposition from the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, who belonged to the Romish community, he renounced that church, and made a profession of his attachment to Christ, by being baptized as a Protestant.



Shortly afterward his regiment was ordered home; and as he had married a woman of the country, he volunteered into another corps. He was now at the depôt, waiting orders to march to join his new regiment. It is to Poonamallee that all draughts of fresh British troops are marched when they disembark at Madras. Here also they wait till detachments are ordered to proceed to their several stations in the peninsula. Many wives, widows, and children, of European soldiers, are located here. The population, who required instruction in the English language, were therefore numerous; but the poor man who sustained the office of chaplain was incapacitated for such work as they needed. The soldier came to me on this account, having walked the distance, thirteen miles, to solicit a visit, and one or more sermons. I started that evening, and found him returned to the station and busy making arrangements, having obtained a barrack-room, fitted it up, and warned the people. My congregation was large and attentive. Once and again did I meet with them, and found many of them in a state of sad and ruinous ignorance. None of the officers attached to the depôt took a personal interest in the spiritual concerns of the people; but, though Gallio-like, they did not object or throw impediments in my way, rather, with courteousness, did they exercise toward me true Indian hospitality—spreading for me a bed and their board. The fort-adjutant, who had great influence, here and at

Tripassore, gave me all his aid to secure my personal comfort and acceptance with the poor people at both stations. Vegetation is peculiarly luxuriant around this station, and the soil is extensively brought under cultivation for native agriculture; the paddy, or *rice* fields bear an abundant crop, and the husbandmen have full protection and a ready market. Five or six permanent staff appointments only are held by European officers: the society is therefore small, but the distance from contiguous stations, and the fresh arrivals from Europe, afford variety and recreation. Poona-mallee is more oppressively hot than Madras, being so much farther removed from the benefit of the sea breezes.

Tripassore has been the scene of sanguinary strife in the early period of British conquest in India. In 1781 it was occupied by the troops of Hyder Ali, and reduced by an English force. Scarcely had they taken possession of the fort when Hyder appeared before it and gave battle on the neighbouring plain to his English adversaries. Six hundred men of the Company's troops, and many officers of distinction, were slain on the field, and the fortress of Tripassore was a shelter for the residue of their army, till Hyder retired to the Mysore territory. Thirty years afterwards it was occupied as the cadets' quarters, where they were initiated into the art and discipline of war. The fort is now dismantled, the walls and fosse are no longer means of defence, and the collector of

Arcot, who sometimes comes into the district, has a circular bungalow erected on the last remnant of the fort walls. About one hundred and thirty invalided soldiers from British regiments reside within the bounds of the fort; most, if not all, married to native or country-born women. No functionary higher than a non-commissioned officer resides among them, and they are visited monthly by the district paymaster, from whom their pension or allowances are regularly received. There is no municipal, and hardly any military authority, or restraint; and, while every man may do what is pleasing in his own eyes, certain mercenary adventurers have frequently introduced to the pensioners a supply of adulterated spirits, the profuse drinking of which has been marked by cases of frantic and fatal madness. For two or three nights, at this time, the dissipation and violence of the hardened drunkard are unbridled and fearful. It would appear as if their former employers, on whose pensioned bounty they now live, desired their death rather than a comfortable old age. On one of my visits to Tripassore an old Irish trooper spoke some plain but forcible truth to me: "I have sarved my king and the Honourable (Company) as a dragoon for twenty-seven years, and now I am cast off just as if I were an ould troop-horse—the Company cares nothing for my sowl." A more general and equally unpromising description of the state of the people was sent to me by a pensioned serjeant of her Majesty's 34th regiment: "The Lord has

manifested," he says, "his just displeasure of our abominations. Three men have died in nine days. The first had been drinking nearly three months, and died suddenly on the first instant; another died almost as suddenly on the fifth; and there were scarcely sober men (enough) to carry either of them to the grave: the third died on the ninth. The first I understand did not believe the immortality of the soul. May this awaken your pity and zeal to relieve us: don't be discouraged. I trust the Lord has still some souls in Tripassore." Where the poor outcasts had not sunk into the debasing practices of inebriation, the sordid vice of covetousness evinced its presence and power by the most usurious and extortionate proceedings. They had no chaplain, no missionary, no teacher. I was, I believe, the first person who had brought to bear on their condition any systematic or combined efforts for their improvement. The serjeant, to whom I have referred, speaks of himself in another letter: "To my shame, I must acknowledge, that my backslidings have been many and grievous. I had altogether given myself up for lost. I was afraid to pray. I considered it only presumption. For a considerable time my outward walk appeared as consistent as usual: mark the hypocrisy of my wretched heart! At length the lust that was rankling within burst out like a flame of fire; and, for about thirteen months, I was the slave of every filthy appetite and brutish lust. But still I had no rest. O what ways and methods have I taken

to drown the voice of conscience! At length a man came to me, a stranger, and says, 'What a shame it is that there is not a vestige of religion in this place!—In the name of God, let a few of us endeavour to form a prayer-meeting.' It immediately struck me this was a message from God, and that if I refused it, it would probably be the last offer of mercy. Since that (time) I have been enabled, through grace, to cry for the blood of sprinkling to be applied to my guilty conscience. The guilt and terror I have felt is beyond description. But at length, I trust, through grace, I have obtained mercy. O, this is such a wonder! I can hardly believe what I feel. Sometimes I have such a sense of the Saviour's love on my heart, that I cannot help but praise him. Then, again, I am tempted to think it is all delusion,—but this I know is the device of Satan. I have proof against it; because sin not only is a terror to me, but I really hate it, and I loathe myself on account of it. I love those that bear the image of the Saviour, and long to be holy as he is holy. I long to have done with a sinful body and a sinful world. But I desire to wait his will; and I trust he will give me grace to struggle against flesh and sin."

. It was pleasing to discover the fruits of Canaan thus unobtrusively flourishing in such a wilderness; surely personal religion is sustained by a divine, though invisible power,—proving that it is not of the will of the flesh, of the will of man, or of blood, but of God. I had sincere pleasure in my earliest

intercourse with this good man, and he continued steadfast to the end. I visited this retreat for the pensioned invalid. The collector's bungalow afforded me quiet and retired quarters, in which I held prayer-meetings, preached sermons, and counselled the people. I went from house to house for personal conversation,—selected from among them two or three who were in a measure qualified as teachers for Sunday schools for the children, and bespoke the cooperation of the parents for the attendance of the young. Suitable books, &c. were provided for instruction, and the commencement of a library. The intelligent man to whom reference has been made was found qualified to be useful: he had been colour-sergeant, and while in active service had made a profession of religion; and although he had yielded to the pernicious influence of unrighteous intercourse, his conduct now was most exemplary and modest. He described his past backslidings and the feelings of his heart with singular felicity, and gave evidence of a revived interest in the best things. Were this a place for more detailed accounts, his life was every way worthy of a record. He became a most useful and active benefactor of his fellow-soldiers; and so commended religion to the approbation of men in the higher ranks of the service, that while he conducted prayer-meetings, the *collector* of the district was not ashamed to appear as a devout hearer, desiring to share in the benefit, as well as to lend his countenance to the maintenance, of the

service. Through this means, a grant of ground and timber was obtained, and a liberal subscription was given for the building of a commodious chapel and suitable school-room, which were speedily erected. Both the collector and the humble serjeant have gone to their account; but the good which they did lives after them, and their names are embalmed as the benefactors of those who now dwell at Tripassore.

I felt my incompetency for free intercourse with the natives; but I engaged in religious exercises among them, aided by an intelligent interpreter. The readiness of these poor people to embrace the feeble services which I attempted to render, showed that the harvest was plenteous, though the labourers were few. It gives me sincere pleasure to learn, that if some men sowed, others have been permitted to reap; and that though an obscure and very inefficient husbandman was the first to labour, other men have entered to reap that whereon the labours of others had been bestowed. An English church of nearly twenty members, and a native church of equal numbers, are now planted here: a native school prospers with forty scholars, and an English free-school of fifty-five scholars is maintained, in which the pupils are taught the usual branches of English, and the native language. A native reader itinerates in the surrounding villages; but a missionary is now stationed at the place with pleasing and encouraging prospects of success. May the little one

become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation !

Tripassore is surrounded by a country, fertile and well-cultivated. The villages are numerous : about a dozen are within accessible distances, and peopled with industrious husbandmen. The rural population enjoy the advantages of a secure and peaceful government, and the stimulus of a proximate and ready market for their produce. The occupation and patronage afforded to the Hindoo and Mussulman families attach them to their present rulers. I conversed with some observant and shrewd natives of the district, both Mohammedans and idolaters, and, in their condition and tone of their mind, I thought I could discover a degree of independence and domestic comfort superior to what I have witnessed in other quarters. Yet I fear their comparative superiority depended much upon the proceedings and disposition of the government collector. They are situated within the Arcot district. It is also a sphere peculiarly interesting and attractive for the zealous and persevering missionary. I did not encounter much Brahminical influence, or the atmospheric action of the celebrated pagodas of Trivalloor, in the neighbourhood. The people were simple, and more injured by the licentiousness of the old pensioners than by the wiles of their own priesthood.

Walajahbad is fitted by its barracks, bungalows, &c. as a cantonment for European troops. It is a level, but rather elevated plain ; and though inland



nearly thirty miles, it is visited during the afternoons by the sea-breeze. The accommodation for officers and men is suited to the heat of the climate; yet in the earlier part of the day, the close atmosphere and the rays of the vertical sun render the climate oppressive, and tempt to oriental indolence. It is situated between the famed city of Conjeveram and the fortress of Chinglepet, but is a little off the high road to Arcot. It was not, except for a few months, the residence of a Company's chaplain; yet I have known 800 or 1,000 European soldiers stationed here for months and years. I had many pleasant interviews with my countrymen here, and was always kindly welcomed by the officers, and gladly received by the soldiers. The former never failed to prepare for me a room with every convenience, and a place at their mess-table, or all necessary comfort in the hospitable abode of my friend; and the latter always arranged for my reception scenes of pleasure and spheres of usefulness. It has been to me many times a source of vivid entertainment and instruction, to listen to the hair-breadth escapes, whether in the field or in the mutinous garrison,—in the Pindarree wars, or in the mutiny at Vellore, of the gentlemen, who had a pleasure in fighting their battles over again; while I have enjoyed from the humbler ranks, pleasures of a higher order, when in sacred and prayerful fellowship we have drawn near to the throne of a common Lord, and fixed our thoughts on the

affecting scenes which surrounded the Cross of Calvary, where the great and common salvation was finished by Him who bore the curse for wretched man. Before I detail some of the scenes occurring here, let me request my reader to pass a forenoon at Streepermatoore Choultrie; an early night at the Choultrie of Bal-chitty; and a day and a night at Conjeveram, all on the route from Madras to the cantonment at Walajahbad.

The division of the Hindoos into castes; the jealous retirement which is forced upon oriental females; the distance which is maintained between the Asiatics and their conquerors; and the small number of Europeans who have hitherto traversed the extensive lands of India; have prevented the establishment of hotels in the interior of the country. Yet India is not an unsheltered wilderness. The residence of every European is characterised by liberal hospitality in India, and the traveller is friendless and obscure indeed who does not share the most courteous welcome as he traverses the country. It is, moreover, a religious duty enjoined by Hindoo systems, and practised in numerous instances most prodigally, to erect and maintain choultries, or places of rest and shelter for the way-faring man. Streepermatoore is one of the first of such erections which I visited, and the benefit of which I enjoyed in my migrations over the peninsula. Venketa Runga, a native merchant of great opulence at Madras, built this range of choultries, or caravanserais for the convenience of every

description of travellers ; and evinced a profuse munificence which might be termed princely. On one side of the way is a range of low houses, built of brick and plastered, or chunamed ; not unlike a set of English almshouses. Into these the considerate European sojourner will not enter. They are consecrated as ceremonially clean and retired, temporary, dwellings of the poor Hindoos of caste ; square courts within, and an open space in the centre, with provision for ablutions and other observances connected with their religion, secure to the punctilious idolater opportunities equal to those enjoyed in the usual native houses. On the other side of the road, a spacious double-storied house, built in a style of finished and sumptuous elegance, according to Hindoo ideas of architecture, is set apart and guarded from the pollution or intrusion of the curious, for the more opulent classes of the Hindoos. The tank, or *pond*, with stone steps and a supply of water, has been constructed near to this building ; and beyond it is placed the choultrie usually occupied by European travellers. It consists of a central hall, two rooms on each wing, and a cool and agreeable chamber above, to which we ascend by a flight of outside steps. This house is built on a raised foundation, and in a style which was deemed suitable to the tastes and manners of the English. When first opened, it was furnished with many luxuries, couches, tables, and rattan mats. I have heard that even wine and refreshments were provided by the liberality of the founder ;

but the thoughtless or reckless conduct of some travellers is said to have destroyed the furniture, and provoked a cessation of the hospitality. The table was broken, the walls were disfigured by doggerel rhymes, or coarse expressions, and the corners of the rooms have been occupied for culinary purposes; so that the house is almost unfitted for the reception of English females, by the thoughtless ribaldry of their countrymen.

Contiguous to this, but surrounded by a small tope, or jungle, is a *pundal*, or rustic pagoda : rising from an elevated floor, twelve pillars of granite support a flat roof of the same material. The sides of the pillars are ornamented with sculptures of their mythology. Krishna in his childhood, on one ; crushing the serpent, on another ; and on a third, playing on the flute : Hanuman Rahoo, on a fourth pillar, swallowing the moon, with other representations. Some of these exhibitions are most indelicately offensive. Here the land is not generally cultivated ; but there are villages where it has been cleared, and where the cultivation is varied with an abundance of the banian, the cocoa-nut, and the tamarind trees. Other parts are covered with jungle of a stunted and profitless description. The following domestic picture will give an idea of native travel in India.

Under the cool shade of that wide spreading banian tree, which shoots forth its tendrils and multiplies its pillared branches, an avenue around the parent stem, you will perceive a Hindoo family. The party consists of a man, his wife, and youthful

daughter ; their baggage has just been removed from the back of that weak and hungry-looking ox. It is about ten o'clock, and a meal has been prepared by the mother and daughter. The husband and father having pulled off his turban and upper garments, till his body is bared to the waist, he eats his solitary breakfast : neither wife nor daughter is allowed to partake with him. As soon as he has finished his repast, his daughter brings the ox's saddle, on which he lays himself down to sleep. The mother and daughter are then at liberty to take the portion which has been left for them : nor are they discontented ; it is the universal custom of their people, and they have known no other. It was not, however, their lot to find rest when their scanty meal was finished. Though just come off a journey, they are busily employed in preparing the ingredients for the afternoon supply : firewood has first to be gathered. The fire-places are of simple, or rather rude preparation ; two oblong holes in the ground containing the lighted wood, over which the cooking vessels are placed. The whole stock of culinary utensils consists of four earthen pots or chatties, and a brass pot. This last is an important part of the Hindoo's kitchen apparatus : it is used for drawing water and drinking from : as brass is almost the only material which can be used without violating their superstitious usages, since it admits of being cleansed, even although it has been touched by the impure saliva ! Plates and dishes find a substitute, in the Hindoo kitchen, in the leaf of the

Indian fig-tree. This leaf is of a thick and glutinous quality, and when dry and pinned together with bits of straw or thorns, it forms a substantial plate, off which I have myself taken my food. The turmeric, the tamarind, the cocoa-nut, the garlic, and red pepper, with other condiments, compose the mixture provided by these females for the dinner of their sleeping lord ; and now they one or the other lie down to indulge the almost universal custom, and take their forenoon sleep. When the sun has gone down from his meridian, they will rise and make preparation for resuming their journey. I shall start at the same time for Bal-Chitty's choultrie, and try to take a few hours sleep there.

But, alas ! the comforts to be here enjoyed are few. It is a small-sized granite choultrie, near to which is a tank surrounded with stone, with a few huts on both sides of the road, which, added to the two or three small shops, opposite the choultrie, compose the native village. Before the setting of the sun, if we take an evening walk about half a mile to the left, we shall find a rather pretty and rural village. Two grassy lanes, crossing at right angles, the one with the other, lead to the dwellings of the villagers ; like most well-conditioned Hindoo hamlets, a grove of trees and a tank of water are placed side by side at the entrance. A few native travellers have halted for the night ; some are performing their ablutions in the tank ; others having cooked and taken their food, are preparing for their rest under the shelter of the tope. On each

side of the lanes there are rows of clay-built houses, some of them flat-roofed, and others roofed with tiles; a few are of more rude construction, with bamboo supporters, walled with matting or basket-work, and thatched with leaves of the palmyra or cocoa-nut tree. A few cocoa-nut trees are growing as an avenue before the better houses; and, in front, under a narrow verandah, seats of hardened clay have been raised two or three feet from the ground. The walls, inside and out, are painted or washed with a white and red daub, which has been laid on in alternate longitudinal stripes. It is a Brahmin village,—or an Agraharan; except, therefore, a very few, every dwelling is sacred. The seat and the ground near the door of each have been marked with stripes of the ashes of cow-dung, on which no man of lower caste dares to tread. These lines are fresh laid every morning. It is one of the first offices for a female of the family, at the break of day, to come forth with the cow-dung and water, and holding in her hand some incense, or a few sacred flowers, while she repeats a formula of prayer, to draw out these lines. The nearest tree enjoys the same marks of distinction. A court for their cattle, either in a central square or close behind, with a mud-wall enclosure, is attached to such houses. At the top of one of the lanes stands a stone choultrie, designed only for religious ceremonies, and containing a large wooden elephant, painted white and ornamentally gilded. Several pillars have been raised in front of the

building, which support a matted ceiling, by which a portico lined with cotton cloth has been formed. There is besides a pagoda of larger dimensions than such a village would seem to require: it is dedicated to Vishnoo, the sect to which the Brahmins belong, and is surrounded by rice fields and gardens, with high hedges of bamboo and tamarind trees. The idol thus worshipped is provided with a vahanum, or *conveyance*, in the form of a red kite, upon which Vishnoo is brought forth at stated times from the sanctuary, and carried round the pagoda in procession, ornamented with silks and streamers. They have also a rath, or *car*, on which the more distant excursions of the idol are taken, when the deluded devotees yoke themselves as cattle, and drag behind them with blind adoration their insensate log.

Returning again to Bal-Chitty's choultrie from this rural scene, we come to a common appendage of most villages—the lofty wide-spreading tree, round whose huge trunk is raised the broad bed, or seat of hardened clay. Here, at the burning hour of noon, the coolie, or porter, deposits his load, the sepoy soldier his knapsack, or the horseman pickets his horse; and here man and beast compose themselves for rest under its shade. The space is wide enough for men of every caste, or any creed, to enjoy the shelter, and still avoid any collision, or any accidental defilement; yet the overbearing and wealthy man of *high caste* sometimes dares to usurp the sole and undisputed occupation,



not suffering the sudra or pariah to come between the wind and his nobility—a dream of possession, however, from which he very soon awakes on the approach of a Moslem trooper, with his glittering scimitar, and his convenient horse-cloth. Here, or in the neighbouring tope, you will, between the hour of noon and sunset, see the supercilious and unshaven Mohammedan, sitting cross-legged on his horse-gear, smoking his hookah, and watching his ghore-wala, or horse-keeper, shampooing or cleaning the wearied horse ; the Hindoos of the several castes boiling their rice, or mixing their curry-stuffs, within small circles, cut in the ground : to overstep which, for even the haughtiest European, would defile both their food and themselves, and excite a commotion among the silly Hindoos, which, were it not for their degradation and losses, might awaken the mirth of the most grave. The pariahs, the miserable chandalah, despised and contemned by all, is placed beyond every limit for the castes, while he eats his pitiful morsel of flavourless rice, and ministers to the sustenance of life in its lowest scale of intelligence or enjoyment. Not far off is the pundal, or temporary tabernacle for an idol, built of mud, white-washed, and adorned with clay figures, the work of the potter. In retired spots, some strange-shaped stones, or ancient trees, are visible, for daily pooja, or devotion, having been consecrated by the craft of the Brahmin, daubed with ochre, or decked with flowers, to excite the veneration of the duped and credulous votaries.

As soon as the sun has gone down, darkness rapidly prevails in this latitude; nor is there any artificial or enlivening substitute in a Hindoo village for the light of day. As soon as I could, therefore, I chose my birth in Bal-Chitty's choultrie; but it was my lot to mingle, as one in a mixed multitude, with men of the least agreeable habits, and with them to share the troubles incident to a common caravanserai. I spread out my mat, and lay down upon the floor of the choultrie; my horse was picketed outside, in charge of his keeper; but my companions were less attractive within. Vermin of an offensive description—beetles, cockroaches, bats, mosquitoes, &c. &c.—were plentiful; the apartment was dark; a single oil lamp was our only source of light; added to all other incidental nuisances, one of the heavy showers common to the petty monsoon fell after sunset, and forced into the choultrie many who would have preferred a place in the open air. The atmosphere, confined and heavy, became most offensive, and all sleep fled, notwithstanding my earnest solicitations. It was in vain that I tossed from side to side, hoped for repose, or tried to coax myself to drowsy forgetfulness. The whirring of the bats, the chirping of the cockroaches, the stinging of the mosquitoes, the deafening nasal performances of some heavy heads, and the chattering of other sleepless companions, rendered Bal-Chitty no favourite of mine, and extracted from me a very deliberate resolve never again to come under his nocturnal influence,

or to spend my vigils within his walls. As soon as the rain abated, I called my koodra-gara, or horse-keeper, and had my steed saddled for the journey ; a native servant brought up the rear in the morning, and I made my movement as speedily forward as I could pick my way.

On another occasion, however, I had to pass a night in circumstances not more propitious for comfort or refreshment. The scene of that affliction was also a choultrie, a few miles to the left of Bal-Chitty's. I was then in company with an original, an Irish traveller. We both were on horseback, and, besides our horse-keepers, had a coolie and a Madras servant. Having such company, I managed to *spend the night* at the caravanserai. I cannot say that I slept, though my companions were more successful. At one moment, being really sleepy, I had closed my eyes, and was just sinking into a troubled dream, when an immense bandy-cout, or giant rat, passed over my face. After that, I must have been wearied indeed to have yielded. I now became a watcher : the choultrie was more open than Bal-Chitty's, and we had more light from lamps, fires, &c. ; but, as a counterpoise, besides the smaller vermin, we had cats, pariah dogs, and howling jackals, leaping about, or drawing near to our resting-place, and, by the most hideous noises, indicating a fearful insecurity to the unguarded or defenceless. This was a second lesson. While keeping my vigils in the middle of the night, I heard a European voice

calling "Ghora-wāla!" with considerable anxiety. I found next day it had been an officer from a neighbouring station, who had on the previous day shot a brother officer in a duel, and was now hurrying to the presidency, *on leave*, till the issue should be ascertained. He had sent forward a fresh horse, and was now, in breathless haste, calling for his horse-keeper, that he might without delay proceed. The wounded officer did not die at that time, though I believe he never fully recovered, but carried to his grave the ball of his adversary. Undue familiarity, or encroachments upon the family circle of the one by the other, had been the occasion of this murderous revenge and, falsely called, gentlemanly satisfaction. I met both officers afterwards, and I do not think the transaction had made either of them a better man. I am sure it was not fit preparation for the presence of their Judge—a just and holy God.

We started in the morning : we were journeying to the station for which I had left Bal-Chitty's choultrie. My Irish companion was a grave man in his way, though he could relax and enjoy a joke now and then : his horse was not particularly sure-footed ; the animal I rode was high-spirited and swift. The morning had been wet, and threatened more rain. My fellow-traveller was more particular about his comfort than his appearance. He wore an old boat-cloak for protection from the heavy floods, and carried an umbrella up while he rode ; for convenience he had tied a cord round his hat

with which to sustain his outspread covering, the handle of which was tied to a pocket-handkerchief, which he had girt round his waist. His grotesque figure was ludicrous enough, only there were few beside ourselves in the jungle through which we passed to be excited by the joke. We rode leisurely; the day began to clear, and the rain was gradually abating. We whiled away the hours of our journey by conversation. One theme after another was discussed, generally of a profitable tendency, till some incident suggested to my companion the story of "Valentine and Orson." I had either forgotten it, or had perhaps not read it at all, and so did not recollect the matter to which he referred for illustration. He began to recite the story; had entered the wood, and was just about the denouement of some exciting part of the plot, when his horse, with a sudden jerk, came down upon his knees: if a bear had come out of the jungle the catastrophe could not have been more momentary and complete. My friend executed the evolution in an instant, and lighted first on the peak of his umbrella fastened to his hat; his boat cloak flapped round his head and shoulders. A more perfect summerset could not have been made by a merry-andrew; and the passage from the grave to the gay, from the lively to severe, from the sublime to the ridiculous, was so abrupt, that terror and apprehension gave place to an irresistible outburst of laughter, which I had not time to check, till my horse sprang forward, startled by the disaster. Had

the bones, or even neck, of my fellow-traveller been broken, I could not have restrained the first impulse, though, as soon as I could rein up my horse, and hurry back to the spot, it was my first solicitude to ascertain whether any injury had been received. A few bruises, slight and immaterial, were the only consequence; though, had a bone been broken, or a limb dislocated, my mirth would have been turned into grief very suddenly, and my perplexity would not have been the less, that we were some ten or twelve miles from any European assistance. While the story of Valentine and Orson would have seemed a poor preparation for a sick or dying bed, yet I cannot blame my fellow-traveller for levity or improper conversation. On such a feeble thread are suspended the congruities and coincidences of this ever-varying and chequered life! One of our topics had been "fate and free-will"—the extremes of Calvinism, and the opposites of Arminius; the moral influence of the Predestinarian doctrine, and the effect, in comparison, of the Latitudinarian creed of Pelagius. Perhaps never before had those wilds been the scene of such discussions, or had such converse been held by wanderers in those regions; but it was all interrupted, and passed away, by the events of a moment.

Conjeveram is too noted a place to be passed without a visit by the traveller. Its distance from the cantonment of Walajahbad, is only a few miles, and the intercourse is frequent; I have seen the brahmins attached to the pagodas of this city,

going from door to door of the officers' quarters, as mendicants, soliciting contributions for the maintenance of their festival solemnities : nor did they ask in vain, gifts being often bestowed either thoughtlessly or from a presumed liberality, by the nominally christian Briton. Conjeveram is celebrated for its sacred and pompous pagodas : but it is also a place memorable in the annals of British warfare. From 1757 to 1780, frequent collisions between the English and French, or between Hyder Ali and the British, occurred here : and, on the year last named, an action was fought by Hyder and his son Tippoo, who personally commanded the Mysore forces, and Colonels Fletcher and Bailie, who led on the small Madras army. In military phrase, it was a well-fought field, but a most destructive conflict. The British troops were but a handful ; and Hyder's strength was concentrated around their devoted position. The ranks of the British were, after protracted, heroic, and skilful resistance, broken by the blowing up of two tumbrils of ammunition, and their destruction or capture was completed by Hyder's horse or the French artillery. Many a brave soldier, but thoughtless man, found here his grave on the battle-field : and his slumbering dust serves to enrich the soil around Conjeveram.

The country is level and the soil generally poor ; yet the town has the appearance of prosperity ; it is large and regular ; the streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles ; they are shaded with

rows of cocoa-nut trees on each side. The houses are generally built of mud, and such as are not terrace-roofed are covered with tiles. The tanks are large; but there is one distinguished above the rest for its size and celebrity—it is resorted to for ceremonial ablutions, by the inhabitants and worshippers from a distance. It is lined with stone, and furnished with flights of steps down to the water. The conduits by which these pools are supplied, are sluggish and scanty, and their chief dependance is upon the monsoon rains. Yet stagnant as are the waters, till they have sometimes seemed to me like a marsh rather than a flowing stream, with a green and sickly scurf gathered on the surface, hither the highest, as well as the lowest, brahmins repaired for cleansing. The first offices of purification in the morning, and other washings connected with *pooja* or *daily* devotions, bring the multitudes to these tanks, where all is performed, from the brushing of the teeth, and the necessary washings, to the sprinklings or immersions, and the minutest service which their idolatry enjoins. The principal inhabitants are brahmins, connected with two Hindoo temples; but the town is chiefly dependant upon the attraction and celebrity of the temple dedicated to Mahadeva. The grand entrance is lofty, with a pyramidal tower, gorgeous and tasteless. Its front, sides, and gateway are crowded with sculpture. The style of pagoda architecture is common through the peninsula. The tower is ascended by inside steps,



and divided into stories; the central spaces on each being open and smaller as the tower ascends. The light is seen directly through them, and, according to the shades of the sky, which form the back-ground, the effect is sometimes beautiful. The sides of the steps leading to the pagoda are formed by two elephants drawing a chariot, carved in stone. The more sacred place is surrounded by a double wall. Upon a central paved court stands the inner temple, raised from the ground a few feet; a deep verandah runs round the whole court, supported by columns of stone, which serves as a receptacle or choultrie, for pilgrims and devotees. The form of these pillars is shaped to suit the appearance of animals sacred to the several deities by which they are rode. The walls, basements, entablatures, and all other parts of the pagoda are covered with sculptured imagery in *alto*, or demi-relief. These fantastic representations of Vishnu, the preserver, Seva the destroyer, Krishnu, Gunesa, Kamadeva, Sureea, Chandava, Agni, and Baroona, with the bull and twisted snake, the flute, the parrot, the bow of sugar cane, the sun and his chariot, with a seven-headed horse; the moon and her antelopes, and the ram, and the crocodile, exemplify the absurdities of idol worship.

I have wandered about the courts of this huge and imposing temple, and, apparently without offence, have passed through the chambers where the idolatrous furniture was kept. There is an immense Ruth, or *Car*, and smaller conveyances

for the idols : but I never entered the sanctuary where the idol is placed, or witnessed the worship offered before the shrine of the false god ; which is at the far end of the central building. The carved work and imagery sculptured on the pillars and walls of the choultries and pagodas are, many of them, elaborately and well executed ; but no English reader can imagine the scenes which are here exhibited in the light of day—incestuous and bestial pollution are the mildest forms of corruption ;—never any scene so astonished me, or opened my eyes to the defilements of Hindooism. Things which it would be a shame for men even to think of in secret, are here carved, as in action, on the granite pillars of the resting-places for the devotee, or by the gates at which he enters for worship.

It is by night that the scenery of their processions and idol worship are conducted with most pomp. Unawares, I found myself in the midst of one of these performances. On my approach to the town, along the public road, I passed numbers of natives, in groups of families or social pilgrims : some with burdens on their heads, others carrying children in their arms, or on their hips, or leading older ones who could run along ; some were aged, and bent to their tall staves, but all were pressing onward to the scene of attraction ; some devoutly, but others as to a merry making, or a gala-day. I came upon the scene in the centre of the town. The procession was led by a wandering faqueer, or religious mendicant—an old man, vigorous and

active, with a white flowing beard; he was robed in the sacred salmon-coloured cloth, and carried in his right hand a staff, with an iron head, shaped like Vishnu's sceptre. He sang and danced as he moved onward; he was followed by twenty or thirty mounted on Brahminee bullocks, and beating tom-toms; four elephants bearing banners, and the Nagara, or *royal drum*; and long files of dancing girls, their shining hair set with joys and garlands of flowers, and their hands linked in each others' as they moved in measured steps to the music of the temple. The image of Vishnu was small, adorned richly with jewels, and clothed with brocade; he was mounted on a gilt and glittering figure of Hanuman, the monkey god; and attendant brahmins carried the chowrie and chuttre, the cow-tail fan and umbrella. The idol and his attending ministers were carried on a vast platform, raised high above the heads of the crowd. The procession was closed by a company of shaven, chanting brahmins. The platform was lighted up by hundreds of torches borne around; fifty men carried large trisuls, whose trident heads were all flame; rockets were firing on all sides, and the other fire-works were numerous and vivid. Even the shining of the moon did not spoil their effect; there was a large supply of sulphurous blue in the fire-works, and the flaring blaze of the lamps and torches gave to the branches of the tall cocoa-trees a metallic lustre. Two immense colossal figures of pasteboard, gaudily dressed and dexterously

managed, danced before the holiday crowds who clustered the trees, the house-tops and the walls, with thronging groups, or who, in a dense moving mass, filled the streets. This festival is called the *garudastavum*, and celebrates the Avatar of Vishnu, when he descended upon the earth. For ten successive days his image is either thus borne through the streets, or exhibited in the courts of his pagoda, when the streets are thronged with brahmins and faqueers, with pilgrims from distant places, or peasants from the neighbourhood. It is a season when nothing but the frenzied shout of the excited fanatic is heard, or the song of the merry idler. My path lay through the midst of them, and a brahmin addressed me, requesting a contribution as an offering for the festival, without success, though I regretted my inability to communicate freely to him the knowledge of a more excellent way. But in this very multitude were poor deluded votaries, some with iron rods forced through the skin, festered or bleeding; some suspended head downwards, swinging from the branch of a tree over a smoking fire; and others with their heads buried under a heap of earth, exposing their naked and disgusting body to the highway passer. A part of the festival scene consists in the performances of the nautch girls, poor young women, prostituted at the temple, and employed to dance with luxurious dress and amorous and measured steps before the idol.

The performance of the *Ruth Jatra* takes place

without any human sacrifices—so far as visible acts of immolation—occurring. A display of sectarian strife usually precedes it on the previous night, between the followers of Vishnu and Seva : the former carry their idol on a huge gilt elephant to insult the pagoda of the latter ; even in this there is now no danger. There is no bloodshed in this war ; a boundary-line, or a pillar of separation, being agreed upon by the belligerents : a servant of the Hon. East India Company presides to prevent any breach of the articles of war or violation of the treaty ; so that the Sevaites and the Vishnuites, if they do fall out, shall not come to blows, or break each other's heads. The elephant and the god turn their posterior parts toward the front of Seva's temple, and are thrice forced back to the line of demarcation with the shout and gesture of insult ; and at that moment, some of the more furious polemics seem maddened with zeal, leaping on each other's shoulders, shaking their flaming torches, brandishing their fists, and singing defiance. The *ruth* is in dimension more like a building than a *car* : its platform is thirty-five feet from the ground, and a tapestried canopy, with its decorations and pillars, stands thirty-five feet higher. The whole is solid and strong. It is strangely carved, and heavy ; thirty brahmins may stand under the canopy. The wheels are ten feet in diameter, of enormous thickness, and solid. Four cables, a hundred yards in length, are attached to it ; and two thousand labourers, whether

over their shoulders or by their hands, are required to drag it. Numbers of young brahmins, armed with thongs of deer, leap about in the crowd, now whipping those who drag the car, and now striking those who press upon their path. Some of the wealthy and self-righteous *do* touch the burden with one of their fingers : you will see wealthy and well-dressed men come nigh, and just put their hand over to touch the rope that they may claim the merit of having dragged the car. It moves onward, towering above the gazing faces of the admiring worshippers. The women hold up their little children above their heads ; and every sight and sound speaks tumultuous joy ; they are mad upon their idols. Many press forward, that, being near enough, they may throw up their offerings of money and cocoa-nuts. The *latter* are broken, presented to the idol, and cast down again, thus consecrated, to the deluded and exulting devotee, who shares them with the family or friends he brought up to the feast. When the rath has been dragged through the principal streets, it is restored to its place of rest ; and as it approaches within about one hundred yards of that spot, there is a hideous yell, as if they would shout—"A long pull," &c.—the movement becomes more rapid ; and, at the greatest peril of an overthrow, its ponderous wheels rush onward till the course is finished. If now we should enter the temple, we should observe nothing but feasting and gratulations, complacent smiles, and luxurious indul-

gences. Here is a dark-complexioned wealthy merchant, a pilly or modeliar, of the Vhasya caste, who has provided an entertainment for these sleek, corpulent, or well-favoured children of craft, the officiating brahmins. But where are the votaries who came to the festival for good to their souls? A deceived heart has led them astray,—they are feeding on ashes, and toil-worn with exhausted resources, they must return to their homes without such consolation as will abide the day of calamity and trial.

About the time of one of my visits to this city, wholly given to idolatry, a drought and scarcity prevailed; the waters in the tanks subsided much lower than usual; and the brahmins announced that this was in consequence of Mahadevah's displeasure, because one of his representations, or most sacred images, had been left deposited in the mud at the bottom of his tank. A great solemnity was proclaimed; vast preparations, and even the civil authorities of the district, English civilians, were convened to take part in the ceremony; offerings, prayers, and sacrifices, were required; and the idol was taken from the mud and carried to his place, in procession, and with much display. Such was the delusive imposture practised upon the people, while a British functionary presided, and gave directions as to the times and movements of the solemn idolatry!

It would be justly reckoned intrusive and improper for Europeans to force themselves into the

sanctuary or sacred recess of these pagodas. I have seen, however, the common pooja performed by the officiating priest at the open shrine of a small pagoda, when Hindoo worshippers were standing *barefooted*, their hands united over the breast, and muttering their muntrums, or *supplications*; and the priest was ringing a bell in one hand, and scattering incense, with the other, round the body of the idol. Perhaps it may be supposed, that the more secret and mysterious performances differ from this simple folly. A kind and liberal friend, a brahmin, has furnished me with a description of one service, where he was a listener. I shall give it in a condensed form. "As soon as the party entered the sanctuary, they were oppressed with heat, from its cavernous closeness and the smoke of the lights burning near the god and goddess. The ceremony was performed by the officiating brahmin, who lighted a little camphor on a circular brass plate, and turned it more than three times toward the god: he then threw over it some leaves and flowers of various descriptions; after which, as it is usual among the brahmins in their temples, he brought to the company the light of the camphor, that they might individually receive a portion of its perfume and smoke. He gave also a few flowers and a little ashes. To the left of the male idol, about six feet, stood the female image. Here the idolater performed similar ceremonies to the goddess: at the conclusion, the same gifts were bestowed, except the ashes; instead of



which a small quantity was received of yellow and red powder; a composition of turmeric, chunam, or chalk, &c., which are generally appropriated to the goddess as well as to Hindoo women. Brahmins and Hindoos, when they visit a strange pagoda, bring presents. On this occasion, the head of the party ordered that some cocoa-nuts, plantains, and camphor, should be brought in and presented to the idols. After being presented, these fruits were distributed to the party of worshippers as far as they would divide; then, according to the usual custom, the same person gave money to the officiating priest. This gift is supposed to be according to the circumstances and pleasure of the donor. The priest then conducted the worshippers, with a light in his hand, round the sanctuary of the idol; and having laid aside their turbans and outer garments, lest they should be soiled, they proceeded to explore some mysterious and far-winding recesses connected with the pagoda."

I was, on one occasion, brought into Conjeveram, contrary to my original intention, in consequence of an accident which befel my palanquin. The pole so completely broke away from the body, that it was no longer possible for my bearers to carry me; and it was with difficulty they could convey the palanquin from the place where the accident occurred. I had been travelling in the pretty, well watered valley within which Damal is situated, and through which, for the purposes of irrigation, a

branch of the Pallar is conducted by an artificial channel ; and when the occurrence, which impeded my progress, happened, I was six or eight miles from Conjeveram. In none of the villages could I find, as I passed, a smith or carpenter able to repair the broken pole. My only course was then to walk, while the bearers carried the palanquin on their heads. I never at any other time walked so far at once in India. The night set in upon us ; we were not supplied with oil, or torches ; pedestrian tours are not frequent in the district ; and the poisonous reptiles, which are numerous, render it very undesirable to travel much on foot. Necessity, however, left no choice, and, after a weary and troubled pilgrimage, I reached Conjeveram. I experienced the most friendly reception by the assistant collector, who happened to be at his bungalow when I arrived. A gentleman, whom I never saw before, nor have I met him since, welcomed me to his hospitality, provided for my refreshment after the unusual excursion, insisted that I should remain throughout the night, and next day furnished me with a new palanquin, in which I started for my destination. Such are Indian courtesy and their liberal habits of intercourse : when I proposed sending back the borrowed palanquin, Mr. McL— begged me to wait till he would himself send for it, a distance of nearly forty miles. His was the nearest European residence in a surrounding district of fifteen or twenty miles.

My reader will now permit me to conduct him to

Walajahbad. The family of Walajah obtained the dignity of nabobs of Arcot by splendid military achievements; and by the same means acquired great local celebrity. The name is applied to several native towns or districts: Walajah Pettah and Walajah Naggur are instances. The cantonment is distinct from either, but it is only a military station, and subject to all the restrictions and regulations which are common to a British garrison: a commandant was the superior, and a fort-adjutant exercised the superintendence of a police; to both these officers it was requisite a stranger should report himself and deliver his passports; both were gentlemen, and friendly; with them was neither delay nor irritation. I had the satisfaction to know that my visit was acceptable, and I was employed to officiate as chaplain for the regiment during my visit; the adjutant read prayers, and I preached on the Sundays, while the men and officers stood on the parade in church order. This was in the morning, before the sun had risen to meridian heat. In the afternoon and evening I met the soldiers who were peculiarly concerned about religion: they had prepared a small bungalow, which would contain eighty or a hundred; and in the evenings of each successive day this military tabernacle was filled and surrounded by many listening and interested worshippers—poor fellows, who perhaps in their own country, or in more favourable circumstances, had disregarded such observances. A more select number had joined in a religious brotherhood, and

met together, though they had no minister, for mutual counsel and encouragement. They attended to the Lord's supper, when visited by a minister. I have sat down to this hallowed commemoration with eighteen or twenty at a time. There was in the same regiment a society of another christian denomination; a native Roman Catholic priest also officiated within the cantonment, and was attended by some of the soldiers. Few of their wives were interested in the subjects which I sought to explain; they were women of colour, principally, and brought up under heathen or Romish influence on religious subjects. I met some of them for religious instruction, but they were subjected to much of the listlessness or enmity of the native mind.

The objects of the soldiers' society were expressed in the rules which they had adopted for themselves; of which the following was the substance: "That they should form a general society for the service of God, and to maintain religious worship among such as were disposed to attend. To this society every one was admitted who expressed a wish for it, and conducted himself with moral propriety; but a more select society was formed from such of these as were desirous of more intimate and christian communion; to this no person was admitted a member, but such as were deemed to give satisfactory evidence of a divine change, wrought in their hearts, by a conduct which became the gospel of Jesus Christ. These were required to exercise a tender and vigilant concern for each other, and to

pray one for and with another." They had fixed seasons for meeting, office bearers, subscriptions, and affectionate discipline. By their president they maintained correspondence with missionaries in distant parts of India, and obtained religious books, tracts, sermons, &c. The following is a specimen of such correspondence.

"I have to inform you that I received your letter of the 10th of January, by the —, as also a number of tracts and reports, for which the society return you their most humble thanks. The two volumes of Sermons we have safe. The society are at this time all enjoying a good state of health, thanks be to the Almighty; and they hope this will find you enjoying the same blessing. You mention in your letter that I was to write once every three months; but, if it is convenient for you, the society would wish to hear from you every month. I, as you advised me, asked Mr. — to preach for us. We had just got a fresh place to assemble in, and a very comfortable one too; he preached in it three times. It will seat one hundred very conveniently. You wished, in your letter, to know the strength of our society. We are sixteen in number, and there are a number more (who) attend, who seem to be very serious. Our meetings in general consist of between thirty and forty hearers. The small books, for children, I distributed among the children that attend; but I don't see how I can put into execution what you recommend, as there is divine service twice on Sundays. The Mis-

sionary Society (has) *is* not increased much ; but I believe it does not altogether proceed from unwillingness, but for want of ability ; as things are very dear in this place. The number is ten ; we expect two or three more this month. The amount in hand is about fourteen rupees. As our society is increasing, we want hymn books : I wish you could supply us (with) about six or eight ; and, if you send them up and the price with them, as soon as they are disposed (of) with, I will remit the money to you. If you do send them, send three of the middle size, and the rest small ones. I hope you will soon determine on your intended journey, as we shall all very much like to see and be benefited by your instruction. Having nothing further to say, I conclude, wishing you all desirable blessings in the Lord. I remain, in the name of the society, your humble servant, ——, private.”

The next was written by the same correspondent, eighteen months later, and on the eve of an entire and permanent separation. During two years had this intercourse been maintained, and it was very pleasant. The poor soldier, who was I believe a good soldier of Jesus Christ, closed his life a few months subsequent to our farewell ; he died in hospital on foreign service. “The enclosed is from J—— D——, who very much desires to enter into communion with the —— church, and thus publicly to acknowledge himself on the Lord’s side. His reason for applying so soon is because he is afraid he will be called to join his regiment. He

wishes, therefore, to be proposed this month. I certainly look upon him as a new man in Jesus Christ—and oh, that every one who calls himself by the name of Christ, walked as near, and took as much pleasure in serving God as he does. I anticipate the time when he will be very useful in the cause of religion. It is not likely I shall have the opportunity of seeing you again, as we are under orders to march for embarkation at a moment's notice. I hope, Sir, you are in better health than when I left you; I, and those that are with me, are all well, thank God; but well or sick, the time will soon come when we shall be under orders to leave this world, and appear before God. Oh! may we be prepared, and then welcome death. I hope, Sir, you will not forget us when tossed upon the mighty waters; and for this, and all your other labours for our good, may the Lord reward you. H. C. and J. C. are going with me. I shall be very glad if you will send mine and C.'s certificate up before we go; we expect it will be to-morrow evening. Having nothing further to say, I subscribe myself your most obedient, but unworthy servant, —— private H. M. —— regiment."

I started from Walajahbad for Chinglepet a little before midnight, and reached it before six in the morning. My route lay through paddy or rice-fields and agricultural hamlets. The road was not direct, and it was not easily traced. As I passed through one of the villages, I observed by the side of the road whole families lying asleep,

exposed, on the ground, a coarse comely or blanket their only bed and covering. They had chosen this position in preference to their miserable hovels. Shortly afterwards I overheard some wrangling by the way side, and subsequently the half-suppressed titter of triumph. I opened my palanquin, and discovered, that, in my name, my bearers had captured a husbandman, or rather seized his comely, in pledge for himself, that he would escort them till they had gained the high-road. The peasant appealed to me, in the language and posture of abject humiliation; and when I took my bearers to task for their conduct, they pleaded that they were ignorant of the way, and that otherwise they could not proceed. I arranged with the countrymen that he should go as far as we required, and that he should return as soon as we could pursue our journey without his aid. I need not philosophise on the state of a country or people of whom such a transaction could be related; the incident is, however, illustrative, and has been recorded to show the condition of the peasantry within fifty miles of Madras, in the oldest possession; it was the original JAGHIRE of the company. Before the morning light arrived, we reached a ruined and deserted pagoda of some celebrity. It stood on the brow of a hill; we ascended by steps, partly cut out of the mountain. There were many chambers and recesses in this desecrated temple; some of its walls on the outside formed a precipitous line with the steep parts of the hill. As we passed



in and out of the several compartments, the bats and other beasts of night, of immense size, flew about with wing strong enough to extinguish ordinary lights. Its antiquity and history I could not trace, and could glean no information from the locality: no human being dwelt there, nor was there any contiguous village. The ruin was emblematical, I thought, of the decay which shall yet fall upon the brahminical system, when the people shall cast their idols to the moles and to the bats, and turn and serve the living God. There is no vitality or elastic power sufficient to reinvigorate the principle of this idolatry; its temples go to decay without any seeming regrets or hallowed associations of the people.

I reached the fort of Chinglepet before any of the European inhabitants were abroad, yet I was not left unsheltered. A good set of Palkee boobies are always in highest spirit at the end of their journey; and, from an idea that it adds to their own importance, they make an effort to introduce their master to a new station with high *éclat*. Their chorus is strong, their pace is agile, and their notes are well-timed and sonorous; “*Peria baba, peria baba, huy ho,*” *a great man, a great man, is here*, is the burden of their song as they approach, and this they repeat with increasing animation till their master has alighted, though they be overpowered in perspiration. The hospitable burra sahib, or great man of this place, was a countryman whom I had never seen, and who had never

heard my name, that I knew of, yet his servant came out almost a mile from his house to meet me: he had heard the “peria baba” of my bearers as we came along the road, and with his master’s authority, conducted me to a furnished bungalow, with every convenience for the toilet and for refreshment. I rested for a couple of hours, and at the hour of breakfast was invited to the table of my host. Here an acquaintance was begun, which lasted through many days.

Chinglepet gives name to the district, but it is more memorable for its association in the wars of the Carnatic, as the name of the fort, which, though taken by the French in 1751, was, after being retaken by Clive, in 1752, always able to resist the attacks of Hyder and his allies, to afford refuge to the natives of the Jaghire within, and protection to the army, when weak, under its walls. Till about the end of the seventeenth century, the territory was governed by a Hindoo chief; but, having been conquered by the Mohammedans, was annexed to the dominions of the nabob of Arcot; by whom it was ceded to the British in 1750. The fort is the residence of a Zillah or district court, and the strength of the place has, I suppose, led to the occupation of parts of it as a convict prison. When my visit was paid to the fort, a native prince was among the children of bondage; for what reason I did not learn, or what was his rank or country. There were a company of sepoys: the officers in command, the judge and his registrar,

the doctor, and, occasionally, a revenue civilian, which, with the families of these gentlemen, constituted the whole circle of British society at the settlement. Sadras, a Dutch factory, was distant some twelve or fifteen miles, where a few families of that nation, or descendants of such, resided; but little intercourse was maintained between them. Madras is nearly forty miles north-north-east. Pondicherry is the only other most attractive settlement on the coast, about fifty miles off. Neighbours, so few and select, depend much on each other's good will and courtesy for the happiness of society; and the gay or thoughtless would find this a dull place. The reading and the studious will, however, appreciate such retirement, and improve it for the cultivation of the mind. I have often found well-chosen and extensive libraries in such stations; but it too often occurs that play or sport tempt to indulgences which ruin the purse or destroy the health. I spent a few days in this circle with great satisfaction, and found some sober-minded and reflective, as well as religious inquirers.

*The district, through which the Pallar flows, between Chinglepet and Arcot, is known by the name Conjee; it is low and unhealthy; it is also very thinly peopled. There is here an extensive tank, Caverypauk, which supplies moisture to the parched soil, by which a greater measure of fertility and verdure is maintained than would otherwise appear under a vertical sun. Arcot is distant*

about seventy-five miles from Madras. The old town is placed on the south side of the Pallar; and Ranepettah, or the cantonment, lies on the opposite bank of the river: the channel is here about half a mile in breadth,—so broad for the supply of water as to make it appear, except in the rainy season, almost dry; the exhausted stream flows in two scanty channels. This ancient capital of the Carnatic is surrounded with barren granite hills in a state of decomposition. The locality of Arcot is known in history as ancient as Ptolemy for the site of the capital of the Sorae, or the Soramundalum, whence some derive *Coromandel*. A more modern date belongs to the Arcot, celebrated in the British conquest of the Carnatic. The Moguls moved from Gingee, because of its insalubriousness, and began to build the present Arcot about the year 1716. The creature of their power set up by the French in 1749, took possession of this place. It was retaken by Clive, two years afterwards, when he sustained a siege of fifty days, till the French and their allies, who had attacked him, were obliged to retreat. For a short time it was again in their possession, but was recovered by Colonel Coote in 1760. Twenty years afterwards, Hyder Ali captured it, when he had defeated Colonel Bailie's force at Conjeveram. His triumph, was, however, but short-lived. It was held for the nabob of Arcot by Company's troops for many years; but about the beginning of the present century, the farce of a native government was removed, and the

nabob brought down to Madras as a state-pensioner. The principal defences were destroyed around the town between twenty and thirty years ago; and the large fort stands now as a central tower in the midst of the town, which is still extensive. The ramparts of the fort serve a more useful and pacific purpose, as a defence against the inundations of the river in the monsoon seasons. The former palace of the nabobs, except a gateway still entire, is in ruins; a Mohammedan mosque of attractive splendour, and four or five other places, built for the same religion, afford proofs of Moslem supremacy; and the tombs of their saints or princes attest their former wealth and power. The European visiter will generally be more familiar with the north bank of the Pallar. Ranepettah is one of the largest stations for troops under the Madras government, but is occupied entirely by cavalry. The lines and barracks would garrison six regiments; and range in rows upon a sandy plain, where the herbage is naturally scanty, but on which the constant exercise of troops has scarcely left a blade of vegetation. Arcot is one of the least sheltered, and most oppressive, cantonments for heat in India. There are some garden bungalows, which have been erected for the convenience of higher officers; they are green and scattered spots in the desert. I have seen an English dragoon regiment stationed here, to *burn* out the contentious and bickering spirit which prevailed among the officers. The Madras native

cavalry are, however, chiefly the occupants of these lines, and some very dashing men I have heard as being among them. I have, however, known what was far better—gentlemen, from the cornet to the major, not ashamed to take Jesus for their Lord, to acknowledge Him as their Redeemer, and make mention of his name in prayer-meetings; and as standard-bearers, went forth under Him as the Great Captain of their salvation. There is but poor accommodation for the traveller in choultries, &c. at this station. Hospitality is, however, an ever-vigilant substitute for the European. My home was either at the chaplain's, or his son-in-law's. The greatest good has been accomplished by this family; the day will declare it, when the faithful and often despised labourer shall receive the crown; and when the seals of fidelity shall be acknowledged and rewarded with the joy of our Lord. Often did this good man stand alone, as if he were a mark set up for the ungodly to shoot at. With a temper naturally bland and lively, though quaint, and rendered a little cynical by the ungenerous insinuations and cruel hatred of not a few whose portion was in this life. My friend, Mr. S. had cultivated an extensive knowledge, and drunk largely into the spirit of our English divines of the seventeenth century. He, therefore, not unfrequently startled his gay auditories with sallies of plain and homely truths, whether in the pulpit or in social intercourse. If they observed that the season was *hot*, he would reply in the affirmative,

but that it was not so hot as hell would be to the wicked. If they had used the sobriquets of reproach, often applied to zealous Christians, as *new lights*, *swaddlers*, or methodists, and with significant *shrugs*, declined much intimacy; he would warn them of the time to come, when the present despisers would welcome the visits of a Lazarus, and be glad to take hold of the skirts of a man that was called a Jew. The many young Christians who were brought to Jesus here, or nurtured and fitted for active duties; the travellers to Zion's gates, who were refreshed and encouraged amidst toils and sorrows under this roof, by the sweet counsel which was taken together, when they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard; and the fellow-labourers who received mutual encouragement and renewed strength, who were enabled to gird up the loins of their minds, who thanked God and took courage, will all remember in eternity this as the house of Evangelist, and the season when with joy they drew water from the wells of salvation, even in this desert place; and it may be no small source of their rejoicings at the right hand, that a fellowship was here commenced which shall be perpetuated in the skies. I need not recount the afflictive dispensation by which an only son was taken away in the saddest scenes of mortal conflict, but with the fullest assurances of eternal bliss, or the mingled and compensating mercies by which four lovely daughters were trained up for wisdom's

ways, for works of usefulness, places of influence, and scenes of domestic peace. I may not draw aside the veil from my aged friend's death-couch, and obtrude upon him the gaze of a receding world; or yet open the privacy of widowed seclusion, and shew the "widow indeed," as a Mary at the feet of her beloved Lord, who hath chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her. Many loud plaudits have been sounded to the names of some as good or great,—many vivid pictures have been delineated to exhibit departed talent or worth; but, I believe, in few regions will there be found so many silent memorials,—so many Ebenezers,—so many stones of help, legibly and deeply engraven, as shall be revealed here when God makes up his jewels; when He writeth up the people, and numbers the treasures of his grace. With not a few it will then be accounted "an honour to appear as one new-born and nourished there." On week-day and sabbath-day was this house a Bethel and a Bethlehem; a house of God, and a house where the bread of God was daily broken for the hungry soul.

Let my reader accompany me to other scenes; to Vellore and Sautghur. The valley of the Pallar narrows and draws toward the Ghauts, passing by Vellore. It is verdant and fertile, and extends to Paligonda, where there is water enough for two crops of rice. This fine valley was in former times well peopled, and contains yet vestiges of former opulence and security. Vellore is a well-



built town, and was strongly fortified in the early history of the country. It was, in the time of the Mogul, deemed impregnable, and afforded defence to a refractory or temporising chieftain. The walls of the fort are still rendered so much the more secure by a deep running fosse, or ditch, supplied from the Pallar, which contains many immense and frightful alligators. The destructive powers and propensities of these amphibious monsters serve as effectually as armed battalions for the mounted guard of the glacis or batteries. They may be seen basking upon the waters in all their huge proportions; but the daring intruder is never sure where they are not, and it would be a perilous, most probably a fatal adventure, to attempt to cross the waters of the ditch. Vellore was chosen as the prison for the sons of Tippoo, when their father's kingdom passed away, and his fortress of Seringapatam was taken. Many restless and war-like Mussulmans hovered round about, and longed for the deliverance of the captives and their restoration to power. It was not wonderful if the slightest pretext should serve to excite the retainers and followers of Tippoo's house, and to attach Mohammedans in the Company's army. Certain military regulations, adopted by the government, which interfered with the prejudices and superstitions of the native soldiery, created extensive dissatisfaction; and the emissaries of Tippoo's family, perhaps, also, of the European enemies of England, seized the moment as favourable for

successful resistance. At two o'clock in the morning of July 10, 1806, the attempt was made. The European barracks at Vellore contained four complete companies of the 69th regiment. Two battalions of sepoys in the Company's service surrounded the barracks, and poured in, most unexpectedly, a heavy fire of musketry at every door and window, upon the English soldiers. At the same moment, the European sentries, the soldiers at the mainguard, and the sick in the hospital, were put to death. The officers' houses were ransacked, and every European found in them was murdered. A messenger, however, escaped to Arcot, and Colonel Gillespie brought up the 19th dragoons to the rescue of their countrymen. The butcheries within were so engrossing, that the insurgents had not guarded the gates of the fort, so as to resist the force brought against them. The sepoys were immediately attacked; six hundred were cut down on the spot, and two hundred more were dragged from their hiding-places and shot. One hundred and sixty-four of the soldiers of the 69th regiment had been destroyed, besides their officers; and many officers of the native troops had shared the fate of their fellow Britons, being murdered by their own sepoys. I received the story of this *Vellore mutiny* from Captain J——, who was in the 69th at the time, and was one of the few survivors. He described his own utter helplessness and alarm,—how he fled into a *go-down*, or cellar, pursued by the panting and sanguinary

murderers, with their weapons of destruction in hand ; and how he had just time to *say* his prayers before his pursuers could have overtaken him, and directed their musket toward his defenceless person. Their attention had been arrested by some other object ; he was forgotten in the *mélée*. In a few hours—hours of torturing and agonizing suspense—he was rescued from so near a death. The alarm created by this affair was unjustly turned to the prejudice of christian missions, which were in no measure concerned as cause and effect. There is no danger to British power in India from Christianity, so long as the work of evangelization is carried forward by an agency distinct from the government, and left to subsist by the voluntary liberality of those who embrace its creed and submit to its authority.

The sons of Tippoo were removed to Calcutta, their adherents were dispersed, and their influence in the peninsula wholly subsided. One of these princes died ; his surviving brother has been for some time in England pursuing certain pecuniary negotiations with the governing authorities—who, he asserts, have become remiss in the discharge of obligations which were undertaken by the Company. He is represented as an intelligent and pleasing gentleman ; perhaps, with all his privations, the loss of a throne, and separation from courtier-counsellors, he is not less happy or capable of enjoying the means of improvement and information, though he be not permitted to rule on the

thrones of Beejanugur and Mysore. He was not in Vellore when I visited that fort; but every thing smelt of Tippoo. There were fragments of the harem, or the divan, favourites and menials, for whom the English government still provided a daily support. As a visitor, my inquiries and curiosity were excited, and I had every opportunity for attaining my desires. A friend and acquaintance of old standing was commandant; and through his attentions I was introduced to all that was deemed interesting. The fort is now a station for troops, rather than a stronghold for defending the country. The barracks within and outside of the citadel are employed only for native battalions. The station is hot, and does not suit the constitution of Europeans; yet it is often chosen as the best place for a native corps whose last station has been marshy, subject to malaria, or visited by fevers. There was here no chaplain; the pious, or well-inclined officers, used to ride over to Arcot, ten or twelve miles, on sabbath morning. It is one of the penalties which a Christian pays for continuing in the army, that he is often placed at a distance from the ordinances of a profitable ministry. It is one of the occasional services which a missionary renders to the people of his Lord, to turn in as a wayfaring man for a night, and lead his brethren in the way, where they may draw water with joy from the wells of salvation.

Sautghur is a stage beyond Vellore, where the luxuriance of the East, the variety of tropical

vegetation, and the Moslem passion for gardening, have succeeded in drawing forth the stores of nature in rich abundance. The garden of Sautghur is extensive, situated among scenes diversified by picturesque hills, craggy rocks, and verdant brushwood. It is laid out in the most formal style, with walks, arbours, and cascades, approved by orientals; and is filled with orange-trees, cocoas, slender arecas, with many varied descriptions of fruit and flower. Mohammedans are peculiarly fond of horticultural pursuits—but they have cultivated the rose with fondest care. Hindoos have not any pleasures in the garden such as are enjoyed by the Moslem. In the Sautghur garden, Mohammedans delight to wander and indulge their passion for Nature's richest flowers. Major S—— met a priest of Islam, a hundred years old; a long snow-white beard fell down upon the breast of the venerable patriarch; and his aspect commanded the most profound deference. Some of his attendant familiars contemned the tribute of respect with haughty look and unbending courtesy; but the old man placidly and calmly returned the salute. Perhaps pride and revenge had fallen asleep in his breast.

I have wandered amidst these ghauts on foot, as well as by the usual modes of conveyance, with real pleasure. The beauty of the scenery is refreshing after the arid monotony of the level regions below. It is not so much the magnificence as the checquered variety; it is not so much the great forests of natural wood, which diversify the western

ghauts, as it is the verdure and solitude, the changing and brilliant hues which adorn the face of nature. The road from Sautghur to Vellore, on the early morning, while the dew is yet moist upon the tender herb, is romantically picturesque. To the south and east of Vellore are situate several forts and strongholds, which are well remembered in the Mysore wars. Wandiwash, Chittapet, and Arnee, were most frequently visited with the scourge, the desolations, and the miseries of military campaigning and hostile sieges. Missionaries seem to have overlooked the whole district; or to have been influenced by the panic of the Vellore mutiny; for, till recently, no one of these populous quarters had been occupied, even as an outpost of the missionary field. Arnee is still occasionally occupied by troops, and is a celebrated place for cotton manufactures. The Arnee muslins are famed among Indian fabrics. Here also reside many of the Jain sect, an amiable and *quakerish* class of Hindoos. Walajahpet contains a large population of enterprising and respectable Hindoo merchants and traders, who extend their commercial intercourse to the markets of Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Nellore, and Mysore; but have not mingled much in the traffic of their European masters. It is better known to Indian banians than to English merchants. There are now mission-schools in Vellore, Arnee, Walajahpet, Arcot, and Chittoor. At Walajahpet, a missionary, from the London Missionary Society, has commenced active

operations, and built a mission-house. There are scripture-readers, and native Christian teachers, at Arnee and Vellore, by whom the ministration of gospel truth is maintained among nominal Christians, and for the instruction of the inquiring heathen. In this district, of which Chittoor has for some years been the centre, there are nine daily schools for Hindoo children, and three Sunday-schools. In the former are 321, and in the latter 146 children, receiving instruction under the benign auspices of Christian benevolence.

My first journey to Chittoor introduced me to a select circle of Christians, whose zeal and love, whose cooperation and activity, took me by surprise, and presented a new aspect, in which the philanthropist might view the results of Indian conquest. The men whom I then met are now, almost all, removed from the sphere of labour, or of suffering; but no oasis in the desert could so gratify and cheer the wandering traveller, though breaking unexpectedly upon his gaze, as this was calculated to interest and draw forth the admiration of one who wished well to India, and desired the triumph of truth. Driven into retirement by ill-health for a season, I went to the ghauts without any fixed plan as to route or operations: my bearers, obeying their directions, carried me to the house of a judge of the district. The valley in which Chittoor is placed, lies along the base of the Ghauts, and is watered by the Ponee, which falls into the Palaur. The scene is really beautiful, and the fertility of

the soil, the overhanging shadows of the contiguous and richly-clothed mountains, with the splendid mansion-like style of the civilians' houses, which are not only large and imposing without, but commodious and airy within, impart to this station a superiority and attractiveness, not possessed by other places of European residence in the peninsula. There is usually a company of sepoy, and an officer in command, to keep the criminals under awe in the prison, which contains sometimes five or six hundred. The sepoy occupy a small fort. The collector of one of the Arcot districts usually resides here, a civilian whose salary may be about 4,000*l.* per annum. There are, besides him, circuit judges, each with an almost equal salary, and their registrar, with half their income. There is also the zillah, or *local* judge, with his registrar, dividing five thousand between them. There is, of course, a medical attendant, and always some visiting friend or passing traveller. The native officers of the courts rank high, and receive liberal salaries. To estimate the judicial business of the courts here, civil as well as criminal, I may mention that the Madras presidency is placed under the superintendence of four circuit courts; and, besides one of these, a zillah-court has its head-quarters at Chittoor. Zillah means *side*, or division; a second zillah-court is at Chinglepet, and a third at Cuddapah. The circuit-judges take their turn on circuit through the district, carrying justice to the homes of the people—at least such is the object of their appointment:



but grave matters come before all three ; appeals, also, from one to the three ; and from the zillah to the circuit-judges ; they have the power of capital punishment, but an appeal may be made from them to a kind of supreme court at Madras—the Sudder Diwanee and Fouzdar Adawlut.

The gentleman, on whom I called, had some knowledge of my name, as I had of his ; but we had never met each other. He received me under the piazzas of his princely mansion as I stepped out of my palanquin ; an interchange of names was the commencement of our intercourse ; an intercourse which ripened into reciprocal confidence, kindred sympathies, the maturity and fellowship of similar sentiments on religious and ecclesiastical peculiarities, and a large measure of correspondence and cooperation in schemes of usefulness and benevolence. This gentleman was heir to extensive English estates, and derived from them a large yearly revenue. But he had consecrated his all to the service of God among the Hindoos. His fortune—6,000*l.* per annum—was the smallest matter of the dedication : his life was a continual sacrifice ; his influence, his personal exertions, whenever they could be devoted. His knowledge of the language was extensive, and his powers of utterance fluent. Every morning he spent an hour, sometimes two, imparting instruction in the sacred oracles to the professing native Christians, and conducting morning exercises of devotion ; in the evening, again, he was similarly occupied. Sabbath after Sabbath did

he labour to make the truth of the Gospel known to the poor heathen—to the mendicant, the prisoner, and the young; he was the principal support of an English service every Sabbath, in the court-house, for the European families; with him were associated two or three civilians and some pious women, in the more general operations. He employed teachers for the young, and men who acted as catechists: one of whom was introduced to me as having been a pupil of Schwartz, at Tanjore. He supported many of the Hindoos, whom he had adopted into his family, at his own private table. He had fitted up a wing of his elegant mansion as a chapel for worship, and furnished it in a convenient manner, besides placing in it a magnificent and well-toned organ. He gave one meal every week to the mendicant poor; when he addressed them on the subject of greatest interest. In most of his benevolent operations he had a few associates from among the other residents; some of whom used to meet with him weekly for mutual counsel and prayer. There were others among the local civilians, unrelenting and unscrupulous opposers of such efforts; and by sneers, open hostility, secret manœuvres, and malicious misrepresentations, they sought to wound the feelings, the reputation, or secular interests of this christian band:—danger, madness, hypocrisy, or impurity, were insinuated or charged against the plans and proceedings of the warm-hearted enthusiast. The affliction occasioned by such hatred and hateful opposition to his benevolent mind, was

known only to the God whom he served. I doubt, indeed, the wisdom of some of his measures; his worldly influence was a bait, to which many a mercenary hypocrite was allured; it attracted the hollow-hearted deceivers, who made large profession, and rendered unscrupulous conformity to his schemes for months and years, till they had attained their object. As it drew them, it misled him, and served as a veil to conceal the designs of his plunderers. He *knew* that many came not for the word, but because they did eat of the loaves and were filled. Yet he was ever ready to judge of others by his own generous honesty, and take the fairest estimate of those who attached themselves to his brethren. He was too much in the habit of giving, and too much elevated in outward distinction, to be able to form an impartial judgment of the native professors. He also felt so acutely the malevolence which persecuted Christianity in himself, that he often imputed to the same origin the insinuations which assailed the native Christians. Indeed, I believe he would have done more good had he laboured personally, to the same degree to which he devoted himself, and abstained from any direct distribution, among the people, of his large pecuniary resources; and had he devoted his substance as fully to the same sacred cause, and in the same amount, but through unknown channels; employing others ostensibly as his almoners. He would then have seen more clearly what was the effect of moral influence, what was the fruit of principle, and the sincerity of con-

verts. It would not have blinded himself, or deluded others. When I visited the Hindoos at Chittoor, there was a vast amount of christian *profession*; but when the work was tried by the fire, the disproportion was mortifying indeed. My friend had also, from the best intentions, and in the most honourable manner, married a Hindoo female, whom he had educated in his own house. I have no doubt he loved the woman; but he had been led into the attachment from a desire to elevate the female character among the people of that land. His best friends condemned the proceeding; but none that knew the purity and singleness of his mind, ever questioned the integrity and benevolence of his design. I fear it was afterwards the source of much distress to his devout mind.

Three weeks did I spend under this hospitable christian friend's roof; nor had we a single idle day, or occasion for *ennui*. A new world had opened to me, and a fresh source of enjoyment was presented to him. The religious world, with its leading characters, and new forms of opinion and operation, was most entertaining, and seemed instructive to him, who had been almost thirty years in India. The history of parties, and their lines of distinction, directed his mind into new channels of thought, and led to other associations of mind and fellowship. I became his fellow-labourer, morning and evening; he became my interpreter and guide. Many were the precious hours we thus spent. One or two seasons of exciting interest intervened. On

one of them I performed the ceremony of marriage for four parties, Hindoo or Mussulman in their origin, but professing Christians now. I baptized thirty-six adults and children ; some of whom had been waiting for months, till a minister should visit them. I also attempted to speak a word in season to the European residents on the Sundays, when the court-house served for our chapel, and the judges' bench for my pulpit. Some of the most pleasant associations and recollections of my life linger around the weeks spent in fellowship with the admirable persons whom I found in Chittoor. The failure of my benevolent friend's most sanguine projects, and the disappointment occasioned by those who have drawn back, the comparatively early decease of this eminent and zealous Christian, and the dark aspect thrown over all, or the total change which followed his death, do indeed tinge my reflections with sombre and melancholy doubts. But it was well that it was in his heart ; it was his purpose to serve God and to promote the well-being of the Hindoo people ; nor on his bed of death did he mourn one sacrifice, regret one effort, or fret because of any one affliction endured for the sake of his blessed Redeemer. Few men ever enjoyed more real satisfaction in the objects of pursuit, while living ; and none could have more peace in the answer of a good conscience, and in the assurance of faith at the hour of dissolution. How many who once ridiculed, or cast reproach upon him, joked about his peculiarities, and perverted his

motives, or resisted his efforts, when living, would now gratefully exchange their portion with his, or wish their soul to be with his in the eternal world !

Five or six miles to the north-east of Chittoor, along the valley of the Ponee, on the side of a craggy mountain of almost bare rock, are some singular monuments of former times. They are detached chambers, in the shape of an oblong square, called here, *Pandoo Covils*. Four immense stone slabs placed on their edges, form the walls, one large slab is laid for the flooring, and another on the top of the four, for a covering. The largest of these chambers measured about eight feet by seven, and was five feet and a half in height. There is a hole in the upright slab at one end, large enough to admit the body of one man ; and two feet distant, in front of this orifice, a semicircular slab is placed upright, as if for the defence of this entrance ; similar slabs were set round the other walls, though no holes were behind them. Some of the chambers had as many as eight such guards. Large earthen vases have been found, and in one case, a hammer used by Hindoo goldsmiths, under the floor stones of these chambers. Some have supposed that these were repositories for the dead. In other hilly districts, similar structures are to be traced, even to many hundreds, without any presence of human skeletons ; they seem more likely to have been used as habitations for the living, in a rude and unsocial state of savage life. The semicircular stones might have been intended as means of defence from the

arrows, or other weapons of assault, employed by their lowland adversaries : while the chambers themselves were constructed of stones so heavy that mere human strength was not enough to overthrow them. The natives here think that the king of Delhi, called Pandoo, had five sons, who had been driven into exile, and that this was the place of their retreat, while banished.—Coil, or covil, however, signifies place of worship, and is applied by the Hindoos to christian places of worship, or heathen temples indiscriminately ; they may have been the dwelling-places of Hindoo ascetics, who, hermit-like, sought the mountain wilderness, and by their practice of austerities hoped to gain the rewards of piety from a deluded and ignorant people. They are now deserted : and the obstructions to christian missions are few and inconsiderable in this vicinity. Ignorance and superstition are the chief antagonists, added to a corrupt heart.



CHRISTIAN MINISTER RECEIVING FINISHED CONVERTS

#### SECTS BEARING THE CHRISTIAN NAME.

THE story of the Cross was rendered memorable by the benignity of Him who suffered on Calvary, and the glorious salvation which followed. It is a tale of aggravated, of deeply affecting sorrow; no pictured tragedy ever presented, no heart could conceive, no pen could describe with half the actual intensity of feeling, what He endured who hung upon that accursed tree, the depth of the humiliating scene through which he passed, the efficacy and extent of that work which he then finished, or



the transcendent glory which he then secured. Pity that such glory should ever be sullied by the mummeries of superstition, or prostituted to the purposes of priestcraft and corruption ! The adventures of the crusades have been often recounted in history and in song, because of their influence on society, and the mad and ruinous enthusiasm of their leaders. The Cross has been ever the badge of the Christian. Is it not, then, because corruption has hung a dark cloud over its early progress in the Asiatic world, that so little is known of the past career, or present position of that sacred emblem ? Comparatively, it is but recently that Protestant churches have begun to put forth their energies for diffusing the truths of the Gospel in the eastern parts of Asia. Not so with the church of Rome and her emissaries. So early as the fourteenth century, agents were commissioned, who should go forth as the propagators of that nominal Christianity. They went into China and Japan. They overran India and her contiguous islands. One of the most ambitious and most active was Robert de Nobili. He took singular, yet characteristic methods of rendering his ministry successful. He was an Italian Jesuit. He assumed the appearance and name of a Brahmin, come from a far country. He besmeared his countenance, and imitated the austerities of Brahminical penitents, and succeeded in persuading the most credulous of the people that he was truly of the divine stock of their priesthood. To silence those who treated his character of Brahmin as an

imposture, he produced an old dirty parchment, in which he had forged in the Deva Nagree, a deed showing that the Brahmins of Rome were of much older date than those in India, and the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from Brahma himself. It is even narrated, by one of his own order, Father Jouvenci, that when the smoky parchment was questioned by some of the Hindoos, Nobili declared *upon oath*, before an assembly of the Brahmins of Madura, that he derived, really and truly, his origin from the god Brahma himself. By such means, we are informed, he gained over to his system twelve eminent Brahmins; and multitudes, by their instrumentality, were influenced to adhere to his instructions. In letters written from the scene of action, they boast of having baptized thousands in each year, while they assure their correspondents that they were not precipitate in the admission of candidates to this initiatory rite, and assert, that the noviciates, after their reception, lived like angels, rather than like men.

Such, then, was the apparatus employed for setting up the Romish cross among the myriads of India, while the same course was pursued in other eastern countries: but this was not all; secular power was added to fraud, and the fires of persecution were lighted up, when the alliance of temporal power gave security to the incendiaries themselves. Hence, we read, the former glory and sad reverses of Udiampur. This was formerly the residence of Baliarte, king of the Christians; and here is the

Syrian church at which archbishop Menezes, from Goa, convened the synod of the Syrian clergy in 1559, when he burned the Syriac and Chaldaic books. The Syrians report, that while the flames ascended, he went round the church in procession, chanting a song of triumph. Ruthless Goth ! A fit instrument to usher in the reign of superstition, and to extend the kingdom of darkness ! The ultimate consummation of their plans has been, that, in the year 1810, the members of the Roman Catholic communion amounted in India to about seven hundred thousand ; in China, Tunquin, Cochin China, and Siam, according to their own reports, to five hundred and eighty-five thousand. In the latter countries, their ecclesiastical corps numbered two hundred and thirty-one native priests, forty-three European missionaries, seven apostolic vicars, and fourteen bishops ; while in India, these emissaries of Rome might be estimated at three thousand priests, and twelve or fourteen bishops, who divided the lordship of the poor, misguided, and ignorant people ; besides various orders of monks, and other regular ecclesiastics, Carmelites, Capuchins, Augustinians, and Jesuits, who, as locusts, which go forth to eat up and destroy, are in India, as in every country over which they wander, opposers of that which is good.

I was inclined to put many interrogatories to my Indian friend, concerning the character and influence which this people maintain ; and his benevolent disposition, true Protestant feeling, and frequent

opportunities of observing, in remote, as well as in more public places, furnished him with many facilities ; so that he was able to describe truly what representation they give of the doctrines of the Cross, and what means were attainable for ameliorating their condition, and removing the stigma, the reproach of their corruptions, from the name and cause of Jesus. For it is but too true, that the papacy, from whose ministers the wounded and inquiring spirits of aroused Brahmins and other Hindoos can derive no satisfaction, is spread as a mock gospel, as a foe to the truth in the East ; and is, next to the wicked lives of professors, the most perplexing and dangerous to the half-informed minds. It is evident that the Indian papist can still give himself to such miserable expedients as were at first resorted to for the propagation of their system ; and it is ascertained that they will cheerfully admit the votaries of heathen abomination to a share in their own miserable pageantry, and can the next day actually return the sad compliment by a willing and kindred homage to the dead and sordid gods of old Indian idolatry.

There are many of the Roman Catholics of Madras descendants of the first Portuguese invaders, degenerated, no doubt, from the primitive stock, but perhaps not more so than the inhabitants of the mother country in corresponding circumstances. They are generally in the lower stations of society, and are employed as writers or subordinate clerks in government and in merchants'

offices, as mere transcribers. They are ignorant, and unambitious of mental improvement ; they speak a corrupted dialect of the Portuguese language among themselves, but have generally some knowledge of English ; they are extremely fond of display, and of imitating the frivolous amusements and costume of the gayer English. In this presidency they are excluded from the army, as are all Christians, and often from the most subordinate civil appointments : though the same restriction does not extend to half-caste Mohammedans, some of whom have been known to rise to the rank of commissioned officers, subidar or jemidar, in the Madras cavalry. The Portuguese were not allowed to farm ground, nor hold a plough. Some of them have attained wealth and respectability notwithstanding, rising from the lowest ranks of society to be esteemed while living, and affectionately regretted when removed from the intercourse of their friends. An old merchant of Madras, whose history I received, was a case in point. He arrived at a cantonment of British troops as a helpless and unfriended youth, without even a name, a stranger to all who dwelt there ; no parent to watch over him, and no instructor to guide him. The camp or the garrison presents a truly fictitious state of society, and often yields so much the more a ready and wide field for enterprise and advancement. Here his first employment was, from necessity, of the humblest description ; he procured a scanty subsistence, but he was steady ; besides energy, decision, and application,

he recommended himself by a readiness to serve, and a good-humoured compliance with the wishes of his superiors. He obtained friends, and found means of attaining improvement. He was known to every one by his serviceableness, and acquired a local cognomen equivalent to *John of the Mount*. He went with indefatigable industry through a succession of servile employments, but aspired to a higher than a menial station; he obtained a knowledge of letters and accounts; he gathered a little money, and employed it in traffic; he speedily, but cautiously, turned his first gains to second advantages. According to his means he could not be deemed parsimonious, yet his stock increased, and with it, his influence was augmented. He finally rose to affluence and respect. He was numbered among the members of the Romish community, but the ghostly influence of the priest over him was partial indeed; he was a singular exception to the bigotry and intolerance of his religion. His purse was open to every generous work, and his hand liberally followed the motions of benevolence: education was promoted by his aid; he contributed to institutions for this purpose when living, and bequeathed resources to be enjoyed after his death, by purely protestant establishments. He was the friend of the indigent—he was the patron of the deserving; he promoted merit, and exhibited a nobleness of mind, which rose superior to the influence of his early life; and when he died, such was the esteem in which he

was held, that clergymen and laymen, of Protestant persuasions, travelled thirty miles to attend his funeral as a demonstration of their affectionate respect. Thus he proved a striking contrast to the ruined spendthrift who subsequently becomes an inveterate miser. There was in him a display of systematic and benevolent energy, that indicated a constitution of mind in which the passions are actually commensurate with the intellectual part, and are swayed by an exquisitely keen moral sensibility, and in which there is an inseparable correspondence maintained, like the faithful sympathy of the tides with the phases of the moon.

Purely native papists fill up, low as it is, the grade beneath the Portuguese, and are generally not less destitute of intellectual character; their means of information are equally limited. Their religious education is, of course, under the guidance of the priests. The Bible is forbidden to be used; and the only book of religious instruction which they possess, is a selection from the Bible, in which there is an abridgment of a few of the books, accompanied by explanatory remarks, and some accounts of the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection, &c. No wonder, therefore, that their moral influence among their countrymen is even less than that of the worshippers of Brahma. With but few exceptions, they are excluded from offices of trust. They are never raised to authority in their own church, they are the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water—the

Gibeonites of the community. Their priesthood, such at least who possess any influence, come from Europe, or are of European descent ; and, according to the description which my *quondam* informant, the major, would give, “that monk with the pale Italian countenance, grey hair, small scull-cap, black robe, and white cords, just stepping out of the old palanquin, is the superior of the Capuchin convent—he is a native of Rome.”

I have consulted a Jesuit priest, who has spent thirty years in India : he was clothed in the native costume—his head covered by a large shawl as his turban—his legs bare, and his feet shod with sandals—his body-clothes of the Indian punjam ; his grey beard finely flowing over his breast, his manners corresponding with the native habit, his food the diet of the Brahmins, and in his public instructions avoiding every topic that would offend the prejudices of caste ; becoming all things to all men to such a degree, that he would not permit the sensitive Hindoos to know that the prodigal's father had killed the fatted calf, or that the Mosaic law prescribed the sacrifice of bulls and goats, and would not inform them that Jesus was a carpenter's son, and his disciples fishermen of Galilee. I have examined him as to the character of that religion, which he and his coadjutors have laboured to propagate ; and it seems, that the first missionaries among them, seeing the empire of the senses over these Hindoos, and that their imagination was only to be roused by strongly moving objects, judged



that some advantage might result to their cause, by accommodating themselves, as far as possible, to their inclinations. Conformably with this idea, the ordinary pomp and pageantry which attend the Catholic worship, so objectionable to the Protestant communion in general, were not deemed by them striking enough to make a sufficient impression on the gross minds of the Hindoos. They, in consequence, encumbered the Romish worship with an additional superstructure of outward shows, unknown in Europe, which, in many instances, does not differ much from that prevailing among the Hindoos. They have a *pooja* or sacrifice, (the mass is termed by the Hindoos *pooja*, literally sacrifice;) they have processions, images, statues, *tirtan* or holy water, fasts, *tittys* or feasts, prayers for the dead, and invocation of saints. This Hindoo pageantry is chiefly seen in the festivals celebrated by the native Christians. Their processions in the streets are always performed in the night time, accompanied with hundreds of *tom toms*, (small drums,) trumpets, and all the discordant noisy music of the country, with numberless torches and fire-works: the statue of the saint placed on a car, which is decked with garlands of flowers, and other gaudy ornaments, according to the taste of the country—the car slowly dragged by a multitude, shouting along the march—the congregation surrounding the car, all in confusion; several among them dancing, or playing with small sticks, or naked swords; some wrestling, some playing the fool; all

shouting or conversing with each other, without any one exhibiting the least sign of respect or devotion. Such is the testimony of a Roman Catholic to his own religion, as it exists in the eastern world.

But ask the judgment of a discerning Hindoo: I have done so, and he observes, “ They have changed the strong idols of their fathers made of stone, and come to worship weak idols made of wood. But they say they believe in Jesus Christ, and they shew me the small crucifix made of brass hanging round their necks, and they point out the image of wood to me as a proof of Christianity—they have a great many images in their chapel, besides that which they call Jesus Christ. Before every image they have candles and frankincense burning; they have feasts in honour of these images. During the time of these feasts, and also on the Lord’s day, they kneel down to the images to pray to them, and to kiss their feet. They say that the pope teaches them to count thirty-three prayers to Jesus Christ, and fifty-three to the Virgin Mary. They deliver their prayers to be carried unto God, sometimes by angels, sometimes by saints, and sometimes by the Virgin Mary. Have they seen or heard any order from God, to pray to so many persons, or to send prayers to Him by these persons? A man in the Church of Rome, at seventy years of age, is not wiser in the writings of their God, than he may be when seven or eight years old. Counting beads, saying the Lord’s prayer, and prayers to the Virgin Mary, and worshipping

any piece of wood that is called holy, these things are nearly all that the old man understands." Such is the impression produced upon the minds of the intelligent Hindoos, by the mummary of Rome. Is this Christianity?

Few classes of professional character have been so much the object of reproach and contemptuous derision on the one hand, and the theme of poetic declamation and fervent eulogy on the other, as has been the Missionary to the heathen. For while, from Adam Smith to the modern Slavery advocate, he has been represented as a "stupid and lying missionary," destitute of intelligent eyes, and whose accounts might have been reported by more faithful witnesses: the christian orator in the deep-toned strains of pulpit eloquence, the popular advocate of evangelical associations, and the inventive versifier of elegiac memoirs have, in their flights of imagery and bursts of sentiment, enrolled him with the martyrs, and crowned him among the apostles; so that the expression of popular applause has conveyed into every corner of the land an un-earthly portraiture of the self-denying and swift-winged herald of the Cross. In ignorance, or in fervid zeal, apocryphal inventions may have been added, intended either as improvements on the reality, or to render it more palatable to the particular taste; and these additions have doubtless served as paintings on glass windows to attract the attention of children, and idle persons without, but to obscure the light from those that are within. The

one extreme may have produced the other; but now that we have leisure to discriminate, truth may be more clearly distinguished. It will be denied by few, that a missionary *ought* to be possessed of no common endowments as a man, as a Christian, and as a public teacher—that more is requisite than a graceful demeanour, a commanding appearance, or a powerful frame with “looks inspired.” He goes forth to negotiate between God and man; as an ambassador he is sent to the heathen, and is empowered to discuss the grand concerns of judgment and mercy; to summon myriads of rebels from the confusion and guilt of their revolt; to deliberate on divine things, the interests of the kingdom of God which is with men. It is not too much to require that his heart should be fired with a peculiar zeal, that has been fanned into a holier and more steady flame than ever shone upon the path which leads to the throne of empire and of power, or to the shrine of honour and of fame. So imbued, he will indeed, as he should, be able to set at defiance the rage and rigour of the polar sky, or the fervour and oppression of the torrid zone. Thus enkindled was the heart of that prince of apostles, and bright exemplar of the missionary school, who, forsaking the society of friends and kindred, his country and his repose, “crossed cheerfully tempestuous seas,” while his mind was filled with sublimer schemes, and his soul matured thoughts within itself, more vast and noble, more benevolent and generous

“than ever statesman planned, or warrior wrought.” The bounds which his ambition grasped; the glory which lighted his eye, as he pressed forward to reach it; for which he laboured, for which he prayed, for which he was in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, and in perils among false brethren; for which he suffered the loss of all things, were, that he should be a faithful minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost:—therefore, from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum, he fully preached the Gospel of Christ. This was his desire, and for the accomplishment of this was he willing to bear suffering and shame; while he was sustained by that faith, “whose boundless glance can see the shadows of time brightening through eternity;” and filled and impelled and constrained by love, God’s own love, which is shed abroad by the influence of the Spirit in the heart, and love to man—that love which was taught by Him, who came to seek and to save those who were lost, which wrung his heart with sorrow—these excited his tenderest sympathies, and drew forth the unfeigned tear that burst from his eye. Nor was he less distinguished by a sincerity which was genuine in its principles, and not more forward in profession than in purpose, nor more ardent in words than in

action. Such is our model: and such should be the character of the modern servants of Jesus, who go forth, not counting their lives dear unto them, that they may finish their course with joy, and be enabled to say, I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. And every Christian will readily bid them God speed, and pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth more such labourers into his harvest.

“ Heaven speed the canvass gallantly unfurl'd,  
To furnish and accommodate a world ;  
To give the pole the produce of the sun,  
And knit the unsocial climates into one.  
Let nothing adverse, nothing unforeseen,  
Impede the bark that plows the deep serene ;  
Charged with a freight, transcending in its worth  
The gems of India, nature's rarest birth—  
That flies like Gabriel on his Lord's commands,  
A herald of God's love to pagan lands.”

Whatever doubts the incredulous might cherish as to the visit of St. Thomas, it is certain that one more recently and far less deservedly enumerated among the apostles and saints of Christianity, visited Mileapore, and it is probable, lent the weight of his name, his reputed sanctity and apparent devotedness, to the furtherance of a system of imposture, fabrication, and ignorance. Francis Xavier wrote some letters from this ancient city, which are still extant. From Goa he had travelled to Cape Comorin to visit the fishermen of the coast of Travancore; among whom he promulgated such a view of the christian faith as corresponded with

his own imperfect and perverted system, and as was but too consonant to the corruption of the middle ages. The measure of his success he thus describes: "In one month were baptized some thousand idolaters, and frequently in one day were baptized a well peopled village; and so soon as those infidels had received baptism, they ran vying with each other to demolish the temples of the idols." His activity and success would have been creditable to a better cause. He was not ashamed to be his own herald, but went from street to street sounding his bell, and inviting the people to hear his communications. By these means he sometimes collected five or six thousand hearers. In his superficial and rapid career, he proceeded to the city of St. Thomas; but the people were too flexible for his enthusiastic mind—he longed for dangers. Had he declared the spiritual things of the kingdom of God, he would have experienced trials enough, when he must have contended, not *against flesh and blood*, but with spiritual wickednesses in high places. Paul found no lack of conflicts and cares, but it was otherwise with Xavier; he formed the determination of seeking yet greater dangers in more distant regions, by which he might still farther extend the pale of his church; he returned from Mileapore to Goa, and thence proceeded for the islands of Japan.

Deep and intense is the respect which Hindoo papists render to the memory of this missionary; and many more are the wonders performed by him

since dead, than while he lived. He lies enshrined in a monument of great beauty in the city of Goa, and his coffin is enchased with silver and with precious stones. Strange contrast, between the precision of this church, regarding the mortal remains of her saints, and the uncertainty which beclouds all the records of their principles, their hopes, and their fears, the truths which they taught, and the efficacy of these truths on the minds of their disciples ! And still more apparent is the comparison between the care which they take of the body, and the manner in which scripture worthies regarded the dust of their frail tabernacles. The members of the church of Rome are disposed to boast of Xavier as one of their most modern saints, and to hold him forth as the representative of the Jesuits ; his relation to the society of Ignatius, is at all times prominently introduced, especially in the records of his life.

True, it is related, that Francis Xavier was reclaimed by Ignatius ; the means should also be remembered : a close intimacy was, in consequence, formed between them ; Xavier became a member of the order organized by Loyola, but it was before the system of the society was matured, or the policy of the founder had ripened to its fruit, that the missionary embarked for the eastern world ; then his intercourse was limited to letters : so that, unless whatever features of their economy may be found in the deceit of the human heart, he was not indebted to his master for his success.



It may be deemed a more perplexing question ;— whether he were really actuated by those motives which should animate a servant of God, and whether he adhered to the rule which ought to be the standard of christian activity ? Was it right to cry, “ Yet more, O Lord, yet more sufferings and troubles ? ” Did it not savour more of superstition than of humility—more of zeal without knowledge, than of the spirit of truth and wisdom ? It was, perhaps, more characteristic of the quietest system, than of the religion of Him who was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. His rejection of that provision offered for his support by the care of his friends, displayed more of presumption than of faith ; his refusal of the comforts of life, and the chosen destitution of his circumstances, savoured more of voluntary humility than an acceptable service. He was active, but it was not according to the example of apostles—it was to propagate the system of popery : he travelled far, but it was not to sow the seeds of scriptural knowledge : he acquired great influence among the people, but he did not employ it to inspire them with a love for the Scriptures of truth : he inculcated for doctrines the precepts and commandments of men, so that the people who remain as the descendants of his converts, though separated from the heathen, are remarkable rather for their political character, than their religion. Thirty thousand of these Romish fishermen in the place where Xavier laboured, assembled at the palace of Travancore, in the year

1804, and defended their Hindoo prince against the rebellion of the Nairs, and conquered that military body.

The first Lutheran missionary to India landed in the year 1706, on the Coromandel coast at Tranquebar; a Danish factory, situated between Pondicherry and Negapatam, or Fort St. David. The Danish Mission College excited in the government, or Asiatic Company of Denmark, no such alarms or apprehensions as have been often expressed by British governors and statesmen in respect of christian missions to the Hindoos. Zeigenbalg, who sailed in 1705 for Tranquebar, was the leader of a goodly band, who have from time been commissioned to make Christ known among the population of India. Grundler, Fabricius, Schwartz, Jenicke, Gericke, Pohle, John, and Kolhoff, with their associates, have passed from their labours to their reward. A company of Moravians reached Tranquebar about the year 1760, and endeavoured, by their frugal and industrious habits, to sustain their *united* operations, in *the Brethren's Garden*, a piece of ground, which they bought, about a mile from the town. But other fields seemed more inviting for the *brethren's* labours, and the Coromandel coast was assigned to the fidelity and perseverance of the Lutheran missionaries. The station at Tranquebar was still supplied and sustained from the Danish mission college: but Tanjore, Negapatam, Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Palamcottah, or Tinnevely, and Madras, while occupied by

Lutheran missionaries, were upheld by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England. Before the junior associates of Schwartz, who died in 1798, had rested from their toils, another generation was rising, breathing a more *ardent* zeal, and enforcing, with greater distinctness and pathos, the doctrines of *grace* and *justification by faith*. While Dr. Cæmmerer at Tranquebar, Dr. Rottler at Madras, and Mr. Kolhoff at Tanjore, were gradually sinking in years and ability, the Church (of England) Missionary Society, which embraced Africa and the East, was acquiring energy and resources to enter with young and elastic strength upon its fields of labour. In 1811, Messrs. Schnarre and Rhenius devoted themselves at Berlin to missionary work, and were sent forth in 1814 by the Church Missionary Society to Tranquebar. From this parent station Mr. Rhenius was removed to Madras, where he was joined by Bernhard Schmid. While these faithful men laboured under the auspices of the younger society, three other brethren, also of the Lutheran denomination, Dr. Rottler, Mr. Falke, and Mr. Haubroe, carried on missionary operations under the direction of the elder, the Christian Knowledge Society:—both branches of the Anglican Church.

The German agents of the younger society were not inclined to become subject to any restraint which would infringe a catholic fellowship, or quench the fire of christian charity. Besides missionary tours, extensive and repeated, made by Mr. Rhenius, he was

instrumental in forming the Madras Tract Society, and a Tamil Bible Society. He also united in acts of public worship, as well prayer-meetings as public services, with missionaries of the London Missionary Society; he even took part in ordination services with them when a brother missionary was set apart to the work. In one of these I had the pleasure to join with him; and could testify how cheering were these acts of mutual recognition, and how pleasant it was for brethren to dwell together in unity. It was then I first formed a friendship with this zealous and faithful brother, and learned the sincerity of his love, the catholicity of his spirit, and the ardour of his devotedness to God. He loved all that in every place call upon our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, but he could not suffer himself to be "cramped into the narrow chair of the Church of England rubrics and canons." He had himself been ordained without subscription to any confession of faith, and upon the Bible alone, and he felt bound to contend against the spirit of formality which he thought was hostile to the spirit of christian liberty. There were others, however, in authority, who did not see clearly what Mr. Rhenius saw. Bishop Middleton had proposed to *re-ordain* Dr. Rottler and the other Lutheran brethren; but even the *old doctor* thought this was a step too far. Mr. Rhenius had gone beyond the line of *passive* resistance, and he was removed from Madras to Tinnevely. Here he followed the course he had adopted when he began his mis-

sionary career, and observed “no other rule for spiritual ministrations but the word of God, simple and plain as it is in the Bible.” And as he had been sent out in the providence of God to make known the unsearchable riches of Christ, according to his word, he did not feel it his “duty to separate from the society, but simply to go on conscientiously in his work.”

The province that he occupied, properly called Tirunelveli, contained about 800,000 inhabitants, many of whom were idolaters; a large number of Mohammedans were dispersed throughout the district; about 20,000 were Roman Catholics, the fruit of Xavier’s exertions: nearly all the fishermen along the coast being of this class; and about 4,000 Lutherans, in connexion with the Tanjore missions, resided in and around Palamcottah. The province is almost a plain of about 100 miles square. After fourteen years of prayer and labour, the gospel had been planted and received in all directions, and the congregations consisted of 3,225 families, containing 11,186 souls, in 261 villages, instructed by 120 native christian teachers. Few men had ever acquired such facility and idiomatic terseness in the Tamil language; few men had ever become so familiar with the people, or had laboured so assiduously by preaching, by translations, and original works, for the instruction and conversion of heathen or nominal Christians, as was the lot of Mr. Rhenius. A gentleman who had been chaplain at Poona, and was then *archdeacon* of Madras, visited Tinnevely in

1830, and testified—others can vouch for the literal truth of archdeacon Robinson's description,—“While the people were assembling in the Chapel, I had an opportunity of witnessing Mr. Rhenius's method of addressing the heathen ; we were walking round the splendid cloisters of the great pagoda of Varunnen, and were followed by many hundreds. His lively and perfectly *native* mode of address, as well as the fluency of his language, attracts them wonderfully. The Brahmins crowded around him with eagerness, and as we stopped occasionally at an angle of the building, a question led to a remonstrance of the folly of this stupendous idolatry, thus convicted and exposed by their own replies ; till his remarks assumed gradually the form of a more general discourse, addressed to the multitudes around, while the pillars, the sides of the tank, and the pavement of the cloister were covered with eager listeners, who were hushed into the most breathless silence. He is bold, impressive, vivid, cheerful in his whole appearance, happy in his illustrations, and a master not only of the language, but of their feelings and views.” It was the testimony of the most accomplished scholars of the language that, to overhear Mr. Rhenius in discourse, you could not discover but it was a native speaking his vernacular dialect. In the spirit of his own counsel did this honoured man labour. “Therefore, my soul, watch and pray ! be ready. Do diligently what thou hast to do, whilst it is yet day to thee in this land of the living, and at last go into the blessed mansion prepared for thee by thy

gracious Redeemer. Amen." He was again joined by his beloved brother Bernhard Schmid; and it was their desire to associate with themselves such brethren from the native converts as they believed were faithful men, and to commit to them the things which they had themselves been put in trust with, that they might be able to teach others also. They wished to administer to them the same ordination which they, as Lutherans, had themselves received; but the society replied that "the Church of England is regularly organized in India, and the bishop of Calcutta is empowered to confer holy orders on natives:" therefore they "would naturally present to him any candidate for ordination that may be raised up at any of its stations within the Indian diocese." Bishop Heber was the first to carry out "*His Majesty's Letters Patent*," empowering the Calcutta bishop to confer such orders. The controversy excited by this diversity of opinion was so keen, and Mr. Rhenius felt so decided, that in 1832 he made a communication to the Society, in which he thus expressed himself: "As the Committee have determined not to accede to our request, and as I cannot conscientiously accede to their determination, so necessity seems to be laid upon me, to request for a change in our connexion." As a consequence, the Committee proposed to recall Mr. Rhenius and he made ready to separate himself from the flock which he had gathered. The bleating of the sheep, however; the grief and dejection of his people and his associates, and the opposition of

christian friends throughout the peninsula, made him willing to remain, if he were required to *do* nothing contrary to his views; and the Madras Committee were glad to assent to such terms as might seem not to endanger their supremacy. A truce was, therefore, agreed upon, and the excitement appeared to subside; but the Great Head of the Church had in store other dispensations, designed to accomplish his gracious will, to teach his people, and lead his flock ultimately to lie down within his fold, to feed upon green pastures, and beside the still waters; though these dispensations were to be strangely and deeply afflictive to his servant and to the Committee, and calculated to produce “great searchings of heart for the divisions of Reuben.”

“The Church, her Daughters, and her Handmaids,” was a pamphlet written by the Rev. H. Harper, who, by residence in the country, had become Senior Chaplain at Madras. Mr. Harper was one of my earliest acquaintances in India: he had been a pupil, or sort of protégé, of the good Dr. Hawker, at Plymouth, though I think his father had been a dissenter; but he was rather a strong churchman than a high Calvinist. The Liturgy and the Articles stood eminently high in his esteem; the Rubric and the hierarchy of the church were of unquestionable and paramount authority; the rites and ceremonies were sacred and obligatory. Episcopal ordination, apostolic succession, and clerical ministrations of the Anglican



church, were his *beau-ideal* of perfection and beauty. He sent his pamphlet to Mr. Rhenius, begging him to write a review of it agreeably to his own opinions, and to forward it to him, when he would gladly insert it in the "Madras Christian Observer," which Mr. Harper conducted. The Rev. H. Harper is not like some, a foul-mouthed slanderer: he used to employ most appropriate language; and, in my experience, was gentlemanly and hospitable—even friendly and humane. Yet he gave the challenge, and Mr. Rhenius could not shrink from the maintenance of his opinions. With great frankness he made his strictures on the pamphlet, and summed up his review in the following paragraph: "In conclusion, for what I have said on the various assertions of the writer respecting the constitution and form of the Church of England; it appears, then, that her doctrine is not *entirely* built upon the prophets and apostles, and therefore is not altogether evangelical; that her government is not altogether apostolical; and that her liturgy is not an extract from the best primitive forms; for, as for the latter, there was none; and as for the former, it has been shewn that the apostles taught nothing of three distinct orders of ordinary officers in the church, or of raising one bishop or presbyter over another in rank, dignity, emolument, or greatness; they taught nothing of constituting secular kings and governments to be the heads and arbitrators in the church of Christ; they taught nothing about making crosses, wearing peculiar

vestments, and changing them during divine service; or about excommunicating those who do not regard them; nor about any other particulars, which I have excepted against before. All these things rest, in my opinion, solely upon human authority, and are relics of the antichristian Church of Rome." Mr. Rhenius sent home a copy of this Review to the London Committee, having himself published it at Madras, as Mr. Harper had declined its insertion in his "Christian Observer." It was not naturally to be expected that a committee of churchmen could approve of such sentiments. It came before them early in 1835, and they conclude their *resolution* on the subject in these words: "That, afflicting as it is to them to dissolve this connexion with one, whom on many grounds they highly honour and esteem, yet they feel bound, in consistency, as attached members of the Church of England, to take this very painful step, and to declare that the missionary relation, which has hitherto subsisted between the Society and Mr. Rhenius, is at an end." Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, was even more afflicted: he was shocked to discover a system at work, "so ruinous, in my judgment," he says, "to the holiness and peace of the new converts, as to threaten the subversion among them of Christianity itself." He publicly proclaimed his disapprobation of the missionary. "Call to mind, also," it is his language to the clergy—"Call to mind, also, the disappointment in these southern missions, both in the incorporated and Church

**Missionary Societies.** The higher the talents, the more eminent the success: the wider the former influence, the more prominent the station of any such, the more fatal the subsequent fall. It is not necessary to throw the slightest shade on their previous sincerity, piety, numerous converts, or qualifications as missionaries. But this I say, as bishop of this immense diocese, (God grant the subdivision of it may soon take effect!) that a missionary, coming out in a Church Society, and with the bonds of that Society upon him," (the bishop had overlooked that Mr. Rhenius had no bonds,) "ought in honour first to have resigned his connexion, and waited till his place was supplied, before he published to the world pamphlets in direct contradiction to the church from whose funds he was supplied, and to whose general rules of order, though a Lutheran, he was subject. It is with grief I speak. The extraordinary weakness, as it appears to me, of the arguments, I pass over. The total ignorance of the real state of the question I pass over. The vain repetition of objections, a thousand times answered, I pass over," &c. It is not marvellous, if, after such a conflict, the relatives of Mr. Rhenius should apprehend, that his sudden death, which afterward occurred, had been hastened by such exciting events and their coincident effects. It is not surprising, that some of the subordinate functionaries of the church party should have said, or written, most violently, things that were painful to one deemed so grave an offender.

His son, lamenting the sudden death of the missionary, writes : “ It is to me a distressing thought, that my dear father’s illness has been occasioned by the anxieties of his peculiar circumstances, and not least by the unjust representations which have been made of his motives and character. I wish, indeed, I could persuade myself that this has not been the case ; but some words and sentences, which escaped him during the delirious moments of his last hours, will not allow me to do so. There surely is a point at which the bow, by too great tension, will snap asunder. We cannot expect that, strong as was his mind, he should yet be able to bear all that has been heaped upon him, without danger of his sinking at length under the burden.”

It seemed at first that the leadings of Providence required Mr. Rhenius to leave the station alone ; but his Lutheran brethren soon followed him, being unable to submit to some requirements imposed upon them. They proposed to begin another mission at Arcot, about seventy or eighty miles due west from Madras, and three hundred miles north from Tinnevely. The sheep, however, whom they had left, and who had imbibed their instructions, and become attached to their ministry, made many urgent appeals and entreaties for their return. The missionaries sent to be the successors of the Lutherans did not at first adopt very persuasive or considerate means ; and reports of severity, of violence, and cruelty, reached Mr. Rhenius and his associates, so that they were

persuaded to return to the sphere of their labours. Letters of a serious and powerful character were addressed by them to their former patrons, in the form of remonstrance rather than of submission, while the local secretary acted, as it has been thought, with harshness, and resorted to legal proceedings. The missionaries resumed their work among the heathen, and such of the people as chose to adhere to them. There were 4 missionary families, 104 native teachers, 54 schoolmasters, 50 children in the seminaries, and 17 adult students, for whom support to the amount of 2,500*l.* was annually required; the brethren were none of them in the possession of secular means, but they cast their care on Him who, they believed, cared for them, and whose are the silver and the gold. They made their appeal to fellow-christians in India. They assumed the appellation of "*The German Evangelical Mission in Tinnevelly,*" and then made their objects and plans known to brethren in Germany, to German brethren in America, and Christians in Britain. Resources were furnished with liberality and promptitude from Scotland and America, and Mr. Rhenius was enabled, in the last letter which he wrote before his decease, to give thanks to God for seasonable supplies, sent to them as they needed. "We have gone on in this way already near the last twelve months, and the Lord is greatly strengthening our faith, so that we do not fear."—"So you see the Lord provides. Trust in him at all times." These

expressions were written on May the 12th, and on the 5th of June, 1838, he closed his course! His end was peace; his bodily sufferings were brief and few, and a change to unspeakable blessedness was the prospect which opened to himself. But it left a family bereaved of their head and counsellor, and a mission weakened and prostrated, desolate brethren, and a wide blank in the ranks of the faithful army of the living God. The tears of his family and friends were mingled with those of many natives, christian and heathen. Most affecting was the sight, when, one after another, the catechists who were out in the district, and the people, came breathless to the house, to try if, by any means, they might once more behold the face of their long-loved teacher. Many were too late, even to be present at the funeral; and for a whole fortnight after, catechists and people were coming in to the station, in order to mourn the loss of their spiritual father with his surviving brethren.

When the mission was resumed at the end of December, 1835, fifteen hundred and sixty-one families separated from the Church Missionary Society, and united with the German Mission. In May, 1837, they had increased to almost 8,000 souls; contained in families 2,200, and villages 210; instructed by 110 teachers: and in May, 1838, the increase had continued, and the blessing of God encouraged the labourers. All the German Missions had not so prospered; but it is probable that of native converts attached to the stations of

the older and younger church societies, in the peninsula, where German missionaries have chiefly laboured, from Madras to Tinnevely, there may be 30,000 people. The narrative we have given will indicate how far the predilections of the Hindoo converts are allied to the opinions and discipline of their long cherished teachers; and the probability that the most, if not all, are Lutherans in church government; and, that as far as doctrine is concerned, the formulas of the Anglican church are not of high authority among christian Hindoos. The Vepery mission, the Tanjore and Tranquebar missions, the Trichinopoly and Tinnevely missions, and the native Christians at Cuddalore and Negapatam, are principally Lutheran. The apprehensions of Dr. Wilson, therefore, as Bishop of Calcutta, were not groundless, so far as the measure might affect the members and unity of the Church of England societies.

Dr. Claudius Buchanan wrote, during his "Christian Researches in India," a series of lively and familiar letters to his excellent friend, the Rev. David Brown, one of the first of modern christian ministers in India, and provost of Fort William College. In one of his letters, dated Madras, 6th August, 1806, he begs his friend to communicate to his daughter, then a child, some of the curiosities he had seen. "Tell H. that I saw, yesterday," he says, "St. Thomas's bones, preserved as a relic in a gold shrine; and that I saw his grave, whence the Roman Catholic pilgrims carry the dust." Gibbon

speaks with uncertainty as to this Indian missionary, whether “an apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant, who was famous as early as the times of Jerome.” It is recorded in a Saxon chronicle, and by William of Malmesbury, that ambassadors from Alfred the Great visited the shrine of St. Thomas, towards the close of the ninth century, and returned from the neighbourhood of Madras with a cargo of pearls and spices. Marco Paulo, a Venetian traveller, whose journeys and voyages were performed in the thirteenth century, penetrated as far as the city of Malabar, or Mileapore, only a league distant from Madras, and was assured that on that spot St. Thomas had suffered martyrdom. La Croze asserts that here the Portuguese founded an episcopal church under the name of St. Thome; where they represented the saint as performing an annual miracle, till the English heretics took possession of Madras-Patnam, when he was silenced by their profane neighbourhood. The St. Thome, or Jacobite, otherwise called the Syrian christians, consider themselves as the descendants of the flock established by St. Thomas, whom they call the apostle of the east. But they trace their ancestry to Syria, whence the first founders of their church emigrated; and the Syro-Chaldaic is the language in which their church service is still performed. When the Portuguese first opened Indian navigation, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages in the peninsula between Malabar and Coromandel, and their character and colour



seemed to countenance the idea of a mixture of a foreign race. Mileapore has long since declined, though placed more advantageously upon the coast than Madras ; and possesses stronger recommendations for salubrity, sea air, and a fish market. Still known as St. Thome to the admirer of antiquity, or the inquirer after matters *curious* in history, it presents peculiar attractions, and is prettily situated on the beach to the south of Madras.

I occasionally visited this deserted ruin of christian antiquity ; and in my rambles or inquiries heard the story of St. Thomas, the origin of the *Luz* church, and the process of popish conversions. The legend connected with the church represents the Portuguese colonists in quest of a place suitable for their settlement, and attracted by a flame issuing from the ground, as brilliant as if it were a burning naphtha stream. They hailed this as a divine indication of the *site* on which they should rear their ecclesiastical edifice, and an assurance that thus they should perpetuate the hallowed memorial of the martyred apostle's zeal and labours, sufferings and death. It is a mile beyond Treblicane, a Mohammedan suburb ; as if the beast and the false prophet would either contend for victory, or join hands for dominion over the poor people. There are a small cathedral, and two well-built chapels, under the charge of a Portuguese bishop, and a sufficient supply of Romish priests, educated at Goa ; who have been recently joined by Roman Catholic missionaries from Britain. *Matins* and

vespers in their season, and ceremonies at every hour, were proclaimed by the *ding-dong* of the chapel bells; and in these places many kneel before the visible cross, rendering to an idolatrous emblem the worship due only to the Eternal King.

The ministers of superstition assume the guardianship of Thomas the reputed Apostle's grave, and pretend to enrich the pilgrim devotees with his hallowed dust, to be carried to the most distant parts of India; and yet they shew his bones, according to the legend, fabricated almost two centuries since, preserved within a gold shrine. The Jacobite Christians dwelling here, when the Portuguese made their first intruding and usurping encroachments, all agreed in marking out this as the spot where the Apostle had been buried; but they affirmed that the bones had been carried away as relics to Syria; yet they venerated the place where he had rested from his labours; even the surrounding heathen join in this veneration, and gifts are still here offered on the reputed anniversary of his martyrdom. We need not remark how insignificant is the matter of debate, and how alien from the spirit of Christianity, is such superstition. The tradition serves to connect the history of the Syrian Christians with St. Thome, and to shew how their place and privileges have been encroached upon or usurped by the Roman Catholics.

It is affirmed, that the apostle Thomas sailed from Aden, in Arabia, not far distant from the Straits

of Babel-Mandeb, a port now in the possession of the British, and landed at Cranganore, on the western coast of Asia. Heber conjectured that his design had been to visit the Jews, who were settled in India prior to the Christian era, and to labour for their conversion: that he proceeded to the Coromandel coast, travelled to Mileapore, where he received and welcomed the crown of martyrdom. If such were the case, no question can be entertained of his fidelity, and that he endured joyfully the loss of all things, and the sufferings to which he was exposed, for the honour of his "Lord and his God." Yet we are almost disposed to regret that our dependence must be upon the *possible* correctness of tradition, and that our knowledge must be selected from popular tales. Were we permitted, we could wish that the *acts and testimony* of the favoured apostles had been the subject of inspired record, which should be handed down for the edification of subsequent generations. But God seeth not as man seeth, nor are his ways as our ways; while the primitive labourers have long since rested from their toils, their works have followed them. In the book of his remembrance are all their sufferings written: and they have a place in the Lamb's book of life; they now rejoice that their names were therein enrolled: for their Lord has granted to him who overcame to sit with Him on His throne, even as He also overcame, and is set down with the Father in His throne. Though no sculptured marble serve as the tablet for a record of their labours; though no

pillared monument distinguish the abode of their sleeping dust ; though no mausoleum indite the admiration of fellow-men ; though history has hung out no escutcheon, emblazoned by the memorials of their heroic achievements ; and though fame has surrendered to temporary oblivion deeds which turned the world upside down, *their record is on High*. The diffusion of Christianity, the existence of the christian churches, the long line of successive christian generations, the triumphs, the conquests of christian principle, are their memorial, their joy, their crown. And the unbelievers who would now witness with contempt the honour and distinction of the fishermen of Galilee, shall be required one day to hear with more attention, than if proclaimed by a thousand tongues, or with an angel's trumpet, their works of faith, their patience of hope, and their labours of love, when through faith they subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, and obtained promises, waxed valiant in fight, overcame through the blood of the Lamb, and came off as conquerors and more than conquerors, through Him who loved them.\* The Syrian Christians may have been in early days the crown of rejoicing for Thomas, called Didymus ; and though the remnant discovered in recent times, as the Christians of St. Thome, have been poor and ignorant, as they were despised and persecuted, a brighter and more glorious era may yet await them ; when they shall shine forth as the righteous in the kingdom of their Father, and display again an apostolic purity, and a primitive

simplicity and zeal in the service of their Redeemer, as their Lord and their God.

The creed which these representatives of an ancient line of Christians cherished, was not in conformity with papal decrees, and has with difficulty been squared with the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican episcopacy. Separated from the western world for a thousand years, they were naturally ignorant of many novelties introduced by the councils and decrees of the Lateran; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the first ages, laid them open to the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism, as estimated by the Church of Rome. "We are christians, and not idolaters," was their expressive reply when required to do homage to the image of the Virgin Mary. They had piously commemorated men reputed as Nestorians in their liturgy, and adhered to the communion of the patriarch of Antioch or Mosul, who used to ordain their metropolitans or bishops. These shepherds were wont to traverse the distant regions, from Syria, and pass by sea to the coast of Malabar, where they were affectionately received. They were charged with addressing their adoration to *two persons* in Christ under *one aspect* : but Mosheim explains this word for *aspect*, *barsopa* as synonymous with the Greek word *prosōpon*—so that this idea of *aspect* agrees with our signification of *person*. The same diligent historian mentions, to their lasting honour, that they were the most careful of all other societies, and successful in avoiding a multi-

tude of superstitious opinions and practices which infected the Greek and Latin Churches. They read the daily lessons in the vernacular tongue, and had no restrictions upon the use of the same language for public prayer. The Jesuits accuse the Syrian clergy of India of practising marriage, and observing only the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper : of maintaining only two orders, or names of office in the church, the *bishop and deacon*, and of refusing to invoke saints, to worship images, or believe in purgatory : they also regarded the title of *Mother of God* to Mary, as most offensive. The Portuguese dominion of the eastern seas, enabled the Romish emissaries to cut off intercourse between the patriarch and the Syrian Christians : their bishops died, or were carried prisoners to Lisbon. Gibbon represents the metropolitan, or bishop of Angamala, as exercising a jurisdiction over fourteen hundred churches, and a pastoral care of two hundred thousand souls. La Croze states them at fifteen hundred churches, and as many towns and villages. They refused to recognise the pope, and declared they had never heard of him ; they asserted the purity and primitive truth of their faith since they came, and their bishops had for thirteen hundred years been sent from the place where the followers of Jesus were first called Christians. In arms, in arts, as well as in virtue, they excelled the other natives, and enjoyed distinctions accorded only to heirs of the crown, or ambassadors besides themselves ; their

husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree; their merchants were enriched by the pepper-trade; they were instructed in the use of arms from their eighth to their twenty-fifth year, and their soldiers took precedence of the *Nairs* or nobles of Malabar, who regarded it as a great honour to be esteemed as their brothers; and their privileges, as second in rank only to the Brahmins, were held in respect by the highest Hindoo princes, who manifested for them an extraordinary veneration.

The people were resolute in defending their ancient faith, and refusing submission to the pope. By strata-gem, fraud, and conspiracy, therefore, the Portuguese persecutors attempted, and, for a season, seemed to accomplish their submission. A Synod was convened in the year 1599, at Udiamper, and 150 of the Syrian clergy compelled to appear, where they were required to abjure such of their opinions as did not accord with the Romish creed. Archbishop Menezes presided: the only alternative held out was, suspension and the inquisition; all their original works on ecclesiastical subjects were ordered to be consumed. The supremacy of the pope was thus set up: but the people declared they would rather part with their lives than use the Latin language in their prayers; their Syriac liturgy, purged in conformity with papal usurpations, was retained, and a nominal conformity was thus established; and some of their flocks and chapels alienated on the sea coast, among which St. Thome was included. At such a time it was well for their church

she had a wilderness to which she might flee. The churches in the *interior* would not yield to Rome. They proclaimed perpetual hostility to the Inquisition; they hid their books, and fled to the mountains, and sought protection from even heathen princes. They partially recovered their religious liberty, when the courage and industry of the Dutch shook the Portuguese empire. The Syrians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuit persecutors were unable to defend the power which they had usurped and abused: Gibbon says, “the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants: and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syrian missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon.” Yet the leaven was too intimately diffused to be so easily expelled, and there is now a Syrian Roman church, where the nominal Nestorians maintained their worship for thirteen centuries. The Syrian christians of both sections, however, exhibit the ruins of antiquity, venerable for their continuance, and interesting for their history. They were driven from their beloved abodes, but their present sequestered residence is not without its charms. The enthusiast among them for nature’s beauties (and why should not there be among the Syrian Christians, lovers of nature?) will scarcely mourn the event which led to a seclusion in their present abode. They are placed in the vicinity of stupendous mountains; the face of



their country presents a varied scene of hill and dale, and winding stream. The extreme limits of the Syrian churches from south to north, are more than 150 miles apart, and from east to west, or in breadth, 30 miles. Besides many mountain streams, the ebbing or receding backwaters wind through the valleys. The perennial streams from the hills preserve the valleys in the richest verdure; forests, gardens, and plantations abound, and the produce of the soil is most exuberant. The mountain lands are not barren or uncovered, but present a richness of scenery of unequalled grandeur; here the Indian oak, otherwise called the teak, flourishes in immense forests of the finest timber; while the lower woodlands produce pepper and frankincense, cardamoms, cassia, and other aromatics. Fruits of a hundred diversified names and qualities are here poured from the lap of nature; the pine and plantain, the papayah and pombilmo, the citron and melon, the chaina and mango, the cocoa-nut and cucumber. The appearance of the villages and their rural and simpler places of worship in this mountainous and wooded country, is most picturesque. Remote from the busy haunts of commerce, or the populous seats of manufacturing industry, they may be regarded as the eastern Piedmontese, the Vallois of Hindostan, the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth through revolving centuries, though indeed their bodies lay as dead in the streets of the city which they had once peopled.

Angamala, the ancient seat of their bishop, is one

of the most remote of Syrian towns, and is situated on a high land : yet here a Jewish synagogue stands near to, or joins hard by the christian chapel, and Jew and Christian have been wont to live in peace in this land of common exile. Cranganore is the place celebrated for the landing of the Apostle Thomas in India, and not far off is the town of Pavor, where stands an ancient Syrian church, supposed to be the oldest in Malabar, which bears the name of the Apostle. It has a sloping roof, arched windows at one gable, which is the front and main entrance ; there are five crosses erect, two on either side of the peaked roof, and one on the highest point, and one in the wall over the door : at the other gable is a round detached tower, slanting roof, and surmounted with a cross ; the bells of the Syrians are hung within their chapels, lest they should disturb the heathen *gods* which may be in the vicinity. The buildings have been compared to some old parish churches in England, the style of which is of Saracenic origin, with buttresses supporting the walls—the beams of the roof, where exposed to view, are ornamented, and the ceiling of the altar and choir is circular and fretted.

While we dwell upon these vestiges of antiquity, and recount the events of their history with a sympathetic interest, it is to us a matter of regret and lamentation, that they should have so long existed, surrounded by darkness and superstition, by error and delusion, both degrading and ruinous, without any successful effort to propagate that truth which

they affirm an Apostle came to Western India to proclaim. And while it is a cause of mutual congratulation between them and us, that we should both possess, in a language which we understand, the sacred oracles of the living God, it is to be deplored, that, though they had obtained them at a very early period, they should have continued to hold them in the Syriac language, without any attempt to translate them into the vernacular dialect of the people themselves. It seems a humbling rebuke to the professors of the Christian name, that a fourth part of the nineteenth century should have passed away before any great progress should be attained in rendering the inspired volume into the Malayalim, their own language, and that this, too, should at last be the work of strangers, who had travelled ten thousand miles to labour among them. Would it not be presumptuous to anticipate or look for exertions becoming Christians from these Syrians, to promote among their neighbours the knowledge of the true God? The people at their doors, the subjects of the same government, still remained bewildered idolaters, and had not been regarded for many ages as fit subjects for evangelical exertion. No wonder that one of themselves should confess, "We are in a degenerate state compared with our forefathers; the glory of our church has passed away; we have preserved the Bible; we have also converts from time to time; but in this christian duty we are not so active as we once were; it is not so creditable now to become Chris-

tian in our low estate." To the rajah and his court, whose protection they so long enjoyed, they were known only as *Sooriani*; but not as professing a religion similar to the faith of that power which had secured to himself his throne, and had for a century been consolidating an empire around him, and has at last become paramount through all India. Surely, if that great light, the word of the living God, had been held up as a lamp of knowledge, then would the people, who so long sat in the region and shadow of death, have beheld and turned to Jehovah with thankfulness and joy.

Something has, however, been done by themselves, and for them, to improve their spiritual condition, and increase their religious and moral influence. The visit of Dr. Buchanan in 1806, and his subsequent publication of what he had seen, imparted excitement to the people themselves; inquiry, and some little exertion, followed. His *Christian Researches* stirred up many pious men in his own community at home, and led to the appointment of an Anglican episcopal missionary to the country of Travancore. The Rev. Messrs. Norton, Bailey, Baker, and Fenn, were stationed at Allepie in 1816, and at Cotym in the years 1817 and 1818. A Mr. Redsdale and a Dr. Doran were added to the number after a few years, and several chaplains of the East India Company have exerted themselves among the Syrians, especially Messrs. Hough and Jeffreson. General instruction was promoted by the establishment of schools. Copies

of the Syriac Scriptures were sent from the British and Foreign Bible Society. The missionaries carried forward to completion a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Malayalim language, the vernacular dialect of that province. The liturgy of the church of England was also introduced in the same language into the services of several congregations. At Cotym a Brahminical college of celebrity had existed long before, and another had been recently erected not far distant, for the cultivation of Sanscrit learning. A christian college was founded by the benevolent liberality of Colonel Munro, British resident at Travancore, and had been built in 1815. The rannee, or queen regent of Travancore, was induced to patronise this institution by a gift of 2,000*l.*, and a grant of land called Munro Island,—endowments equal to the support of fifty scholarships. The enlightened views on which Colonel Munro exerted himself for this institution, were expressed by him in 1819 in the following statement.—“ It is only by an efficient course of instruction at the college, that a respectable body of native clergy can be procured for the service of the Syrian churches, and for the propagation of Christianity among the heathen.” The college was provided with an English (missionary) superintendent, two Syriac and one Hebrew professors, two native teachers of Sanscrit, and an English teacher and assistant. In a short time fifty students were profiting by the advantages of the institution, and the whole Syrian population looked to the college

as the eye of their body, making it their boast ; while the students gave indications of zeal and progress. Three seminaries, on the plan of free grammar schools, were established, one for the central, one for the northern, and one for the southern divisions of the country. The most promising youths were selected from these for the college, which they entered as soon as vacancies occurred. The number of youths under instruction exceeded a thousand, in common schools, besides the fifty who attended college to prepare for ministerial services in the church. A printing press had also been established, from which the sacred Scriptures (translations), native works, and religious tracts, continued to issue and circulate among the people. The formation of a public, or collegiate library, had been commenced, and several thousand volumes collected.

As an illustration of the interest taken in these proceedings by the Syrian metropolitan, and the partial progress of this ecclesiastic in *book* learning, as well as the miscellaneous nature of the books, we may mention the following incident. Mar-Dionysius took a pleasure in conducting visiters through the college. To one visiter, after having shewn all other matters, deemed curiosities, he shewed a book, printed in English type, but not in the English language, and expressed his regret that no one of his learned friends had been able to interpret or translate this strange work. The friend to whom he made his complaint, glanced over the page, and found it to be a copy of the Scriptures,

in Gaelic, which some Highland soldier had conveyed to the regions of Travancore. When his visiter was able to explain to the metropolitan the mysterious volume, he concluded that the lady was more learned than many of his wisest associates.

These benevolent and enlightening operations were conducted whilst we were in the country, with the concurrence of the principal men among the Syrian clergy; the chief of whom resided at the college, and joined in the deliberations of the missionaries. We know not whether it has been the effect of Anglican intercourse, but a much greater variety of ecclesiastical distinctions are recognised among them than when their standard of faith was first promulgated in Europe by Dr. Buchanan. The metron, metropolitan or bishop, who generally assumes the title *MAR*; as *Mar-Philoxenus*, *Mar-Dionysius*, &c., is still an office-bearer appointed from Antioch. In times of emergency, the Syrian clergy have chosen one of themselves to hold the office temporarily, till an accredited bishop, ordained and appointed by the patriarch of Antioch, shall arrive, and with all due authority assume his functions; so was it when Colonel Munro first interested himself in their welfare. The *Ramban* was selected by his brother clergy, we were told, on account of his eminent devotion, and assumed the designation—*Mar-Philoxenus*, and another metropolitan was appointed; and this man of the people's choice quietly retired to the north district of their country, about a

hundred miles from Cotym, where he maintained the most friendly correspondence with Mar-Dionysius, who had been sent to supersede him. The ramban, we presume, is synonymous with what Gibbon designates the *archdeacon*, when describing a similar temporary arrangement. The *Malpans* are represented as Syriac doctors; the Catanars are officiating clergy, designated priests by the English episcopalians; Dr. Buchanan called them *Kasheesas*. There has been, occasionally, some apprehension lest the missionaries should overrule the inclinations, and by their domination, subvert the native discipline of the Syrians. Their indirect alliance with the Company's government, and control over the funds provided by their society, give countenance to this fear; and about the year 1821, a report was circulated that they were interfering with the Syrians in opposition to the metropolitan's wish. Dr. Middleton, on his voyage from a visitation at Bombay, stopped at Cochin, and *sent for the Syrian bishop* to ascertain whether or no it was the fact; but was satisfied by the metropolitan declaring that there was no truth in the report; he expressed his approbation, and took his leave. There is, however, much room for intrigue and secret influence for one purpose or another, in the *patriarchal* appointment of the bishop himself; and there has been sometimes danger of a divided episcopate, hostile factions, and a distracted church. It has *almost* required the strong arm of *power* to set aside the temporary functionary, to invest the



duly accredited prelate, and exact the obedience of the under-shepherds and the flock. Dr. Heber had an opportunity, in 1825, to exert a large measure of influence at such a crisis. While he was visiting Bombay, a new Syrian bishop (was it a coincidence?) arrived from Antioch; he was recognised by the bishop of Calcutta; the *two* prelates hailed each other as brother dignitaries, received and administered the sacrament within the rails of the altar as coadjutors, and then the Syrian metropolitan proceeded with augmented power and important credentials to the court of Travancore, and the college of Cotym. They all feel it is of the greatest consequence, that “no abatement of the regard of the *sahibs* at Cotym should befall them.” Recently matters do not wear so favourable an aspect. There are about fifty-five or sixty parishes, and sixty thousand people professing to be united as brethren of the Syrian churches. But as Anglican episcopacy prevails in the peninsula, the two bodies will gradually merge as one, and the Syrian and Anglican Hindoo Christians will find themselves subject to the same rulers, and managed under the same policy. The Syrian relics will pass away, and the power of Antioch will succumb to the supremacy of Lambeth.

To the classical, no less than to the ecclesiastical historian, the vicissitudes and story of Armenia are deeply interesting. It lay between the grasping power of the Cæsars and the Sapers in the days of their ambition, and was equally the arena of con-

tention for the fire-worshipping Sophi, the bigoted and fierce follower of the prophet, and the emissary of the man of sin. Notwithstanding the peaceful disposition of the inhabitants, the regions between Tauris and Erivan, the Euphrates and Caspian sea, were the theatre of perpetual war. The Armenians have ever been proud of their country; they not only loved it as their birth-place, but revered it as the cradle of the world. On the mountains of Ararat, in Armenia, did Noah's ark rest, and in the valleys at their base did his posterity find a dwelling place. But in the later ages, their homes were dismantled, their plains dispeopled; and, when their country had been overrun by Mohammedan arms, myriads of christian families were transplanted from Armenia into Persia, and dispersed into surrounding countries. Abbas the Great, king of Persia, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, laid waste all that part of Armenia which was contiguous to his dominions; and, inhuman barbarian! ordered the exiles to betake themselves to the territories more adjacent to his court. By which summary policy, he proposed to resist the aggressive devastations of the Turks; and by cutting off the means of their subsistence, either to retard or effectually to oppose their progress, and so fortify his dominions by a wilderness rather than by walled towns and armed battalions. It was a small compensation, that he granted a beautiful suburb of Ispahan, his capital, for the residence of the better sort of Armenians, where they were to enjoy the

free exercise of their religion under the jurisdiction of a patriarch. Soon after this act of short-sighted policy, his power and designs were brought low. Even yet darker clouds which had been hovering, broke over the Armenians, and they were involved in grievous calamities : a storm of persecution arose upon them which shook the constancy of many, who apostatised to Mohammedanism. Others wandered over the earth, as a second nation of Jews, and have become the merchants and brokers of the different countries to which they resort. Many of them made their way into India ; and by industry and acuteness have acquired a large share in the business of the country : they have become, many of them, enterprising, affluent, and respectable. Armenians may be found in every principal city of the East, and are in a state of constant motion, travelling, and holding intercourse between Canton and Constantinople. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, they have obtained a large and lucrative share of the commerce of the East ; and the fruits of their patient industry are often consecrated upon the altars of their fatherland to uphold the ministrations of their faith among the natives of Armenia, or to propagate their doctrines in other countries.

Armenia, as a kingdom, was first subjugated in name to the christian yoke by its heroic prince Tiridates, during the early part of the fourth century. Gregory, the son of Anax, was honoured as the illuminator, when the standard of the cross was

established from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Euphrates. But the Christians suffered from their countrymen, were persecuted and expelled from their places of assembly about the year 350 ; however, when succoured by Constantius, they returned again to their altars and their homes ; where gratitude to their benefactor did not fade from their memory ; neither could they be tempted nor forced by the authority and mandates of the apostate Julian, to weaken the cause of the church through their alienation. Previous to the fifth century, the Christians of this nation used the Greek or Syriac scriptures ; but at that time an alphabet of their own was formed ; and Mesrobes, the inventor of their letters, also translated the holy books into the language of the people. Under the rod of oppression, the zeal of the Armenians has been characterized, by no partial historian, as fervent and intrepid ; they often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mohammed—and rather than wield the sword, and wear the helmet of war, they addicted themselves to commerce, and through evil report and good report, have adhered to their faith.

Persecution forced them as exiles to the East as well as to the West : those who fled to Europe engaged in commerce, and fixed their residence at Venice, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and London ; but they forgot not the interest of that faith for which they had been driven from their native land. The situation of the western wanderers afforded favour-

able opportunities for exciting their zeal in the service of religion, and especially for supplying their Asiatic brethren with Armenian translations of the Holy Scriptures, and of theological works from the European presses. In England and Holland, they enjoyed the greatest facilities for this benevolent undertaking, and most generously employed themselves and their resources for the circulation of the Bible in Armenia. Their version is considered of a high character. Le Crose denominates it the "queen of versions."

I have met an Armenian gentleman, as member of a Bible Society committee in India, and he assured me that they had the Sacred Scriptures among themselves. Two of this nation were regular auditors in my congregation, and most devout worshippers they appeared; they also generously contributed to the advancement of missionary exertions.

I cordially join in the expressions of the traveller Chardin, when I consider what they have experienced and sustained. "It is marvellous how the Armenian Christians have preserved their faith equally against the vexatious oppressions of the Mohammedans, their sovereigns, and the persuasions of the Romish church, which, for more than two centuries, has endeavoured by missionaries, priests, and monks, to attach them to her communion. It is impossible to describe the artifices and expenses of the court of Rome to effect this object, but all in vain." I never could look upon an

Armenian, even passing him in the street, or on the road, without a feeling of sincere respect and almost fondness—a tribute which their constancy and sufferings for religion justly claimed; but of which they were the unconscious recipients: yet I do not propose to panegyrisé them at the expense of truth.

There is somewhat against them yet. I do not refer to the state of their ecclesiastical government—the patriarch of which resides in the monastery of Echmiazan, three leagues from Erivan, having forty-two archbishops subjected to his jurisdiction, and an annual revenue, it is said, of six hundred thousand crowns; but, to his praise be it recorded, there is no mark of opulence or pomp in his external appearance, nor in his domestic economy; his table is plain; nor is he distinguished from the monks with whom he lives, but by his superior power and authority. He attains the patriarchal dignity by the suffrages of the assembled bishops. The prelates of this church, when they have performed their liturgy, cultivate their garden; and the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank. But the Bible Christian will complain, that though possessed of the Sacred Oracles, and professing the religion which came down from heaven, these Armenians sought not to communicate their doctrines among the people with whom they sojourned; and were satisfied, if tolerated to observe their own rites, and permitted to pursue the lucre of mer-

chandize, and the gain of traffic. They maintained a distinction from others, by their religion, but they did not seek to distinguish their religion by its genuine characteristics—benevolence, extension, and universality. They put their candle under a bushel; their light did not shine before men. They have a church in each of the three presidencies, at Chinsurah, Dacca and Sydabad, but it is for themselves; and the services of their liturgic worship are performed in the vernacular dialect of their original country.

They had evidently attained to a high place in the esteem of Heber, who held brotherly conference with their bishop; but it is possible he might regard them more for what they may yet become, than for what they have been or done. And the demonstration which they gave of their respect for his memory, though highly complimentary, was not a satisfactory display of their knowledge or scriptural piety: they had mass, or a very similar service, with prayers, for three days, at Calcutta, after they heard of his death, for the repose of his soul. However, they have not assimilated to the other corruptions of Rome, nor the superstitions of the Greek church. They are generally represented as Eutychians, or Monosophytes; and affirm that the manhood of Christ was of a divine and incorruptible substance; but I imagine these are the errors rather of their theoretical men, who glory in the antiquity of their religion, and who, with a very small portion of real knowledge,

speculate and lose themselves in vague abstractions. The people are not generally enlightened, far less learned. The natives of Armenia are represented as ignorant, and the exiles are more occupied with commerce than with literature.

The Armenian church is one of the most attractive objects on the esplanade, between Fort St. George and the Black Town of Madras. Besides the place of congregational worship, other buildings and apartments form the edifice; and the whole is enclosed by a wall. The walls are *chunamed*, or coated with Indian plaster, which gives a neat and most respectable appearance to the *tout-ensemble*. The entrance is guarded by a gate, kept shut, except at times of assembly. The principal building is surmounted by a low conical dome, with brass or gilded ornaments. The whole structure cannot be described as possessing much architectural ornament: yet it is an interesting, though unpretending edifice, and has been finished with marked propriety. There is a quiet taste and an unobtrusive air about it, which is pleasing. The court is paved, and kept perfectly clean. I never was present in the chapel to witness their service; but shall borrow the following description from Major S——, who describes, from personal observation, the Armenian forms in Calcutta.

“ The church, in the inside, was divided in the middle by a blue iron railing, with gilt heads. The men of the congregation place themselves in front of this; the women behind, and farthes from the



altar : just below the steps of which sits the presiding priest, in the eastern fashion, on his carpet. A veil of embroidery hangs down before the altar, and paintings adorn all the chapel walls. When the veil is lifted up, you see priests in gorgeous robes, and servitors with bells, staves overlaid with their round laminæ of gold at the top, and censers of incense. The altar is highly ornamented, has a scripture-piece painted over it ; and the whole scene has an air of theatrical solemnity, not suited for a place of worship.

“ In the course of the worship, they carry a painting of the crucifixion round the chapel in procession. When they administer the sacrament, they give small portions of the bread to all the congregation, who receive it with great reverence ; taste, then wrap it up in linen, and carry it away with them after the service. The bishop always first blesses the elements. The service closes by the officiating priest reading a lesson from the Gospel. The book, which is a small volume with covers of solid silver, wrapped in a napkin of gold tissue, is brought forth with much ceremony, and placed on a portable stand in the body of the chapel. When the priest has concluded, all the men and women draw near in succession, kiss the book with great reverence, and quietly withdraw. In the midst of the service, came in a rude hardy-looking man, who bowed his knee with little appearance of awe, and gazed round him with a fearless curiosity. His bare head, with a profusion of brown sun-tinged

hair, naked throat, brown jacket, with full short trowsers of the same, gathered just below the knee, and a red sash, marked him an Armenian sailor from some port in the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf. Throughout the whole service, the silence, the fixed attention, devotional countenances, and low prostrations of all, surprise you. In few Roman Catholic chapels have I seen such solemn worship as in this Armenian one. The absence of images, the distribution of the bread, and the reading of the Scriptures, are the features which particularly mark the distinction in the daily service of the two churches."

To employ again the phraseology of my *quondam* ciceroni: "These females with pale complexions, so as almost to indicate sickliness, with full, black, and expressive eyes, and countenances pensive, modest, and interesting, are Armenian women retiring from worship. You mark their costume. A small tiara-formed cap, with a jewelled front, is hooded over with a fine shawl, whose large and graceful folds falling behind, cover the body, and almost conceal their forms: that fine-looking young man, of fair complexion, in a clean white vest, with a dark blue sash, and a high cap of black velvet, with many points, is an Armenian gentleman; and the low stout man, in a purple robe, and mitre cap, with a long black bushy beard, who is speaking to him, is a priest from Armenia." They are almost everywhere respectable, industrious, and enterprising; and in Madras, are generally possessed of

great riches ; one of their number had accumulated such wealth, that he is represented to have advanced to the government 160,000*l.* as a loan. But among them are occasionally to be found decayed families, and individuals who have sunk from affluence ; and they are not less susceptible of mental anguish and excitement than other nations.

One family well known at the presidency, exhibits a brief but powerful comment on the vanity of worldly riches and mere human greatness. The father died, leaving a large disposable property to the son. Ambition, or pleasure, drew the young man into the vortex of dissipation ; the sun which had shone upon his birth, became obscured, and adversity lowered upon his path. The buffeting storm assailed him unprepared, and the overwhelming torrent came upon his defenceless head. Perplexity, agitation, disquietude, and gloom, seized his bosom, distracted his mind, and carried him away as with a whirlwind in a cloudy and dark day ; his mental system became a wreck of a thousand fragments, driven by the excited passions, and flitting recollections which lingered about his ungovernable mind. He became the inhabitant of an asylum which had been prepared by generous and enlightened humanity ; and was attended with skill and kindness, provided by a liberal government. I have lain for hours upon my Indian cot, and listened night after night, and two hours after the midnight watch, through successive weeks, to the melancholy and deeply affecting music of a wildly, sweetly

played flageolet;—the only solace afforded to this child of sorrow—once a son of fortune, but now the sad monumental ruin, the mental fragments of proud, but frail man. I was sad, yet I did not weep; nor did I strive to banish “the maniac’s wild notes.” I felt pleased—that even in his delirium, he was permitted to enjoy gratification, and was capable of receiving any soothing indulgence, and deriving relief from even unseasonable recreations. I felt a grief—that sin should have so reigned, that suffering should so prevail, that any man could be so absent to all society, and the vicissitudes of day and night, and so absorbed in mental solitariness. What is man!

It was said of Jesus, that he went about doing good; so also will all his genuine followers and faithful disciples. But it is a singular fact in the modern heathen world, that while there were places of accommodation for the superstitious worshipper and the objects of idolatrous veneration, no care has been taken to provide a receptacle for the diseased in body, or those afflicted with the maladies of a distracted mind. A wide and unoccupied sphere remained for Christianity, in which to do good, and to communicate the charities of life. No lunatic asylum, nor means for alleviating the condition of the insane, was prepared in India till British benevolence and Christian sympathy took compassion on the moon-struck maniac and the broken heart, and provided a retreat for him from the rude gaze and the unfeeling selfishness of man.

In the efforts of modern missionaries the Armenians are not overlooked, and the blessings of the Gospel have happily been extended to some honoured men among them. The men of this nation whom I have met, were not only accessible, but liberal in their contributions to christian missions. When a work of revival shall have begun, and a turning to the Lord shall prevail among them in their present dispersion, they will be found efficient and acceptable auxiliaries. They are located in every principal city of the East, and maintain a constant intercourse with Persia and the land of their fathers. Armenian missionaries have more directly engaged in operations to diffuse among them the Gospel, and they find unbounded facilities for the distribution of tracts. They anticipate no limit to the demand for such instruction except the inadequacy of their means. The whole nation are hungering and thirsting already for religious books, and are as ready to receive them at the hands of the missionaries as from their own bishops; even the ecclesiastics, from the patriarch to the obscurest priest, are foremost in their importunities for the circulation of christian knowledge among clergy and people. A respectable Armenian of Calcutta has entered upon the zealous and active duties of an agent in evangelical labours; he has furnished the following information. "My brother is in Calcutta. He comes from Bussorah, in the Persian gulf. He brought most pleasing news about our Armenian tracts: he tells me all I wanted

to know; the language is understood by all; the errors of the Armenian church are unmasked; and he has derived great benefit himself. When the tracts were distributed at Bussorah, great inquiry was made after them by many, and a young man gave out that he was going to reply to them. As soon as I heard this, says my brother, I went to him and said, 'Friend, I hear you are going to reply to my brother's Armenian tracts.' He said, 'Yes; I have written about four or five pages.' I wished to see what he had written; but he replied, 'I cannot shew you, till I finish it.' 'Friend,' said I, 'have you ever seen or read any of the tracts?' He replied, 'No, never.' I said, 'You had better get a copy first, and, after you understand well, then you will be able to make a good reply.' He consented, was supplied with a copy of the last Armenian tract, which he gladly received and began to read. To the inquiry, after a few days, if he had read it, he replied, 'Yes, but I have nothing more to say, because the author proves the Scriptures to be the only rule and guide of our faith, life, and conduct; so that I cannot write any thing more.' Poor Armenians! Yet they are my dear nation. Some of them are trying to hurt me, but how they will do it, they know not. However, my dear brother, himself, was despised for the sake of the truth, for he left the Armenian church, and is thinking to be baptized."

Besides the descendants, collateral and direct, of the primary Portuguese settlers, there are other

dwellers in India of European extraction—of Dutch, Danish, French, and English descent ; and an intermixture of all with the Hindoo family. They are far from being insignificant in number, and by the political relation to their mother countries, a link between both, they are doubtless destined to fill a place in the moral movements of that great and multitudinous empire, in which they must soon, we apprehend, be denizenized ; and in the history of that country, where they have recently acquired a designation, as Eurasians, distinct from Hindoos and Britons. Joined to the members of the Portuguese community resident in India, it will, perhaps, not exaggerate their numerical strength, if we estimate them at three hundred thousand souls. At all the presidencies there are schools under government patronage, where English reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught ; to these schools the children of many of this race are eligible : there are, besides, schools supported by the contributions of enlightened and generous individuals, among which are the Black Town Chapel free schools, and the Black Town missionary free schools, and other missionary institutions, which are maintained for their instruction. There is, too, an apprenticing society, for communicating to them the knowledge of trades, as also a battalion or corps of artificers supported by government, in which particular attention is paid both to their moral improvement and their progress in the mechanical arts. There are, moreover, many among this class

who are wealthy enough, and disposed to send their children to boarding schools, or private tutors.

In the times of their greatest prosperity, those who exercised the control over the Grecian and Roman colonial politics, seemed more anxious to secure a reciprocal affection and intercourse, by a community of privileges between the mother country and her distant emigrants and colonists, and to possess their attachment and cooperation, their efficiency and courage, in times of danger, than to reserve a mercantile monopoly of the produce, manufacture, or civil immunities of distant possessions. There has hitherto been a departure from the ancient model in our colonial arrangements in respect of India; we do not determine whether this has been wise, but we anticipate that a change may ere long be found practicable and judicious.

“ A Briton knows, or if he knows it not,  
The Scripture placed within his reach, he ought,  
That souls have no discriminating hue,  
Alike important in their Maker's view ;  
That none are free from blemish since the Fall,  
And love divine has paid one price for all.”

There are many intelligent and generous minds among this class of our eastern fellow-subjects, who are not only capable of discriminating the justness of principles, and rectitude of procedure, but have also a keen eye to detect the blemishes, or to discover and estimate the consequences of the political and judicial administration : every



expanded and unprejudiced mind will desire the increase of such talent. But the general character of the Eurasians does not reach so high a standard. For one mature mind and judicious observer, who will sustain an equanimity and inflexible adherence to purpose and principle, fifty will be found whose attainments are limited and superficial, and whose opinions are as various, fickle, and incoherent, as may be the vicissitudes and uncertainties of revolving time. As an isthmus between two contiguous continents, connecting European and Asiatic society, their materials may be characteristic of the temperament and constitution of the opposing masses with which they are united. Too long, and unjustly, and from a most impolitic principle, shut out from desirable and improving society among Europeans, and habituated to the intercourse of uneducated mothers, of frivolous and dissipated societies; it is not to be wondered that they should imbibe the crude and erroneous fancies of the one race, and that while claiming the lineage and rank of the others, they should ape such manners of the Europeans, as most corresponded with their earliest and heartfelt predilections. Their employments are unfavourable for the development of mind, or the increase of intelligence. The incessant repetition of manual labours in the transcription of official documents, the mere mechanical details of mercantile transactions, or the fractional calculations of the merchant's counting-room, without any of the excitement incident upon hazard

and enterprise, will not expand the intellect, nor exercise nor improve the judgment ; while the hours of their pleasure and their seasons of recreation, are times of dissipation and of gayer follies. There are few manufactures where they may be led to study the practical operations of scientific principles, and observe the progress, and be excited to emulation by the advancement of others ; and the wholesome, active, and vigorous engagements of the field or garden, can seldom engage their attention, or lead them to devout, rational, and elevated contemplation of a great First Cause.

Yet there are means which may be employed for their moral amelioration. They know the English language—a key to every science and storehouse of literature ; they are ambitious of conforming to English manners, and they appreciate English society ; they trace their relation to the nations of Europe, and participate with a keen sympathy and a fond ambition in the honours of their parent stem. They are accessible to the European teachers ; and while in an infant state of society, they possess immediate access to the sacred Scriptures, that fountain of pure knowledge and cheering consolation, of practical wisdom and ennobling principles : and if they can be induced to study this hallowed record from the pen of inspiration, and to walk in the way which it prescribes, then will their course be as the path of the just, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day ; and their experience and example will prove,

that to scale the heights of heaven, to behold the Sun of eternal truth, and receive his rays ; to grasp the things of an everlasting age, and to be filled with all the fulness of God ; to receive the first principles of heavenly science ; to soar on the wings of contemplation, aided by the breath of the infinite Spirit ; to explore the tracts of uncreated light, and dive into the things which are displayed in heavenly places by Jesus Christ ; to be permitted to look into the unseen world, and peruse the records of the New Jerusalem ; to be enabled by an infallible standard, more truly unerring than a mathematical axiom ; to weigh and compare the things of redeeming love, and to live as seeing Him who is invisible, shall, without doubt, elevate the human mind, and dignify all who are so employed. There are now lending libraries, and reading societies among them : already are there several congregations of them as Christian worshippers, and some of them are engaged even in missionary operations. The Bishop's College, Calcutta, presents an opening and an invitation to such of them as shall prove themselves fitted for the good work of promulgating truth and peace. Many of them are enrolled among the liberal patrons of evangelical exertions, and are themselves monuments of what the Lord Jehovah has done by the instrumentality of missionary effort. It will be well when the congregations are supplied with duly qualified pastors of their own order : this would hold forth a stimulus to the early pious to seek the

gifts and endowments which would adorn the Christian ministry, and be profitable for the instruction of the community. It might, too, exercise a diffusive influence, and inspire the body of the people, not merely with a desire to support their own religious teachers, but also with a zeal to become the labourers who shall long be required for the poor heathen; not as the colonial agents of a distant mother country, but as the principal and responsible representatives of their own church. In a multitude of instances, they are able to speak the language of the Hindoos; they are also conversant with the manners of the heathen; they might become even erudite in the literature of the Brahmins; and by a holy character, a temperate zeal, prayerful diligence, and unceasing application, they might become harbingers of good to the people, and faithful stewards of the manifold grace of God.



#### WOMAN IN INDIA.

THE influence of the wife and the mother upon society is so palpable and resistless in the most advanced stages of improvement, that the philanthropist will demand with anxious solicitude, after the recital of some scenes in these volumes, What is the character of woman in India? Let her history be developed to us; give us no exaggerated delineation, no distorted or extravagant caricature, no picture which may be regarded as an exception arising from peculiar circumstances. There are

general laws which affect the whole community ; there is a common source from which every running brook is supplied ; there is a river, the streams whereof pervade and moisten the whole social soil : the female character may be regarded as the fountain, the swelling tide which nourishes and bears onward the dispositions, the attachments, and the desires of each succeeding generation. The corrupt principles of the heart, the debased standard of morals, the diseased affections of a perverted nature, embodied in one representation, will be generally descriptive of the whole sex in India. Treated as beings of an inferior order ; kept back from the commonest means of information and mental improvement, enjoyed by their sisters in western countries ; excluded from the diffusive influence of expanding principle, and taught to look upon the present as the only moment of gratification ; they are occupied in domestic toils without any cheering and heart-exciting affections, while they are denied all participation at the social board. Thrown too upon the resources of animal nature merely for any portion of enjoyment, they are accustomed to regard themselves as only the instruments of slavery or passion. In addition to which, the very objects of their worship—to the *external* symbols of which, as the *profanum vulgus*, their intercourse is solely limited,—are presented in the scenes of idolatrous festivity, as immersed in criminal indulgence. Would it be wondered that their character should be blindly selfish, and the

motives of their conduct exclusively, and to the extreme, epicurean? The arrangement and the economy of the domestic circle cherish still more the luxuriant growth of these rank weeds in the feminine breast in India.

The remains of the patriarchal state are perceptible in their internal management and government of social life, and to this the present condition of India may be ascribed. The patriarch's authority is even more jealously enforced now, and carried into the ramifications of the family than in ancient society. It is here systematized and secured by the sanctions of *religion*, as well as by the custom of ages. Every house presents the remote, as also the most subordinate division of genealogical relationship. There seems, too, the closest intercourse between the affiliated branches, so that the father of the last or preceding generation, exerts an authoritative influence, even more arbitrary than the power of an adviser. His sons, and their wives, their children also—and it may be, their destined brides too—live within the same enclosure, and often under the same roof; so that sometimes it assumes more the appearance of a clan, than a single family. And hence, except among those whose habits have been changed, and whose origin or connexions have been interrupted by the invasion or policy of foreigners, there is an internal policy paramount to all civic control; and blind custom and ascendant authority are more consulted and obeyed than the rights and wishes of

each member of the circle. When the eldest parent in the line is removed, the rule and consequence are entailed upon his son, who then becomes the superior; and the widow of the deceased, if she survive, merges among the subordinate branches; and if she will brave the days of widowhood, her lot is hard indeed. Natural affection rarely succeeds to make any abatement of the dreadful penalty; hers is a cup of bitter sorrow, of unmingled woe, and her solitariness is unmitigated by any generous or hallowed associations. Every ten days must she submit her head, aged and bowed down though it be, to be shaved; in her ablutions, and they must be daily, during uncongenial weather or sickness, the water must be poured upon her head, and not over her shoulder; every night her task is to watch the burning lamp, and supply it with oil till the morning, and sad would the morrow be, did she suffer it to be extinguished. This child of sorrow and bereavement is allowed to feed on only one meal each day; and never must she recline upon a bed,—the lowly and hard ground is the pallet on which her wearied frame reposes. The recreations and pleasures of general society are denied her, and the cloth which distinguishes widowed suffering, in which she must always appear, is deemed the constant, though silent accuser of her cold affections, her selfish and profane love of life.

Woman, as a mother, while the husband lives, is seldom allowed in India to bear any rule in the



family : children are without natural affection ; so that the place assigned to females in Hindoo society is, to appearance, abject in the extreme. The institutes of Menu, whose inspiration is as unquestioned as his legislative supremacy is universal among them, do indeed direct that the female who is to be chosen for a wife should not be reproachable for reddish hair, or too much or too little of the proper shade, for a deformed limb or inflamed eyes, for being immoderately talkative, or for being troubled with habitual sickness ; while her name must be neither that of a constellation, a tree, nor a river, of a barbarous nation, nor of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, nor a stone, nor of any image which occasions terror. Besides an agreeable name, she must possess a form which has no defect ; she must walk gracefully—like a young elephant ; her teeth must be moderate in number and in size, and her body of exquisite softness. But there are no rules for the virtues of the heart, the degree of knowledge, the habits of the mind, or the graces of benevolence : and little wonder ! Could they gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles ? In childhood's years a female must be dependant on her father ; in youth, on her husband ; and, should she survive his decease, her dependance must be on her sons. The nature of this dependance may be imagined, when it is added, that at no period of life, in no condition of society, should a woman do any thing according to her own mere pleasure. Their fathers, their husbands,

their sons, are verily called their protectors; but it is such protection! day and night must women be held by their protectors in a state of absolute dependence. A woman, it is affirmed, is never fit for independence, or to be trusted with liberty; for she may be compared to a heifer on the plain, which still longeth for fresh grass. They exhaust the catalogue of vice to affix its epithets to woman's name:—infidelity, violence, deceit, envy, extreme avariciousness, an entire want of good qualities, with impurity, they affirm, are the innate faults of womankind. And their deity has allotted to women a love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, flexibility, desire of mischief, and bad conduct. Though her husband be devoid of all good qualities, yet, such is the estimate they form of her moral discrimination and sensibilities, that they bind the wife to revere him as a god, and to submit to his corporeal chastisements, whenever he chooses to inflict them, by a cane or a rope, on the back parts. The observation was justly deduced from the facts of woman's history in India, when the historian said, a state of dependence more strict, contemptuous, and humiliating, than that which is ordained for the weaker sex among the Hindoos, cannot easily be conceived: and to consummate the stigma, to fill up the cup of bitter waters assigned to woman, as if she deserved to be excluded from immortality as well as from justice, from hope as well as from enjoyment, it is ruled that a female

has no business with the texts of the Veda—that having no knowledge of expiatory texts, and no evidence of law, sinful woman must be foul as falsehood itself, and incompetent to bear witness. To them the fountain of wisdom is sealed, the streams of knowledge are dried up ; the springs of individual consolation, as promised in their religion, are guarded and barred against woman in the hour of desolate sorrow and parching anguish ; and cast out, as she is, upon the wilderness of bereavement and affliction, with her impoverished resources, her water may well be spent in the bottle ; and, left as she is, will it be matter of wonder that, in the moment of despair, she should embrace the burning pile and its scorching flames, instead of lengthened solitude and degradation, of dark and humiliating suffering and sorrow ?

Such, then, is the moral aspect of the female character and condition presented and entertained among the inhabitants of Hindostan ; and it is not surprising that a visiter among them, after but a brief sojourn, should have seen the not uncommon exhibition of mothers, haggard with age and woe, whose children have so abused them, that their ears were torn open by violence and blows—depravity and moral turpitude are the legitimate offspring of such a parentage. The Hindoo, since he does not marry to secure a companion who will aid him in enduring the ills of life, or in obtaining the means of rational enjoyment, seeks only a slave who shall nourish (he thinks not of training) children, and

abide in abject subjection to his rule. I have seen when the sun had just risen, or was near his going down, the mother or the daughters coming forth from their homes, laden with their urn-like pitchers, for water from the well or the river, and I thought it appeared a vestige of patriarchal simplicity, a rude emblem of the days of their early sires; I did not then view it as a mark of their bondage or dejection. But when I have beheld the wife of the most wealthy, or other members of the Hindoo family, employed in the lowest drudgery, performing the most menial services, and found it was no uncommon spectacle, though humiliating indeed, to witness young women carrying out manure to the fields in baskets on their heads—with sorrow the inquiry has been put, what can be the resources of such beings in the hour of sadness and desolation, and on what can their thoughts dwell in the seasons of reflection; if, indeed, their immortal spirit ever takes a retrospect of the past, or casts a contemplative glance on the future? When their hands are idle, and they wander in solitary musing; when the heavens over them are blackening mystery, and the earth beneath them flits as the fabric of a visionary dream, on what can their souls lean, or their minds feed? When their children are the subjects of an expanding intelligence, and an inquisitive solicitude; when their subtle spirits, panting after a congenial element, inquire the things of an invisible world, or desire to understand the natural phenomena which every day arise, and which almost

spontaneously excite the attention of youthful curiosity, what light can the poor dark parent shed upon the mind—what aid can she render to the object naturally of her endeared affection? If uninstructed ignorance knew how to mourn its own barrenness, and bewail its own inefficiency, many and bitter indeed would be the unavailing regrets of the Hindoo female. But it is otherwise. The happiness after which this immortal and heaven-derived intelligence aspires, is the absence of thought; to sleep as long as is possible, and to enjoy the most absolute indolence, is notoriously the acme of Hindoo female felicity.

What influence can such mothers exert in society? and yet relative and reciprocal influence they have—deleterious and baleful indeed! What preparation can they insure for the vicissitudes of life, the mutual duties of domestic intercourse, and the personal futurities of each individual? Can a fountain of bitter water send forth fresh and sweetening streams? Is it surprising that the standing character of the Hindoo population, and its reactive influence, should be shaded by the darkest colours, and productive of such poisonous fruit? The prayer of every devout heart will be, on receiving a recital so gloomy and affecting, “Send out thy light and thy truth, and fill the earth with the knowledge of thy name:—

Let the Indian, let the negro,  
Let the rude barbarian see,  
That divine and glorious conquest  
Once obtained on Calvary.”

It is because females are ignorant of their obligations, their privileges, and what ought to be their motives, that delusion so easily overcomes them, and they so cheerfully, or inconsiderately, surrender themselves to the flames. But when they are introduced to the full possession of religious, scriptural, and otherwise useful knowledge, they will then be enabled to discharge the feminine duties, and sustain the natural and restored rights of the daughters of Eve; as also to instil the elements of truth, and impart a love and a zeal for knowledge to the generation of children intrusted to their care.

While political expediency has sanctioned the horrid rite, the persuasion of friends, the flatteries of parents, the delusions in which the female is trained, the miseries which they must anticipate, and the momentary paroxysm of bereavement, have not unfrequently driven the widow to the mad alternative, and warranted the poet's assertion:—

“ The widowed Indian, when her lord expires,  
Mounts the dread pile, and braves the funeral fires.”

This is a species of heroism which has been displayed by many of the timid Hindoos in upper and in humbler life; as well the princess as the wife of the husbandman, might and did suffer this immolation. Nor are the friends or kindred permitted to appear otherwise than as participators of the sacrifice and the virtues of the offering; the eldest son kindles the wood, and the mother and the daughters attend the fatal scene.

Muchta Bhye, the daughter of a princess, had become a wife and a mother. Her son, an only child, in the fresh bloom of youth, was cut down like the flower of the morning: the parent stem drooped for twelve dark months, when he who was considered her companion in youth, and destined to be the prop of her declining years, fell, too, before the blast, and was ready to be shaken into the dust; but the disconsolate mother and bereaved widow declared immediately her resolution to meet the withering destroyer upon her husband's funeral pile. Her mother was her sovereign, and though with affection, as the bursting forth of nature, she sought to dissuade the daughter from her fatal resolution, the influence of an erroneous, delusive, and pernicious religion, prevented the intervention of her authority as a queen over the misguided woman. It is said she humbled herself to the dust before her daughter, and intreated that she would not leave her desolate and alone upon the earth, but in vain; her reply was calm and resolved:—"You are old, mother, and a few years will terminate your pious life; my husband and my only child are gone, and when you follow, life, I feel, will be insupportable; and the opportunity of closing it with honour will then have passed." The unhappy mother, whose ignorant devotion forbad her to infringe what usage and priestcraft had sanctioned and rendered holy, now resolved to witness the last agonizing scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the

pile, where she was supported by two Brahmins, who held her arms. Although obviously suffering great anguish of mind, she remained tolerably firm, till the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of an immense multitude that stood around, she was observed gnawing in agony those hands she could not liberate from her upholders. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbudda, when the bodies were consumed.

The little cloud, appearing like a fleece of pearly white, with a margin of ruby red, which, in the early dawn, has preceded the orient sun, his harbinger and offspring, and is rising with a motion gently undulated by the morning breeze above the shadows of the night, may be pointed to as a fit emblem of the female aspect, yet unpolluted by Hindoo superstition and ignorance in the days of woman's childhood. But sadly reversed is the closing representation of her last days. The little cloud has expanded, and darkened, and spread over the heavens; the deepest gloom, the most sullen and portentous shiftings, are exhibited within the visible horizon; from no point is there a gleam of opening light:—so was it with the wife of Soobarao. Hollee Letchema was the daughter of parents comparatively affluent. Her infancy was succeeded by a few short years of ripening childhood, which rapidly glided away, and during which all the education



she received was limited by the pitiable circle of childish amusements and domestic duties. She was taught to speak, to wash her teeth, to bind on her cloth, to walk gracefully, to ornament the entrance of the dwelling—an embellishment in which great pride is felt, and which is performed according to various heathen devices, designed on the earth with consecrated powder, skilfully dropped through the fingers. It was a period of undisturbed mental gloom ; no means were used to inspire her with a love of knowledge—no plans were followed to expand her mind. If she had few sorrows to endure, or sufferings to remember, she had also few pleasures to anticipate, and few hopes to cherish. Over her future years hung a cloud of mingled and obscure uncertainty ; nor was there any friendly hand to lift the veil, or shed a light upon her path. Once she heard—and it was when she had reached the early age of seven years—once she heard some communings and negotiations about marriage ; but the matter was altogether unintelligible to her, and the personal feeling she could experience at the moment was so uninteresting, that she had no anxiety to know her destined bridegroom, or be introduced to his family and friends. Her time passed heedlessly over, and, as the period drew near when a woman's feelings and predilections took possession of her bosom, she learned that her hand had been bestowed, and her affections bartered for a piece of gold. The ceremony of marriage, in the preliminary stage, was now performed, and the alliance

ratified by the accustomed rites : she was presented, but not yet rendered up to him who was to be vested with the dominion of her person, and entitled to her homage and subjection. There had been no exercise of choice on either part, nor mutual affection—designed to be a slave, she had not been wooed as the object of a tender attachment. She remained now as the betrothed wife in her father's house, and in subjection to her parents, till convenience or caprice led to a consummation of the domestic union.

Youthful and pleasing, with certain undefined ideas of marriage, but no relative sympathy and reciprocal confidence, she was conducted through the pageantry and ceremonial of the festive day. Festive, indeed, it was deemed ; but the whole might have been viewed rather as preparations for a holocaust to the genius of discord and superstition, than a service to love : and now, as an extreme extension of liberality, enjoined by the law of the Hindoos, she was plentifully supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food. Many and tiresome were the ceremonies observed on the day of her espousal. While her bridegroom was being received by her father with all the rites of hospitality, three vessels of water were emptied on her head, and accompanied by prayers usual to the occasion, but too indelicate for insertion here ; their hands then, having been rubbed by an auspicious drug, were placed, hers in his, and bound by a matron with sacred grass, amidst the sounds of cheerful music.

The attendant priests were directed by her father to utter their acclamations, while he poured water from a vessel, containing fragrant grasses, upon the hands of the united pair; and pronouncing their names, as well as his own, he appealed to "God the Existent," and said, "I give unto thee this damsel, adorned with jewels, and protected by the Lord of creatures;" to which the bridegroom replied, "Well be it." The father of Hollee here presented Soobarao with a piece of gold, a text from the Veda was recited, and the affianced parties walked forth, while the bridegroom addressed to her the first expressions of their intercourse,—“May the regents of space, may air, the sun and fire, dispel that anxiety which thou feelest in thy mind, and turn thy heart to me. Be gentle in thy aspect, and loyal to thy husband—be fortunate in cattle, amiable in thy mind, and beautiful in thy person—be mother of valiant sons—be fond of delights, be cheerful, and bring prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds.” The skirts of her mantle were knotted together with his by her father, who enjoined them to “be inseparably united in matters of duty, wealth, and love.” What mockery! Fatiguing and trivial were the many subsequent ceremonies. Sacrificial fires were lighted up, jars of purifying water were arranged, handfuls of rice were prepared, and many formalities of expression were recited, while the bride was clothed with a new waist-cloth and scarf; oblations of clarified butter were made to the fire, the moon, and the

worlds, during which the bride was first made to stand, and then to sit, upon a mat prepared for the purpose. A stone being placed before her, she, with her hands joined in a hollow form, was made to tread upon it with the toes of her right foot, during this address of the bridegroom, "Ascend this stone,—be firm like this stone,—distress my foe, and be not subservient to my enemy." The rice, which had been previously consecrated, was now repeatedly placed in her hands, and mixed with butter; and she, according to directions, opened her hands, allowing it to fall into the fire. Now followed the most emphatic symbol of the ceremony: being conducted to the bridegroom, he directed her to step successively into seven circles, while seven texts were repeated, and the moment in which the seventh circle was trod upon, was declared the consummation of the nuptial bond, which was now complete and irrevocable. A friend, holding one of the jars of water, approached them, and poured its contents on him and her; again were their hands joined, and sanctioned by sacred texts. Such a marriage verily required the prescriptions of a ritual, and the spiritual directions of a priest. Sitting on a bullock's hide, its red hair upward, and its neck toward the east when the stars shone, and contemplating the polar star as an emblem of stability, oblations and forms of prayer were presented; abstemiously partaking of food, they lived for three days in her father's house, and on the fourth day the bridegroom carried her

to his home. Surely if oblations, and the precise observance of prescribed ceremonies, could have insured happiness and prosperity, Hollee Letchema might have looked forward to many days of uninterrupted enjoyment and peace; but, alas! how vain and delusive!

The natural reserve and restraint of her temper under circumstances so novel, at first perceptible in her intercourse with him who had taken her into such intimate relationship, gradually subsided; freedom of manner toward him, however, could never be accompanied with mutual confidence. She had not been trained to be an intelligent associate, and he had not sought an helper and equal who would accompany him in the ways of wisdom, and cheer him in affliction. The playfulness of sprightly youth, and the soft sweetness of so young a female, were soon abated—familiarity, characterised by their intercourse, speedily rendered unattractive her blindest smile. Caprice, selfishness, and an undue estimate, either of the female character, or of the circumstances under which Hollee had been tutored, the low standard fixed for woman's attractions or merits, and the example which had been exhibited in his father's house, conspired, along with occasional disappointments, to subvert any youthful affection which had primarily been excited under auspices such as we have described. Unaccustomed to rule her own spirit, or to seek the enlargement of her own mind, the first interview had showed her to the most

advantage; and there remained no hidden excellences to be developed—no resources of enjoyment, which had not at the first moment been presented. Ill-informed himself, her husband had not calculated on unseen defects, or the partial exhibition which a mere exterior would furnish amidst the peculiar circumstances of their first acquaintance. He soon became discontented, irritable, and violent; his requests were uttered with authority, and his commands were enforced with the severity of exaction: speedily the connexion became one of bitter rule, and reluctant subjection; while the untoward captive could ill brook the lordly despotism which governed her as a slave. Yet there were moments in which the iron yoke relaxed, and when the silken cords of love were felt, when woman's power held captive the imperious tyrant; the bonds of natural affection, and the sympathies of our better nature prevailing, realized to them the sweets of domestic union. Such were, however, like angel-visits, few and far between. Years rolled on, the freshness of youth decayed, the cares of a family accumulated upon them, and became a burden more to the mother than to her professed companion. There had been in her a natural ardour, and a genial kindness of disposition, which, had they been cherished by education and religion, might have expanded into the fair fruits of a generous, benevolent, and useful character. She often had felt a clinging to him as the stay of her youth; and even in the hours of discord, orgies sacred to the

service of India's gods—even then would the yearnings of her heart, and the relentings of her feeling, be toward him who should have proved the kindred associate of her riper years. She had no knowledge of any thing for which she should live better than her husband, or her own enjoyment, and she still desired his life as the security for her own comfort; but Death waits not our pleasure, nor are the approaches thereof dependent upon our convenience. His pale face invades the dwelling of the Hindoo with even more hasty steps and appalling circumstances than where a better religion prevails. The worshipper of Brahma, too, droops under disease more readily than the inhabitants of a northern clime, and is more dependent for support and alleviation upon the attendance of friends, and the aid of external comforts, than the servant of the true God; for *his* eye is fixed with moral certainty upon the things not seen as yet, and *his* hope is big with a glorious immortality. The kind help, then, of a patient friend, may draw forth the exercise of affection; and the very selfishness of the Hindoo, in his hour of weakness, may dictate expressions, which an ear, unused to the sounds of gratitude and cordial friendship, may catch with avidity, and cherish with ardour.

Hollee's husband was visited with sickness—a sickness which, despite of her sacrifices, vows, and prayers to the poor gods of India, of the botanical preparations of the village apothecary, or the enchantments used by the sorcerer or the priest,

made the most fearful and rapid inroads upon his strength. She attended him with incessant care—she watched with untiring anxiety ; she wept and made supplication—but not to the only living and true God ; and, in the moment that she was least prepared for it, when she felt most strongly nature's ties binding them together, and was most absorbed by his influence over her, he expired ! It required at that moment little external excitement or persuasion to lead to the wish that she had died with him—to desire death rather than life ! She knew the dreary widowhood before her—no resources had she to sustain her agonized mind—no friend had she who would say to her, Live—no comforter who could or would soothe her distractions. She looked on the right hand, and the priest was standing to direct her to the only refuge which he deemed accessible—a speedy, an immediate, a blessed and honourable re-union by the holy funeral pile ! She looked to the left, and there, those who superstitiously imagined they might share in the benefit of her immolation and the honour of her sacrifice, or otherwise be unwillingly burdened by her maintenance, were waiting, nay pressing forward to urge her adoption of the priestly counsel. She looked forward, but gloom impenetrable, wretchedness unmitigated, hung over her path. She cast her eyes upward, but the heavens were sackcloth and the sun blood ; no father's pitying eye, no soft word, no gleam of consoling benignity, and no arm appeared stretched out to help. She



turned within, and here bewildered with agitation, overwhelmed with grief, flesh and heart failed her, and in her paroxysm of sorrow she embraced the purpose, and uttered the irrevocable vow of immolation. Now the priest thanked Nurraian; the relatives expressed their joyful gratitude; and the means of sustaining her resolution, of cheering her mind, of stimulating her spirits, of lulling her fears, and strengthening her attachment to the deceased, were lavishly employed. Her children, the potent and palpable bonds of her obligation to this life, were removed from her sight; narcotics, opium, bang, and other stupifying drugs, were abundantly administered; her body was perfumed, her hair saturated with oil, and her head covered with sandal dust; garlands of flowers were presented as her ornaments; and now she was hailed a favourite of the gods, and invested with divine power. She was entreated to bestow her blessing and remember the wants of her friends; she was entrusted with consecrated gifts to bestow at her pleasure; no breath that might fan the flame remained to be invoked, and the hirkarra was employed to announce her pious resolution and the time of the sacrifice. It was within British jurisdiction, and the sanction of legal authority was obtained. All local business was suspended; crowds flocked from the whole vicinity. Men, women, and children of all ages congregated to the sacred spot, jesting, laughing, and congratulating the friends whom they met. The intelligence was sent to me with a

solicitation from a friend that I would attend. I hastened to the scene ; it was a singular display and mixture of religious solemnity, infatuated devotedness, cruel delusion, deliberate and authorized murder, and unhallowed and humiliating apathy. It was an hour and a half before sun-set, five o'clock, when I reached the place of ungodly sacrifice.

The husband was covered with clothes folded about him in the manner in which the dead are usually carried to the place of cremation ; emaciated and pale, there was no placidity in his features. Death is rarely an agreeable sight, but it renders the Hindoo exceedingly uninviting. The corpse was laid upon a bier made from unpeeled branches of trees, and without any ornament. It had been carried thither on the shoulders of men, and placed in a circle formed by the officiating priests, the victim, the near relatives and kindred, and such as were approaching to obtain the last benediction of Hollee : these last drew near in the attitude of supplication. She was attired in a salmon-coloured cloth—sacred garment, and her skin was deeply tinged with saffron. Her years had been few—from five-and-twenty to thirty had she lived a daughter and a wife ; but the few hours of her widowhood had preyed more upon her aspect and her frame than all her previous sorrows or cares. She was bent forward, as if labouring under an oppressive burden ; or rather as if inward anxiety, sorrow, and anguish, had bowed her down ; yet she

seemed to smile—it was the smile of sorrow :—the cold moon's cheerless ray shed forth from a sky overspread with portentous clouds, and lighting upon the dismal tomb, is but a faint emblem of the workings of her mind on her palid countenance—it was the expression of a heart which had conquered nature and burst the bonds of life itself—it was an apathetic expression, I thought, of complacency in herself, while it professed to regard those who approached her. A red line was drawn straight from the root of her hair to the ridge of her nose : it seemed to me the mark of suicide. She had bunches of flowers made up and ready to bestow ; cloths, cocoa-nuts, pounded spices and seeds, and money lay beside her, which she distributed to the females who came soliciting her favours. She was attended by two principal brahmins ; one of them held an ollah or cadjan book in his hand, from which he read sentences apparently for direction, or that he might suggest consolation to her in this trial ; occasionally he would join his coadjutor for counsel, or to share in the rewards of the sacrifice. The fees of the brahmins at this ceremony usually amount to forty or fifty pounds. Sometimes I observed these priests quarrelling with each other, and exhibiting passions depicted in their countenance truly demoniac ; their controversy regarded the money which should fall to the share of each : they were old men, their hair grey, and their features hardened and callous. I never contemplated man so far removed from the aspect

of humanity. An extremely correct similitude of their appearance is given in the representation of a Suttee in Ackerman's Hindostan.

Whilst the poor woman and the priests were thus engaged, she was indifferent to any attempted interference by some Europeans who sought to rescue her from destruction. The crowds of natives were all busied; few contemplative, many showed the greatest levity, while others employed themselves in preparing the pile. It was constructed of dried wood, in the shape of an oblong square; the faggots were heaped upon each other, so as to be most easily combustible, to the height of four feet from the base. A stout branch of a tree was fixed in the earth at each corner; suspended by these, another pile, as a canopy, was formed at about three feet elevation, and plentifully supplied with large billets of wood. The whole material of the pile was carried on the heads of many men, who actively ran backward and forward during the preparation; some straw, also, and cakes of cowdung were provided. The chief magistrate of the district, called the Fouzdar, was present with his peons, or constabulary force, armed. There were two European gentlemen, holding situations of trust, officially present. We could not secure the attention of the poor woman, but I made my appeal to the magistrate, to his authority, his influence, and responsibility to God. He said he was there as the representative of the king, admitted his responsibility, but replied it was according to their religion.

I urged him to offer her permission to retire if she would. He directed a brahmin, (he himself was one,) to ask if she were still inclined for it; she answered, she was. Hollee was conducted round the pile after the corpse had been placed upon it: a priest accompanied her the first time; she walked twice by herself, kneeled by the right side a few seconds, and mounted the pile to the left of the deceased. Deliberately she composed herself; her infant child was placed in her arms for an instant, and embraced; she saluted her mother, and called her sister, to whom she delivered her jewels: then, having ungirded her loins and loosened her garments, she drew her cloth over her head, and laid herself down behind her husband with such calmness as if it had been for a few hours' repose. They covered her with straw, and poured oil and melted butter over all parts of the pile, the extremities of which were now lighted. The straw, fanned by the wind, was at first suffered only to roll the thick volume of its smoke over her; and, before any fire could have reached her, the heavy suspended billets were, by the swords of the peons, cut down, and fell upon her with their whole weight. O! it was a cruel apathy that could stand and witness such a monstrous perversion of human power and religious toleration!—the more I muse on it my accusations become the more poignant. I stood by the pile while the gloomy tragedy was performed, and never can I banish the screams which pierced the ears of the spectators, while the blue and lurid flame

rose from the bodies already consuming in the fire ! It was a moment of terror, of deep crime, and dark delusion ! Why the attendants were allowed to cut down the mass of faggots which hung over her, and fell with unbroken violence upon her devoted head, I cannot tell ; and how the victim was not totally stupified by the load which crushed her, appeared next to a miracle : it had stunned her for a time, as it also checked the progress of the flame, whose violence raged around the exterior of the pile for five or six minutes before it reached the bodies. A brahmin stood at the head, seemingly ready to direct the acclamations of the people. The poor woman had hitherto remained silent, but when the flames had reached her, the misery of her restraint appeared in its utmost severity ; when the scorching fury of the fire had begun to prey upon her, she could not move a limb or turn from her cruel woe for a moment ; she shrieked and screamed for help with piteous and heart-rending exclamations, but the pile was surrounded by armed peons. The brahmin attempted to assure the people that she was now in communion with her god, and called them to rejoice, while her tones were those of the bitterest agony, while her forlorn mother, heartbroken and overwhelmed with grief, stood rolling herself, tearing her hair, and beating her breast, and leaping with frantic bursts of passion—an affecting spectacle of distracted woe and extreme wretchedness ; she seemed unwilling to survive the hour of separation, and longed to throw her con-

vulsive frame upon the funeral ashes, the altar of her daughter's sacrifice and destruction: the multitude joined in the exhibition of joy by clapping their hands and repeating the song of triumph. The scene was closed by the fierceness of the flame which drove the bystanders to a distance, and forced even the priests to retire, while the victim was still uttering the moan of helpless suffering. I waited at a distance, lingering to witness the last obsequies of the infatuated Hollee; they were offered in the blue flame and funeral smoke of her consuming remains, and in the receding murmurs of the dispersing multitude. It was an appalling exhibition of self-devotedness. The wretchedness of the desolate parent, the forlorn condition of the twice-bereaved children, and the apathy of thousands who could so unmovedly contemplate the transaction, may be imagined; but ah! who can describe the guilt of the perpetrators, the displeasure of a holy and merciful God; and the infatuation of nominally christian authorities who could prescribe for it rules, grant their permission to its performers, and superintend the accomplishment of such a criminal, violent, and bloody sacrifice? It was surely an hour of the power of darkness. I take shame and guilt to myself, and feel assured that if every observer of such delusion had protested against it on the spot, it would sooner have terminated, and the six hundred lives in *British India* annually immolated, might have been saved to the community, their friends, and their children, and

preserved from the crime of suicide, and the horrors of a premature and excruciating death.\*

It has now happily become only a record of the past, that British authority and colonial legislation tolerated the customs which heathen superstition had established for the sacrifice of human life. Humanity had long blushed at the often-told story, philanthropy had stood weeping in sorrowing sadness, and patriotism had bled, while history seemed willing to draw the veil over the page wherein was described how nerveless had become the arm of Britannia's queen, or how destitute she had proved herself of generous sympathy, while India's

\* Another well-authenticated and brutal instance of this sacrifice occurred about the same time in a more northern province of India:—"The unfortunate brahminee, of her own accord, had ascended the funeral pile of her husband's bones, but finding the torture of the fire more than she could bear, by a violent struggle she threw herself from the flames, and tottering to a short distance, fell down. Some gentlemen, who were spectators, immediately plunged her into the river, which was close by, and thereby saved her from being much burnt. She retained her senses completely, and complained of the badness of the pile, which, she said, consumed her so slowly that she could not bear it, but expressed her willingness again to try it if they would improve it: they would not do so, and the poor creature shrunk with dread from the flames, which were now burning most intensely, and refused to go on. When the inhuman relations saw this, they took her by the head and heels and threw her into the fire, and held her there till they were driven away by the heat; they also took up large blocks of wood with which they struck her, in order to deprive her of senses, but she again made her escape, and without any help, ran directly into the river. The people of her house followed her here, and tried to drown her by pressing her under the water, but a European gentleman rescued her from them, and she immediately



cries rose to heaven in the cloud and flame of the funeral pile. The warrior had plumed his helmet, and waved his sword; he had bared his bosom to the bright spear; had mounted the breach, scaled the rampart, and forced the citadel; predatory hordes had been swept from the plains; tyranny and despotism had cowered beneath his arm; and, while he had driven before him the resistless enemy of the country, he left behind him security for the husbandman and peace for the people; but, alas! weeping widowhood had been left to the horrors of desolation, and the bed of unhallowed and ruthless destruction. The agent of commer-

ran into his arms and cried to him to save her. I arrived at the ground as they were bringing her the second time from the river, and I cannot describe to you the horror I felt on seeing the mangled condition she was in: almost every inch of skin on her body had been burnt off; her legs and thighs, her arms and back were completely raw, her breasts were dreadfully torn, and the skin hanging from them in threads; the skin and nails of her fingers had peeled wholly off, and were hanging to the back of her hands. In fact I never saw and never read of so entire a picture of misery as this poor woman displayed. She seemed to dread being again taken to the fire, and called out to 'the Ocha Sahib' to save her. Her friends seemed no longer inclined to force, and one of her relations, at our instigation, sat down beside her, and gave her some clothes, and told her they would not. We had her sent to the hospital, where every medical assistance was immediately given her, but without hope of recovery. She lingered in the most excruciating pain for about twenty hours, and then died."

This sacrifice, so abhorrent to Christian feeling, though prohibited first by Lord W. Bentinck, in the Bengal provinces, and then in the other British territories, is still offered in other parts of India. Six months ago, four wives and seven slave concubines of Runjeet Singh, perished in the flames of his funeral pile at Lahore.

cial enterprise had followed his steps, established marts, cherished trade, ministered to the conveniences of life, and facilitated the means of literary intercourse ; he had inspired international confidence, opened the sources, and filled the channels of mercantile wealth, and had directed the streams thereof to flow through the most distant lands ; but gold had proved so tempting to his avarice, and the love of it had so grown around his heart, and encased his sympathies, and perverted the feelings of tenderness, and stagnated the genial fountains of humanity, that he could coldly witness the altar of abominable and bloody superstition, could pass by the immolating fires, seeing and hearing the wretched victim in her bitterness and agony, and hasten to his counting-house, his merchandise, or his enjoyment ! War and commerce thus visited the land in vain for the poor widow ; the red robes and gory hand of the one, and the balances and the weights of the other, interposed no generous influence on her behalf !

The benevolent philanthropist, eager to seize the slightest indication of compassion being expressed toward the unhappy suffering widow, heard, indeed, a few earnest and affectionate tones of sorrowful remonstrance, but they were from men who had crossed seas, braved storms, and ventured their all in the service of their God, in compassion to the idolater, and to carry the glad tidings of great joy to benighted realms. They pleaded with the infatuated victims, and appealed to the sympathies

and principles of the ruling powers : their efforts were unavailing. They detailed the horrors, and showed to a British public, not only the injustice of the practice, but also the ease and safety of its abolition. Their descriptions harrowed the feelings of the sensitive, and drew tears and prayers from the devout ; but, in the council or in the senate, there was no voice of power sufficient to awake or rouse the British lion ; kings and senators, legislators and judges, heard not, or seemed not to hear the saddening tale. But there was One who beheld and interposed—the Lord of all, He who ruleth in the heights above, and by whom princes decree justice—he had treasured up the tears of agony, and provided mercy for the suffering. By his authority had the commission gone forth ; by his power were his ministers upheld ; and his ear was open to the fervent supplications of his people. He came forth, and took one of the nobles of our land, and made him to sit on high, and sway the sceptre of British rule among the millions of India. This nobleman, blessed with an enlarged mind and generous affections, and placed within the reach of liberal and enlightening intercourse, enjoyed facilities for judging what could, as also what ought to be effected for the amelioration of woman in India. Possessing, too, the command of influence and authority, and opportunity of exerting it unequalled by any subject of the British crown residing at home, even the most noble and princely, he dared to be the friend of helpless widowhood, and, with a

bold energy and a wise benevolence, he quenched the funeral pile, and trod upon its embers.

The mandate has gone out to the distant provinces, and come to the habitation of the Hindoo ; while by many it has been hailed as the voice of mercy, and cheered on in its course as the harbinger of woman's dignity and happiness. Already thousands of widows have been rescued from destruction, and made to feel that they have an interest in the state, and a place in the cares and sympathies of the government. Will it stop here ? No. Soon will the dejected raise her sullen eye, to be illumined by the gospel, and her garments of mourning shall be taken away. The feelings of this generous-hearted British nobleman, though he lived but a few years, while he surveyed the retrospect, and counted the thousands of widowed Hindoos, saved by his influence, must have presented a vivid contrast to the reflections of another ruler in the same land, who was reported to have refused to exercise the same power, in imitation of a superior authority, and who left it to his successor to interdict the presumptuous priests, and their deluded victims of the sacrifice, from the performance of their monstrous rites. The sketches now exhibited will prove what miseries have been prevented, and what wretchedness and cruelty have been averted from the myriads in India, by the humane regulations of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck.

Many an escutcheon has been emblazoned by armorial bearings, significant of achievements

wrought by ennobled ancestors, far less beneficial to mankind, and illustrious in fame, than would be the memorial of that deed by which the funeral suttee was abolished in British India. The family of Cavendish Bentinck stands exalted on the roll of national honour. The early history of the lineal branches of this noble house needs not now to be recorded. The annals of British policy and bravery contain the details, and recount the honours which a nation's gratitude had heaped upon its members. The descendants of illustrious ancestors share in their glory, and reap the reward of their virtues. That heart must be destitute indeed of the generous glow of liberty, and the hallowed love of christian fortitude, patriotic heroism, and martyred worth, which does not thrill with ecstasy and enthusiasm over the story of Lady Russell and her suffering lord, the victim of tyrannic despotism and lawless rule, because he was the generous and dauntless advocate of conscientious rights and christian liberty, the champion of a nation's wrongs ; but to have been the scion of such a stock, the descendant of such a parentage, and not to have tarnished these ancestral laurels, nor forfeited the title to their hereditary honours, was the proud distinction of Lord William Bentinck, who sprung, on his mother's side, through the Devonshire branch, from these distinguished progenitors. Nor was it alone to this family that he might look for the celebrity of his lineage ; for, through a father, who was the favourite minister of a patriotic king, and the

popular representative of regal power in Ireland (the duke of Portland), his genealogy might be traced to one who landed on our shores, the page of honour and the personal adviser of a generous and liberal prince, by whom liberty was rescued from destruction, the people from despotic thralldom, and the nation exalted to the pinnacle of power and honour. To be descended from such a line of nobles and distinguished statesmen; to have the blood of the Russells, the Devonshires, and the Cavendishes, flowing in his veins; to be an heir to their fame, and the reward of their virtues; to have risen to rank and personal distinction in the service of his country; and, added to the legacy of his forefathers, the virtues and achievements of a patriot noble became however a small portion of the honours of Lord William Bentinck, the last governor-general of India. For to have wiped the widow's tear; to have soothed the infant's woe; to have been providentially employed to quench the funeral fires; to have earned woman's gratitude, and a people's praise; to have spoiled a demon's power, and ruined Moloch's temple; to have broken the spell of idolatrous destruction and superstitious delusion, and blotted out a nation's crime; to have purchased the praise of the wise and virtuous, and secured the approbation of a good conscience, as well as performed the will of God, the Almighty King; are titles of renown far beyond the ducal coronet, or the descent of noble and princely blood: and they belong to the deceased *Lord William Bentinck*.

“ Yes, child of Brahma, then *was* mercy nigh,  
To wash the stain of blood’s eternal die ;  
Peace *did* descend to triumph and to save,  
When noble Bentinck crossed the Indian wave.”

If the British power has achieved so holy a victory in the service of humanity, with credit to the honoured governor, and peace and safety among the millions who are subject, whose most venerated and reputedly sacred usages have thus been set aside, while the emoluments and vested privileges of their priesthood have been invaded or abolished, another question arises. There are a few native states, either nominally independent of us, or virtually our allies, but whose power subsists only at the pleasure of, or as subservient to, the supremacy of the English government. The greatest number, however, of Hindoo principalities, are either the immediate tributaries or the subsidized confederates of the Anglo-Indian rulers. The country occupied by this latter class extends to 200,000 square miles, with a population of many millions. In these the influence of English diplomacy, or the will of the English government, is paramount with the prince or the people. In the former, the nominally independent states, the good-will of the British power is very valuable, and to secure it, the native rulers will make many concessions; but in all such as are purely Hindoo, the *suttee* continues to be practised, and women are from time to time immolated as sacrifices to a sanguinary and furious superstition. The manner in which

the British government has exerted their influence with Portugal, to suppress the lingering and cruel African slave-traffic, is condemned only for the timidity of the policy, and the wavering inconstancy with which the claims of man have been pleaded with that depraved and ignominious ally. Had we been more energetic, not only should we have better succeeded, but our diplomacy would have been respected, and our statesmen would have received more cordial applause. Why should not the *Board of Control*, or the Indian governors, be called upon to prove to our eastern allies that woman's woes and sufferings are the objects of British sympathy, and that we not only feel for the wretched, but will exert our influence for their deliverance; that we can only cherish true friendship with those governments which are maintained for the protection of the weak, and the general welfare of society; and where the laws of nature, and the bonds of the human family, are held sacred?

The courts of princes and rulers are not often deserted by the flatterer and the parasite, and the strain of eulogy is too familiar to the ears of the high and powerful among men, though to many of the ruling powers in India it is most inappropriate, because undeserved. Never was a people so subject to foreign aggression, and so spoiled by their rulers, as the Hindoos were under native princes. Their epochs might be successively dated from the invasion of a Zenghis Khan, a Timur, and a Shah Abbas, carrying relentless rapine, plunder, and



conflagration. The extraordinary sums of gold, the jewellery, and rich cloths, and the stores acquired in the repeated sacking of imperial cities and the palaces of sultans, show how the poor must have suffered and been spoiled, and the harvest of industry destroyed. The history of these has sufficed as a pattern and a lure for their great men; and hence, if any of them have outstripped their associates or predecessors, it has been in deeds of plunder and in acts of barbarity—in becoming a terror to their country, a scourge to their people, and the destroying prince. From the same cause Indian society is far from presenting an unsophisticated state, or even the originality of a national character, or the possession of undisturbed hereditary privileges among the reigning families; the people exhibit the aspect of a yielding, passive plant, which, though never uprooted, has so often been trod upon, as to have been enfeebled and stunted in its growth. The Hindoos illustrate the origin of government by a characteristic legend. “Health and virtue are of no avail for security; for two will invade the property of one, and many again will attack two. Thus men would eventually destroy each other, like the various species of fish. A rajah would protect the people, as a large fish does the smaller. In this manner were mankind continually oppressing each other, when they went to Brahma to give them a ruler. Brahma directed Menu to become their rajah. He replied, I fear a sinful action—government is arduous, particularly

so among ever-lying men. They said unto him, Fear not, you shall receive a recompense, of beasts a fiftieth part, and thus also of gold; we will give you a tenth of corn, increasing your store; a becoming duty on damsels, on disputes, and on gaming. Men exalted in wealth or science shall become subordinate to you, as gods are to the great Indra. Thus become our rajah; powerful, and not to be intimidated, you will govern us in peace, as Koorun does the Yukshees; whatever meritorious actions are performed by subjects protected by the rajah, a fourth part of the merit shall belong to you. Thus, let those who desire advancement, hold the rajah superior to themselves, as a disciple does his religious instructor, as the gods do the divine Indra."

The instances are more numerous wherein the large fish, to which the rajah is compared, has fed upon the smaller, than those in which he has been a protector; and almost generally will it be found, that whatever protection he affords to one from another, it is that the prey reserved for himself may be the richer. And while every subordinate authority is in his own province as despotic as is the sovereign, so they each protect those who are inferior only that they may become a more abundant preserve for themselves; and, descending to the lowest gradations in society, it is a contest between chicanery and over-reaching on the one hand, and deceptive secrecy and avaricious elusion on the other. The leaders of this people cause

them to err, and they that are led of them are destroyed. The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: and among all classes of them it might be taken up as a lamentation, "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" Like prince, like people; the character of the upper classes is for the most part indicative of the general state of society—especially in India, where so many have risen from the lowest to the highest stations of influence; for, though there be a caste among the Hindoos which is distinguished as a military, and another as a rajah caste, it is not at all uncommon to find, seated upon the musnud, or performing the duties of the dewan, one from the lowest orders of the Sudra caste. We could point to the throne, and tell the tale of one, who has been numbered among the princes and allies of the British power; who, having been taken from the tasks of a pot-maker caste, to sit among the kings of the earth, has again been set aside as unfit to sway a royal sceptre.

The conduct of native authorities in relation to the claims of woman, whether for the protection of her chastity, the enjoyment of her rights, or the exercise of her legitimate influence, affords her no security for virtue or prospect for moral elevation. Too often forcible possession of her person follows the capricious selection which momentary attach-

ment dictated. Temporary and short-lived indulgence, which imperious and satiated lust required, is attained at an irreparable expense—to the violation of virgin modesty, and the disruption of ties which conjugal fidelity deemed sacred and perpetual. And the subsequent rejection of the dishonoured and outcast victim of fickle passion, proclaims to all beneath the ruling class, that the choicest flowers and forms are nursed only to minister to carnal and base appetites; to bloom and be blown under poisonous and pestilent vapours which corruption has engendered; and that the highest style of woman is to be fondled and caressed as a tinselled toy, as a vapid and perishing nosegay; and then to be tossed aside as a withered weed, an unsavoury and decaying herb. The amorous dallying of such men, displayed in their selections for the harem, in their violent intrusions upon the fondest relations of domestic retirement; or the favoured companions of their polygamous intercourse, with all the heart-burnings and jealous rivalries of their ignorant captives,—however bright the love-tale may be made to glitter in the meretricious ornaments of sentimental fancy and oriental poetry,—does more to degrade woman and despoil her influence, to brutalize the feelings of the community, than we can easily describe.

Hindustan Proper, where no influence from foreigners has been exerted, is, however, almost wholly destitute of any link which will bind the whole inhabitants together as a community. It is

a wide continent, and peopled by myriads of cognate tribes, practising the same rites, worshipping the same gods, and divided into the same castes ; yet, generally the bonds of fellowship are limited by the walls of the village or township in which they dwell. Each township enjoys the form, if not also the conveniences of a republican colony—it is a distinct society within itself, and possesses its proper and peculiar establishment of officers and servants, from the higher functionary, the pottail, down to the bhat, or bard of the community. Every family has its appropriate occupation, or specific office, traditionally entailed upon it through successive generations. Under this rude form of government, the inhabitants of the several municipalities have lived from time immemorial, and the references or appeals to provincial or imperial authority have been comparatively few. The town lands, often comprising thousands of acres, arable and waste, derived by *sunnuth*, or leasehold from the crown, through various gradations of subordinate officers, have seldom altered their boundaries or occupants. Sometimes, indeed, they have been injured, and even desolated by war, famine, or disease ; yet the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and the same families, have continued for numerous ages. The breaking up and divisions of kingdoms concerned the inhabitants but little, as members of the state. While their own circle remained entire, they cared not to what prince their land was transferred, or to what sove-

reigns it devolved. Their internal economy endured unchanged—the potal was still the chief inhabitant; and thus it continues—the twentieth in descent still acts as the petty judge, the magistrate, and collector of their municipal revenue. This is the picture of all India, if we except the cities, which have become the residence of invading warriors or foreign emigrants; and it seems to warrant the conjecture, that one village had served as the hive from which every swarm had issued, modelled and regulated in the same manner. The idea that every village or township thus constituted is peopled by families, whose individual character and internal policy answer the description already given, will enable the inquisitive reader to analyze truly the relative aspect of each part of such society, and especially of woman in India. Their influence here, low as it certainly is, may yet be reckoned the matrix from which the community derives its character and tendency; and their sufferings and calamities under solitary widowhood, may be deemed the same within every pettah, or native municipality.

But it is not from native despotism alone, or the unworthy estimate which Hindooism has formed of the weaker sex, that woman in India suffers. To many ills has she been exposed, and sad and dissolute has become the portion of many a daughter of India by the conduct of European invaders. Had the conquerors of India become her colonists, and fixed in it the *home* of their affections and their

prospects ; had the years expended in India, as well as the fortunes realized there, been regarded as the property of that country rather than belonging to the native country of the adventurers ; the effects would have been otherwise in the experience of Hindoo women. But from the highest in authority to the lowest in rank, Europeans have regarded their residence as an exile, and their connexion with the people as a sojourn, which was to be rendered as unencumbered and irresponsible as possible : and with a selfishness which is base and discreditable indeed, they have not hesitated to employ the softest, and often pleasing children of India, as the handmaids of their pleasure, and the temporary companions of their banishment, who should be cast off whenever expediency made the demand. The many hundred thousand children of such parentage, which have sprung up in India, show upon what terms Britons have intermingled with Hindoo society. Whilst if the parents of such offspring had cherished reciprocal tenderness and fidelity, had lived in the lawful enjoyment of nature's most hallowed affections, few will question but the country-born population would have been far more numerous. The illicit and clandestine intercourse between the parties, either from the degradation brought upon the native woman, or the seeming and occasional deference of her companion to the pride of English family ; the uncertainty which hung over the woman's destiny, who had become the temporary associate of the

travelled stranger; the instances, many and painful, in which women found themselves expelled from a bosom and a habitation, where they had been promised life and fortune, to make way for a more attractive countrywoman, or some fair and favoured sister from another land; the ruthless manner in which often their offspring were torn from them and placed in receptacles for such children of shame, while the germ of natural affection was discouraged and extinguished between the children and their mother; have been ingredients, strong and bitter enough, to mingle many a cup of gall and wormwood. But the effect of such proceedings upon the community at large, would be to countenance natives in their debased opinion of woman, to present the standard of European estimation in a degrading and ungenerous aspect. It would habituate, not only the women themselves, but their mothers and sisters, from whom they had withdrawn for European intercourse, to regard their sex as created, or treated at least as if created, for the most ignoble purposes. It would leave them without a single generous motive for cultivating their minds, or any excitement to the use of their legitimate influence in society, and would tempt them to employ the moments of weakness and indulgence to circumvent, to plunder, and, it may be, to ruin the men who had bound them as slaves, and having dishonoured, were now about to desert them, when their power to please or captivate had passed away.



It is surely enough that I have said on this unpalatable subject. I could make disclosures which would be painful to my readers, in order to confirm the intimations which I have but suggested; I have been compelled to glance at this point to complete the description. And while such has been the baleful nature of the intercourse maintained by European gentlemen; there has been little to counteract its operation in the influence of English females who have chosen India as their temporary residence. In many instances they have been youthful, and consequently inexperienced women; introduced to Indian society in the midst of gaiety and excitement, with volatile associates and high-wrought expectations; and engaged in employments which do not expand the mind or improve the heart. They have been met and received by the elders of their own sex, who were longing to leave the regions of vertical heat, of sudden death, and of wearisome exile from their homes and kindred. They have mingled and formed connexions with the men of wealth and distinction, who were soonest likely to return to England, or who could maintain the most luxurious establishment, suited to the indolent East; or it may be, *at length*, they have been captivated by the junior members of the service, or the subalterns in rank, whose duties required them often to change their residence, or perhaps locate themselves where the society was unattractive, and the seclusion was dreary and saddening to the light-hearted and uninquiring. On

their landing, or their marriage, they took into their service an *ayah*, or female attendant, who should minister in the trifling affairs of dress and the labours of the toilet; her attainments were few; a few words of English, a gentle patience under all irritations, a suppleness which could bend under, if it did not conform to the caprices of successive mistresses; and a disposition to lounge or sleep any hour, or almost all hours of the twenty-four; and when aroused, prepared to foster vanity, or gratify whatever weakness she discovered in the *Dorisana*, or *Beebe-Sahib*, her mistress. This generally was the only native woman with whom intercourse was held; the milliner, the washer, the cook, the perfumer, the head servant, and every household servant, were men—what then could the young, and perhaps indolent woman, the woman of fashion and pleasure, know of the Hindoo female character? or what could she propose to do for them? and what moral influence on the women of India, could English women exercise in such circumstances? It was enough, if the labours of the toilet could be endured so as to appear when the table was covered, or when the hour for evening drive, or the evening party, had arrived—the intervening hours being, many of them, spent in dishabille and the retirement of the shaded and punkaed apartment. Mrs. Sherwood has not overdrawn her description of English women in Bengal. And between them and the native women of India, the mothers, the wives, and sisters of the Hindoos, a wide chasm, a

great gulf has interposed to prevent all friendly or colloquial intercourse. The knowledge which subsists between women of the one family and of the other, has been conveyed and distorted by hearsay evidence; and the poor secluded Hindoo is scarcely more ignorant of her British sister, of her privileges and pursuits, when exalted and sanctified by a cultivated education and a fear of God, than the lady of the collector, the major, the doctor, the magistrate, the judge, or the general, is unacquainted with, and uninterested in, the claims, the sufferings and debasement, the helplessness, and utter wretchedness of the ten thousand Hindoo women who inhabit the zillah, the pettah, or the city, in whose immediate vicinity their dwelling is placed; while generous-hearted and ingenuous men, who sought to elevate the character of Hindoo females—men, whom we have known, anxious to raise the mother of their children to the rank of their wives and companions, have been *tabooed* and represented as odd, quixottish, and almost insane, and the worst motives ascribed to them.

The imperative obligations under which these considerations lay the lover of his species, and more especially the servant of Jesus Christ, to put forth strenuous efforts for ameliorating the moral wretchedness, and elevating the general character of Hindoo females, require no farther illustration: unless their women be brought up in modesty and with industrious and religious habits, it is in vain

that we seek to improve the Hindoo women. It is the female sex who keep the character of men at its proper elevation. I rejoice, however, to testify that exertions have been made most creditable to the devoted and honoured women who have gone forth to heathen lands as helpers in the missionary cause. The listlessness felt by adult Hindoo females on the subject of education would seem almost invincible, but there is added to this, an odium which associates a lascivious character with the possession of literary knowledge: this prejudice is not only countenanced, but enforced, for ignoble purposes, by men whose works of darkness will not bear the light. It cannot be, that reading has been found to produce such a character, but women attached to heathen temples, destined for pollution, have been presumed to be instructed in the knowledge of letters, and therefore, all native women learning to read, were represented as belonging to the same class—a delusion which the Brahminical priesthood took care to strengthen. An alienated and suspicious mind, misled by these misrepresentations, required to be overcome; prejudice and custom must be broke through; and naturally indolent and careless dispositions should be aroused before education could spread far among the Hindoo females. Barriers and impediments such as these, could be surmounted, it might have been thought, only by masculine and cooperating energies, aided by the influence of the governing authority: yet the work was under-

taken by feebler, though not less efficient agency—woman came to the rescue of her debased sister—the wives of missionaries, and females, even single-handed, went forth in the might and majesty of benevolence and truth; and entering upon this sphere with a generous and ardent zeal, they braved and vanquished the greatest difficulties—the languages, prejudices, climate, and natural sloth and indifference. Their progress has already been triumphant, their success most cheering, and their prospect is more glorious than the mountains of a warrior's prey, the conquests of the proud invader, and the laurels of the titled hero. Natives of wealth and influence have pronounced blessings on their name, have entered into zealous cooperation, have led their own children into the flowery paths of wisdom and instruction, or have opened their own secluded and obscured domestic circles for the visits of the teacher, and the ennobling communications of universal knowledge. At every mission in peninsular and northern India, are now schools for females, with an average attendance of one female for every nine boys; while the instruction afforded to the former is probably more select and practical than what is imparted to the male scholars. Institutions for female education are also in efficient operation in the chief cities of India. There will soon be a cultivated and enlightened seed among the Hindoo females, which, as a handful of corn on the top of the mountains shall shake like Lebanon, and flourish like the grass of the

earth. The leaven will work till it has leavened the whole lump. We speak from personal intercourse with intelligent brahmins, whose minds had been illumined with general knowledge, though perhaps, not sanctified under the influence of divine truth; and we do not doubt but a few years will exhibit a change of the most gratifying nature, in the character and pursuits of women in India.



A MOUNT ARARAT, OR RIVER FORT

#### TRAVELLING REMINISCENCES.

A LINGERING indisposition, which seemed to baffle the power of medicine and the skill of practitioners, had laid me aside from activity, and cast a cloud over my prospects. Change of climate and occupation were enjoined. I had set my heart on a visit to the island of spicy groves, and a sojourn with some endeared transatlantic friends, who had come forth there with the ambition to do good. My medical attendants, however, assured me that such a change would be fatal to my life, with the

affection under which I laboured. A northern, or at least, a colder region, presented the only probability of recovery. Not from choice, then, but necessity, was another route pursued. A partial convalescence encouraged a farther experiment, by which I was led from one region to another, feebly performing certain duties, till I had traversed many hundred miles overland, and by water. It was not deemed prudent that I should travel alone: I started from the presidency, therefore, accompanied by one whose zeal and love were a solace and support under drooping sickness and protracted disease, and whose ministering care was often needed, and never withheld in the time of need. Another friend travelled with us during part of the way, and by his amiable and prompt, as well as judicious cooperation, we enjoyed many consolations in our route, and alleviations of the fatigues or privations incident to so lengthened a journey.

I shall not again recur to the stages of our progress below the Eastern Ghauts. The high tableland of the ancient Carnata, the country of the modern Mysore; Malabar, the country of the Nairs; Canara, the Tulava of former times; the shores of the Mahratta country; the Concans, north and south; the fragments of Portuguese dominion from Goa to Damaun; the presidency of Bombay, the chiefship of Surat, the ruins of Mahratta warfare, the fertile districts of Guzerat, and the coasts of Cambay, will more than occupy the space I have allotted for this chapter. I can only



skim the surface of *memoranda* which recount scenes and incidents as various as the localities through which I passed, or the different tribes with whom I mingled. My mode of travel permitted me to visit most of the more remarkable places repeatedly, and scenes were presented at one time which had not been witnessed at another. I shall not, therefore, transcribe a bare *itinerary* of stages, arrivals, and departures, but I shall avail myself of the opportunity of grouping incidents, as well as persons ; I shall, moreover, attempt to paint the events, without introducing my bulletins of health, or bill of fare. A personal narrative would be impertinent to my object.

The collector of Arcot, and other Madras civilians contiguous to the Ghauts, had chosen Pulamanair as a cool retreat from the heat of the Carnatic, and several most agreeable bungalows or chateaus had been erected for their temporary residence. I was received by Mr. —, the collector, with the hospitable urbanity so characteristic of the country civilians of India. His connexion with the highest authorities of the Indian direction was close, and his influence and patronage were great. His estimable lady was of exalted worth, equal to her lineage and station. But they were both disciples of Christ, and not ashamed to make the declaration of their adherence to the cause of evangelical religion. In our conversational inquiries and discussions, the “Waverley Novels,” and other productions of Scott’s fertile pen, passed under

review; the question of their moral influence, their relation to history, and delineations of religious character, was introduced; and the injustice committed upon the memory and reputation of the covenanters in Scotland, and puritans in England, was strongly reprobated. These colloquies led my host to mention his relation to one of the most distinguished of Scottish worthies, a Clydesdale champion for God's broken covenant, and his own oppressed country. Mr. — produced a manuscript volume, written in the style of the seventeenth century, which he said he had never read, except a page or two, but he believed it concerned those trying times and martyred men. Within the second page I read, "But the times (of his birth) were extremely unhappy, because of a cruel, tyrannical, prelatical persecution, begun and carried on by the ever infamous Charles the Second, king of Britain, Middleton and Lauderdale in the state, and perfidious, treacherous Sharpe in the church. For, before I was born, my father, with others, being set on by the enemy at Pentland Hills, when they were standing up for the gospel, and was routed, and many of them slain," &c. I found what followed to be partly an autobiography of the writer, and partly the tale of his father's sufferings unto death. Thus will manuscripts of greatest interest travel, from Clydesdale to Mysore, or other lands even more remote. The possessor was persuaded to print the work, which occupied a hundred octavo pages, and bore the title, "Victorious Providence in

His Divine and Triumphant Rays." It is a monument of pious gratitude, and a memorial to the riches of redeeming grace.

A few miles to the north, along the ridge of the Ghauts, resides the rajah of Pangoor. His style of rajah is higher in name than in possession; he might rather be accounted a landed proprietor, who is allowed by the English to enjoy one-fifth of the revenues of his land, and to pay the rest into the Company's exchequer. He was a polygar chief, but is prudent enough to perceive that servile submission to British supremacy is his most politic course. He has assumed the dress and manners of an Englishman, cultivates the language of the English, maintains a domestic establishment in imitation of an English resident, and whenever he can attract strangers of note to his palace, he appears gratified, and exerts himself to gain their approbation. I have been told of his appearing in *top boots*, and other parts of dress to suit. But he mingles, in a most incongruous medley, Eastern pomp with English fashion; elephants and horses, &c. He is much flattered by the attention of the local civilians, and comes forth occasionally in great parade to visit them at Pulamanair. There is a scattered native village, partly employed in agriculture, and partly dependent on the European residents; the population is not great—about two or three hundred houses; the cultivation is of the various kinds of such dry grains as do not require irrigation.

The stages through the Mysore are provided

with choultries, and within these is the traveller required to find his shelter and provision, from Pulamanair to Bangalore, about a hundred miles. They have been erected by the government of the country for the convenience of travellers : a cottage-like building, containing a middle room, two side ones, and a deep verandah, from which are detached the offices for cooking, and all are enclosed within a fence. They are generally kept clean and free from intrusion by an invalid sepoy, who has his pay from government ; and the head man of the village, the cotwal, attends to see that no overcharge is made for provision. Rice, fowls, and curry-stuffs are the readiest supplies for the wayfaring man. Mysore sheep—and their mutton is as good as is the Welsh or Scotch black-face—may also be procured, but the traveller must wait till it has been killed. A scene occurred to our party which will illustrate Eastern travel. We had reached Colar, and had travelled Dawk, or Tappal, that is, we had posted the journey by relays of bearers. We had, therefore, gone far a-head of our Cavadi coolies, the porters who carried our culinary supplies ; but we were hungry, and had nothing to eat, and found our only alternative would be to cast ourselves upon the local purveyor. A good fat fowl was roasted upon a wooden spit ; rice was boiled in an earthen chattie, or pot ; and a curry-stuff was prepared in true Hindoo style. All was ready to be brought in ; but we had no table except the convex top of our palanquin ; we had no vessel to hold

the rice except our wash-hand basin ; we had no plates except the leaf of the banian or fig-tree ; and no knife, or fork, or spoon, or divider. One took one leg, and another took another, and pulled them asunder, and so with the other parts ; we had to dip our fingers into the rice, in native fashion, and mix it with the curry-stuff as we could ; the salt was as blue as slate, and as hard almost as granite, and we had to retain it in the mouth till it melted. The supper was not without its amusement ; but neither is it without its instruction. Such is the state of domestic comfort in one of the most commercial cities of the Mysore country ! Such is the social condition of a people hitherto subject to Brahminical and Mohammedan influence ! Colar was the capital of an extended province subject to the Mohammedan sovereign of Bejapore, sometimes called Vigayapore, and though it depends on artificial irrigation, it is fertile and well cultivated : on the edge of a valley a dyke is built, so as to form a large tank, or lake ; the dyke or bank is half a mile in length, and is filled by the rains of the monsoon. It is sufficient to water all the lands of the valley during the dry season. The bund, or bank, of this lake reaches to within half a mile of Colar. This town has long been a thriving emporium of trade, from which the imports and productions of the coasts were disseminated through the interior districts. The disastrous effects of war were not felt here as at other places of traffic in the Mysore. The town is distinct from the fort.

The fortifications or ramparts rise twenty-five feet high, and exhibit a square form of about a quarter of a mile on each face. Each corner was defended by an angle, with an embrasure for three guns; on the centre of the north side was a bastion; and the whole was surrounded by a fosse, braye, and dry ditch. A few soldiers, about forty, were the only military force while the rajah reigned, but there was no cannon in the place. The town is composed of one large street, with lanes branching from it; the shops are on both sides of the way—it is an Indian bazaar—the way is narrow—the houses are low, like the booths at an English fair, and the purchasers numerous. Goldsmiths and braziers, and florists and nurserymen, the sellers of flowers and coloured powders, occupy the most prominent places; provision and fruit shops, drug and cloth merchants, mingle with them. Some native gold is found mixed with the soil, and all who can adorn themselves with jewellery. The culinary vessels of the natives are made of brass. Almost all females, and the dancing girls especially, wear flowers in their hair, &c.; and the powders are used for marking the forehead by every Hindoo.

In the vicinity of Colar two attractive objects present themselves not unworthy of notice—a Mohammedan mausoleum and a charity choultrie. They are distant from the town about a mile, on opposite sides of the road. The tombs are the depositories of Hyder Ali's ancestors and paternal

kindred. The grandfather and his wife, the father and five of Hyder's brothers, are entombed in one mausoleum, which is a plain, low room. On the outside of this building are other tombs of more distant relations. They stand in a garden, within a gate, and attached to them is a musjid, or house of prayer, and a large stone tank. Around, and in different parts of the garden, cypress trees of great size grow most luxuriantly, and give to the scene a sombre aspect. Arabic prayers are recited by mollahs, or priests, who are accounted holy, and constantly attend in their place of worship; other Moslem functionaries are in regular attendance to sprinkle flowers over the graves, and to light lamps in the vault by night. It was the policy of the British conquerors to continue certain endowments granted by Hyder for this purpose. On the opposite, the left-hand side of the road, stands a lofty building, where about 150 people receive food every night. There seems to be some connexion between this charity and the mausoleum; music continually sounds here, agreeably to the custom observed at all Mohammedan tombs. The Mysore government was the ostensible almoner of this charity, but the British government was the guarantee for its permanence. We shall come to Hyder's own tomb elsewhere.

The road toward Bangalore is truly beautiful, passing through rows of trees of diversified name and foliage; the soonkesari was most conspicuous by its fragrance and lily-white flower. For many

miles it seems as if the soil were peculiarly favourable to trees and herbage. The walnut, the banian, and the mango, spread their branches, and stretch out their boughs, so as almost to cover the road, and shade the traveller under an alcove; and the aloes shoot up their spiral branch; while the milk hedge, ramified, its branches like coral, and growing to the height of twenty or thirty feet, give a verdure and luxuriance to the highway most grateful to the eye of a traveller. When the trees are in blossom they perfume the air with the sweetest odour, and vary the appearance of the foliage with fine effect. The country to the right and left is most richly fertile, and the scenery, interspersed with mountainous ridges, or isolated hills, gives the open cultivated plains a more varied and pleasing character. Here and there, across the road, festoons of flowers, and strings of cloth, stretched from side to side, show that some great personage, the governor of Madras, or the British resident at Mysore, has been travelling this road. This is a mark of distinction either willingly rendered by the servile and dependent Hindoos, or exacted by the governing authorities, to remind the people of their subject condition, and the supremacy of their English conquerors. On my arrival at the bungalow of Ooscotah, I was suffering under the most oppressive and agonizing headache; so rending did the pain feel, that I could find only temporary relief by the application of a tight bandage. Travelling by day, and functionary derangement of the



hepatic system, had brought on a nervous and paralyzing attack. As soon as I came in, I sought relief by wandering round the verandah of the choultrie, where I was met by a humane and obliging native of China. He addressed me, observing my haggard and tortured visage, "Master not well?" he said. My reply was in the affirmative, that I was very far from being well. "Would master like some tea?" he asked. "Oh! what would I give for a cup of tea!" was my reply. In a short time he brought me a bowl of tea. I declined it, and begged that he would serve himself, and then let me have some. This he firmly resisted, saying, "Master take first, then I take." Never did I experience, nor could I have ever imagined, the potent and magic influence of that beverage, "which cheers but not inebriates." I know not the mode nor the proportions in which my Chinese Samaritan friend distilled the aromatic herb, but this I must testify, that in less than half an hour my headache was entirely subdued, my bandages and all symptoms of oppression removed, and I was able to walk out and congratulate my stranger benefactor on the cure he had effected. A few men of the Chinese nation only have found their way to the western peninsula; but those who have visited Madras are generally mechanics, boot and shoe makers, and prove most diligent, honest, and successful tradesmen. They are men of independent minds, and live much by themselves. I had no opportunity of requiting the

kind-hearted fellow who ministered so seasonably to my relief. My own wanderings prevented our meeting again.

A few vestiges of antiquity, which have descended from former times, will contrast with present appearances. The natural boundary of the ancient Deckan, or *South* land of India, may be traced along the Kistna, or Crishna, so named from its dark-coloured waters. From the lofty mountains which skirt the western side of the peninsula, this river rises and flows from above the Concan, in a south-easterly direction, through forests and fertile plains, till it reaches the ocean in lat. 16°, in the country of Guntoor. On the eastern coast of this peninsula two provinces of ancient name, the Calinga and Dravida, extend south to the Cape Comorin, or the Cape of Comari, the virgin goddess Isa. In Calinga the Telinga language, and in Dravida the Tamil, have been spoken from time immemorial. On the west coast the provinces of Maber, or Malabar, and Tulava, stretch to the vicinity of Goa from Cape Comorin, and here the Malayālim and Canarese languages are spoken. The elevated central region constitutes the ancient Carnata, or Carnatic, and was long the seat of a flourishing empire; the ancient capital of which, Dwara Samudra, or Devaghiri, 105 miles north-west of Seringapatam, was plundered in the succeeding years, 1310 and 1311, by Mohammedan invaders. The latter was effected by a predatory incursion of Malec Naib, general of Aladdin.

“Continuing to advance for the extermination of infidels”—so writes Ferishta—“after a march of three months, they engaged and took prisoner Belala Deva, king of the Carnatic, and plundered his country, destroying the temples, and seizing on all the images which were of gold. Malec Naib erected a small mosque, in which he celebrated the name of Mohammed, and read the Khutta, in the name of Sultan Aladdin. At the time (1609) in which I write, this mosque is still in existence. It is situated in the land of infidels, near the grove of Sita and the bridge of Rameswara. Those infidels have respected a house consecrated to God, and have preserved it. Some ascribe this to a prophecy contained in their books, that the whole of India will be subjected to Mohammedan princes. After Malec Naib had possessed himself of the treasures of all the kings of that country, and was preparing to return, the night before his march a quarrel arose among some brahmins, who sought refuge in his camp, respecting money taken from the buried treasures of the nobility. A Mohammedan overheard them, and lodged information with the Cutwal. The brahmins were seized and carried before Malec Naib: on the application of the torture, they refunded what they had taken; and discovered not only that treasure, but six other places of deposit in the woods. Malec Naib drew immense sums from these deposits, and began his march towards Maber (Malabar). Having also destroyed the temples there, and collected large

sums and valuable jewels, he returned to Delhi in the year 711 of the hegira (1311). He presented to Aladdin 312 elephants, 24,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, and innumerable diamonds and pearls." It is said that the native rajah Belal Rai, whose family reigned till 1387, removed his seat of empire to Yadavapuri, or Tonuru, in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam; but this prince is conjectured by other authorities to have founded Vijayanagur, or Bijapore; a city which soon attained to a high degree of splendour and magnificence. Its rulers extended their authority over the whole peninsula south of the Krishna. Their power and prosperity excited the envy and alarmed the fears of Mohammedan princes whose dominions were contiguous, and who had thrown off the supremacy of the Mogul, and their confederacy joined in plundering Bijapore; they killed the rajah in battle, and depopulated the city. Its present remains, a heap of ruins, prove its ancient greatness as the capital of an independent sovereignty. It is represented to have consisted of three towns, one within another, situated in a fertile plain: the innermost was the citadel; the next was the fort, not less than eight miles in compass; and the outermost was environed by a wall from twenty-four to thirty miles in circumference. The inmost fort, though a mile in circuit, appears but a speck within the larger one, and both are in a manner lost in the extent of the greatest wall. The second fort now contains several distinct towns, and

amidst its ruins there is room for extensive corn fields. The citadel was well built of ponderous stones, and encompassed by a ditch one hundred yards wide, and was a place of great strength, consisting of a strong curtain, numerous towers, *fausse-bray* ditch, and covered way. The interior presents a heap of ruins, the mosque of Ali Adil Shah being alone preserved in repair, all the other buildings having fallen into decay. The king's palace was situated within the fort, so were the houses of the nobility, many extensive gardens, and large magazines. Beyond the walls were noble palaces and populous suburbs; and Bijapore is stated, on native authority, to have contained 984,456 houses, and 1600 mosques: recent travellers think this last statement no exaggeration. The wall, which is placed north and south, was built of stone of prodigious thickness, and twenty feet in height, with capacious towers every hundred yards. Mosques and mausoleums, adorned with the ornaments common to eastern architecture, abound, especially within the inner fort of Bijapore, the greatest of which is 290 feet long, and 165 broad. The mausoleum of Sultaun Mahmood Shah is 153 feet square, with a dome of 117 feet in diameter at its greatest concavity. The mosque and mausoleum of Ibrahim Adil Shah, completed about the year 1620, is reputed to have cost 700,000*l.* and occupied 6,533 workmen for the space of thirty-six years. The dimensions of this building are, of the basement 130 yards long and 52 broad,

and raised 15 feet. A plain building, 115 feet by 76, stands within, covered by an immense dome raised on arches. The mausoleum is a room 57 feet square, enclosed by two verandahs 13 feet in breadth and 22 feet in height. The buildings are generally of massive stone, built in the most durable style, and of elegant workmanship. There are here some cannon of enormous calibre ; one brass gun, fixed in the centre, would require an iron bullet weighing 2,646 pounds. The city is well watered, having, besides many wells, several rivulets running through it.

Bijapore is distant from Bellary about forty miles, on the south bank of the Toombudra: its downfall followed the sanguinary battle of Tellicottah in 1564. The lofty and rugged piles of rock, heaped in strange and threatening forms, the furrowed and naked hills which now occupy the site of this ancient city, appear to the modern traveller like the mighty ruins of some work of nature, rather than the fragments of human toil ; whereas, on closer inspection, he observes, what seemed naked hills, studded with rude stone choultries, their summits occupied with small pagodas ; while the perpendicular masses of natural rock are so intermingled with columns, raised by manual labour, as to be hardly discernible from each other. Fragments of pillars, walls, pagodas, or choultries, scattered in the thick jungle, may be traced in the valleys, in one place peering just above the brushwood, and in another nearly concealed by rich

mantles of creeping plants. Clusters of domes of lofty arches and ruined gateways mark out the boundaries of once beautiful gardens, throughout which may yet be traced the remains of fountains and baths. "Sorrowfully I passed,"—(these are the words of Major S——):—"every stone beneath my feet bore the mark of chisel or of human skill and labour. You tread continually on steps, pavement, pillar, capital, or cornice of rude relief, displaced or fallen, and mingled in confusion. Here, large masses of such materials have formed bush-covered rocks—there pagodas are still standing entire. You may for miles trace the city walls, and can often discover by the fallen pillars of the long piazza where it has been adorned by streets of uncommon width." Here is a large pagoda, perfect and kept in good repair; for to this spot a pilgrimage is made annually by crowds of devout Hindoos, who hold a fair in this wild scene, and perform their ablutions in the sacred Toombudra, which rolls on, hurrying past these ruins, over a rocky bed, often broken and intercepted in its course by huge picturesque masses of the rock. Another pagoda is pointed out, whose gates, pillars, and projecting cornices are adorned with admirable sculpture, and to which is attached an idol-car, composed entirely of black granite, whose ornamental carving is beautifully executed, and which was once moveable; its wheels are now half bedded in the soil. A subterraneous sanctuary, which used to be lighted with torches, still contains the arrange-

ment for rites and ceremonies of the goddess Kali, the monster destroyer of the human race, and to whom human sacrifices were offered. The thought of crimes perpetrated here will lead to an acknowledgment of the divine justice, when, in the hour of retribution, a band of Moslems broke into this recess, and seizing the assembled priests by their consecrated locks, hanging on either side of their shaven crowns, dragged them with shouts to the light of day, polluted their necks with the foot of pride, slew all, and rolled their gory heads as mock offerings to the foot of their goddess, whose necklace of human skulls bespoke her appetite for such sacrifices.

The waters of the Caveri have, from time immemorial, been held sacred by the Hindoos; and in a temple near to the modern capital of Mysore, Vishnoo reposed in the form, or avatar, of Sri Runga, prior to the writing of the Seva Purana, a work of remote antiquity. Hither pilgrims used to resort, that they might bathe in the sacred stream, and visit the temple of Sri Runga. About the year 1454 a new pagoda was erected, and a fort constructed in its vicinity, which afterwards became the seat of a provincial viceroy. Bijapore, or Vijayanagar, was the capital, in which the chief ruler resided, and the town of Sri Runga, or Seringapatam, was the citadel of the viceroyalty. The lands on which the temple and fort had been erected, were possessed in 1524 by the ancestors of the rajah, who was set upon the *musnud* or throne of



Mysore at the overthrow of Tippoo Sultaun. They were then called Mysur, a contraction of Mahesasuri, an epithet of the Hindoo goddess Isa. The provincial ruler at first only bore the title Udiar, synonymous with Polygar, or the modern Zemindar and landowner. While the dynasty of Bijapore was in vain struggling against decline from 1564, the provincial udiars were striving to evade paying their revenues to government, and gradually to enlarge the bounds of their possessions, in which the Mysur udiars were most successful. Raj Udiar, as heir of the family property, was nominated to the charge of government by the dying viceroy in 1610, when he removed his residence to Seringapatam, and, as a convert, professed his adherence to the Vaisnava doctrines. In the course of a long, active, and successful reign, he added many neighbouring districts to the dominions originally subjected to his sway. Nine princes of the same family succeeded each other during 150 years—from 1610 to 1760—on the throne of Mysur; the last of whom was deprived of regal authority by the usurpation of Hyder Ali, the commander of his forces.

The monarch whom Hyder subverted was under the pupillage and control of brahminical deceit; the rajah whom the British restored was to the utmost limit a creature of his brahminical advisers. The ascendancy of the court was swayed by brahminism; the rajah never did any thing till he consulted the brahminical keeper of his conscience.

A description of this oriental state-priest will not now be unsuitable. The number of brahmin sanneasis is small; under the name of Gooroos and Swamalus, they may be reputed the bishops of the different sects who exercise a jurisdiction over all their inferiors in every thing relating to religion and caste. They also perform certain ceremonies, such as Upadesa and Chicranticum, a rite among the Hindoos analogous to the confirmation granted by English prelates, whether in England or India. They are supported entirely by the willing contributions of their disciples; which, nevertheless, are so burdensome, that a gooroo never can continue long in one place. The contributions of all the city of Madras are only equal to the wants of a swamalu, or Hindoo bishop, for a month or two in a year. A hundred pagodas daily, or 36*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* is as little as can be decently offered to such a personage, or nearly 14,000*l.* per annum. The rajah of Tanjore has been said to give his gooroo 250 pagodas, or 91*l.* 18*s.* 6½*d.* per diem, when honoured by his visits. The gooroos travel in great state; with elephants, horses, palanquins, and an immense train of disciples, the least of whom considers himself above the most highly exalted of mankind by their reputed sanctity. They travel generally by night, to avoid Moslem or European scorn. They claim more than veneration; they consider themselves entitled to adoration. On the approach of a gooroo to a place, every Hindoo of pure birth must go to meet him;

the other classes are not admitted to his presence. On being conducted to the principal pagoda, the gooroo bestows Upadesa and Chicranticum on such as have not already received these ceremonies, and distributes holy water. Matters of local strife, transgressions against the rules of caste, and subjects of controversy, are submitted to his decision ; and having settled these, or punished the offenders, his disciples, and other learned men, are permitted to dispute on certain theological subjects in his presence. These disputations are described as similar to those which seven or eight hundred years ago were common in the Romish church. Their knowledge of science or the secrets of nature, of moral or natural philosophy, does not perhaps excel what was possessed in Europe in the darkest ages ; and their reputation in controversy is limited *only to subtilty in debate, and fluent facility in the use of logical terms or metaphysical distinctions.*

Kempah Gowdah is represented as having been a polygar, or udiar of Mugdee, a province which lies to the south-west of Bangalore twenty-five miles, in the thirteenth century. Nundidroog, Sevagungah, &c. were joined with other places under the government of Mugdee. Kempah Gowdah, though he could not boast of noble lineage, or of princely ancestors, having been only a husbandman of his tribe, was yet able to command the respect of his contemporaries, and secured to himself the admiration of coming generations ; he had been comparatively illiterate, yet he ranks as

a moralist and a saint. He maintained his government among the people by equity, and defended his country from foreign aggression by a small military force. His intelligence and ability are the theme of tradition among his countrymen even yet. He erected several noted pagodas and large choultries, dug large tanks and wells, and bestowed, for the maintenance of charity, of religious places, and of brahmins, portions of land for cultivation. One of the grants, bearing his signature, was shown among the natives while I was here; and some of the descendants of the original recipients were then enjoying the fruits of his bounty. None of his own descendants remain; but the pagodas are pointed out, as the enduring monuments of his beneficence, in perfect condition. Two of them are at Nundidroog and Sevagungah, celebrated in distant parts. The tradition among the people of this country is, that *Kempah Gowdah* was too good to live as a man;—that his prayer and long desire had been, that he should be always present and prepared for the service of his God, having lights in his hands in the temple. He was beloved by God, and by his miraculous power he was transformed into the shape of a stone image, holding two lamps in his hands, in which form he now stands in the temple at Sevagungah.

Another pagoda is still upheld in the vicinity of Bangalore, as having been finished by his piety: the verandah, the surrounding wall, and other stone erections, are assigned to him; while the gods

themselves, it is said, became fellow-workers with him, and excavated a cavern, several deep and hidden recesses, and other internal arrangements. This pagoda is near Gureepoorum, a village about a mile south-west from the fort of Bangalore. It is placed upon a mound-like hill, and is partly formed of excavated rock; the descent to the cavern is gradual, and about six or eight feet deep at the entrance; the temple for the idols is almost twenty-four feet square. There is a male and female form, to whom offerings and incense are daily presented, and to provide which, Kempah Gowdah left an endowment: time and political changes have almost totally alienated these. Cavernous passages lead to the right and left, about five feet high and three feet wide, extending some eighty or ninety feet in length. A third passage goes off in the direction of other chambers, designed as storehouses or sanctuaries; and a fourth passage, it is affirmed by the officiating priest, leads to the pagoda of Sevagungah, distant thirty-four miles. The truth of this, however, he leaves the gods themselves alone to know; since it is peopled with snakes and other dangerous or noxious reptiles, so that no human being has attempted the passage for many hundred years. A party of liberal and half-sceptical brahmins explored most of these caves, and advanced farther than their friend the priest advised; but their scepticism was either not quite proof against the impressions of early education, or not so strong as to induce them to

undergo the fatigues necessary to trace the extent of the excavations; they did creep and crawl, or twist themselves to a considerable distance, and found the passage continuous, serpentine, and inaccessible, except by great labour. I have the account of their undertaking now lying before me, written by one of themselves, too long for insertion here.

Bangalore has been a conspicuous object in the history of Mysore since Hyder first received it as his jaghire, or territory, from the revenue of which he should maintain himself as commander of the rajah's forces. It was noted in the wars conducted under Cornwallis and Wellesley, and has since continued the depôt for a large division of British troops. The fort was considered by the Moslems as a master-piece of military architecture, and admitted by European engineers to have been a well-built citadel; it is of an oval shape, and about a mile in circumference. I have wandered round its walls with old officers, who were full of anecdotes about Hyder and Tippoo's cruelty, and who pointed out the dungeons where these rulers had confined European officers taken in war, and, having treated them with severity, whence they afterwards led them forth to death. I saw, residing within the fort at the same time, two officers, whom Tippoo had kept bound in fetters under a tree till a battle was decided, that he might take revenge upon them. They obtained a happy deliverance by his reverses; one of them had been then only

a non-commissioned soldier in the European ranks, and rose no higher in the service than a lieutenant; he was attached to the arsenal. The other was a subaltern, though a commissioned officer, while awaiting his fate under the tree; he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and was commander-in-chief while his companion in arms and suffering continued the subaltern. The palace of Tippoo Sultaun, though composed of mud, possessed magnificence without, and spacious conveniences within, and was the residence of the general officer commanding the Mysore division of the troops. Hyder and Tippoo had formed extensive gardens, which were divided into square plots, separated by walks and ornamented by fine cypress trees: vines, apples, and peaches, are successfully cultivated, and these, as well as almost every other fruit of the tropical and temperate climes, produce most luxuriantly. The Pettah and surrounding villages are populous, containing about seventy thousand inhabitants. The cantonment is under a separate jurisdiction, and is military in all its arrangements. It is pleasantly situated on the highest points of the Mysore country, wide, open, and waving plains lying around, setting hardly any bounds to the excursions of the rider or the occasional pedestrian. The accommodations for the military, whether for discipline and field exercise or barracks, are sufficient for as many as eight or ten corps. There are usually an English dragoon and an infantry regiment, besides two or more battalions of horse-

artillery, constituting a European force of between two and three thousand soldiers ; there are, also, one or more native cavalry regiments, and from four to six battalions of native infantry, officered by gentlemen sent out as cadets from England. The lines of the sepoys are well furnished with bungalows for the European officers, and the barracks for the British troops are well fitted for the climate and all military purposes. There is a chaplain for the station, and a place of worship for the troops. There are two missionary stations, one for the Wesleyans, more recently commenced, and another for the London Missionary Society, which has continued for nearly twenty years. I was more familiar with the gentlemen of this latter mission, and shall glance at their operations.

It was deemed conducive to the general interests of their mission, and called for by the peculiarities of Bangalore, that the missionaries should devote a portion of their time and services to the European residents ; and to this they were encouraged by the zealous cooperation of civil and military authorities ; some of whom occasionally, or with more regularity, attended their ministrations in a bungalow chapel which had been erected within the cantonment. Some truly excellent persons, especially from among the military, lent their cordial assistance : Majors M—— and O'B—— opened their hearts and their houses to such as loved the Lord Jesus ; and sometimes as many as ten or twelve officers, besides the ladies of some



of them, assembled at domestic prayer-meetings, and attended services in the chapel. The general officer, the commandant, colonels in command, and other officers, contributed to objects pursued by the mission; and soldiers, sometimes two hundred, attended the preaching in the chapel. A few had joined in church-fellowship, and kept up prayer-meetings. From the salubrity of the climate, invalids or convalescents from other stations came to Bangalore, and enjoyed the religious counsel of the missionaries; imbibing and carrying with them, when they left, principles which developed in beneficent operation in the stations to which they returned. Associations were formed, and liberally supported, auxiliary to the Madras branches of the Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies. Supplies were procured, as occasion served, of the choicest religious and instructive works, suited to the British population, while the libraries of the missionaries were often scattered far and wide, to diffuse useful and scriptural knowledge. The missionaries and their families formed at some times a rather numerous circle; invalid brethren joining them from other stations, and continuing to cooperate with them in their benevolent labours for months, or even a longer period, as their health might require. *In this extended society there was facility for repeated services in English, and there was propriety in maintaining them.* The fellow-labourers who convened from Madras and Bellary, and associated in the fellowship of the saints, found such inter-

course profitable, and were thereby refreshed for renewed work, and prepared for further usefulness.

But the every-day work, and appropriate field for these men, were found among the natives of the land; nor did they neglect, or only partially occupy this their appointed sphere. They held private and repeated intercourse, day by day, with their Hindoo neighbours; they maintained schools, common and select; the gospel was often preached in the vernacular language, through the week and on the sabbath, in the chapel, by the road-side, in the market-place, and surrounding villages; during tours of itinerancy, or in more limited excursions. I accompanied one of the missionaries and several of his native brethren in a visit to one of the neighbouring villages. It was ten miles from the cantonment, and lay at a distance from any highway; the road to it was through green fields and rural by-paths. We passed two or three rude and scattered hamlets, straggling and ruinous; and such buildings as stood were mean and exposed, indicating little comfort or intelligence; while the modes and state of cultivation bespoke the poverty of the people, and their ignorance of husbandry. We were met, as we approached the village, by three of its rustic inhabitants. They were brothers of Canarese family, and named Chinapa, Yunia, and Yaugapa, whose tale would illustrate the social condition of this people, and be an interesting episode in my sketches; but it would be too long. When agriculture is the early and only occupation of a people, few of them generally

can read, and great ignorance prevails : but when the gross and palpable cloud of heathenism is super-added—when great love for Brahma, Vishnu, and other gods, has been nursed from infancy in their minds, accompanied with all the foolish vanities of idolatry—we need not wonder that they had not been taught to think or judge for themselves.

The province of Bangalore is subdivided into several soubahs. We were now in the district or soubah of Begour : for a circuit of five miles round the country is well watered, and richly productive. There were no monuments of antiquity ; there was no traditionary battle-scene to be surveyed ; the ear of history had never heard the name of Commonillee, and the trump of fame had never given one faint sound of its praise. The aspect of the village exhibited a striking illustration of the beautiful parable, in which Zion of old is thus represented by Him who had brought her through the wilderness, and planted her in a fruitful soil :—“ I will tell you what I will do with my vineyard ; I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up :” so that even a child, with this parable in his hand, as a native of such a village, might see the simplicity, expressiveness, and pathos of the similitude, when it is said, “ Why hast thou broken down her hedge, so that all they who pass by the way do pluck her ? the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it.” Commonillee was surrounded by a thick, evergreen, and impervious hedge, which rose to a

considerable height; and since it could boast of no lofty columns or stately temples, none of its buildings were visible from without; the gate of the village was only a door-way or passage through the hedge, whose twigs and branches were neatly pruned. The surrounding scenery was peculiarly picturesque, and the situation was "remote from war's alarms." The contiguous fields were covered with grain, the valleys clothed with verdure, and the trees laden with fruit: the village pasture sent forth the bleating of the sheep, and was adorned with herds of kine. The superiority of one village over another may be often traced to the factor, the headman, or renter of the village, to the partiality of the soubahdar of the district, or the fouzdar of the province. The appointment of these superior officers is sometimes owing to favour or influence, but more frequently to the offer of a greater revenue as the rental. The *ryot*, or husbandman, is many intermediate steps from the fouzdar, and, in Mysore, is never the freeholder or proprietor of the little farm, though the family, from father to son, may have lived upon the ground for ages. A system of villanage prevailed under the Hindoo government, holding the peasant in bondage, similar to that by which the serf of Poland or Russia is oppressed. The soubahdar of Begour appeared a considerate man, and used his power not as an oppressor of the poor. The village economy was patriarchal, and unrefined almost to rudeness; and the intimacy or intercourse of the families insured

easy access among the villagers. The traffic of the people was stimulated or supplied by sundees, or fairs, in a larger hamlet called Venkatapuram. In such sequestered haunts does the love of gain, of novelty, or indulgence, tempt men to cherish a reciprocal dependence, and the inhabitants of neighbouring villages to exercise the duties of mutual relationship.

These three brothers had become Christians, and were at first unmolested; but the change on their character and pursuits excited the hostility and alarm of heathenism; and though at first they had obtained permission and countenance to build a school-room, and bring a school-master, they were afterwards prevented. "The headman and village people conversed among themselves," I quote Chinapa's words, "saying, 'If these people build a school here, they will try to get the village under their care; they will get an agreement from the rajah. They will do this on account of building a school.' The headman therefore said to the preacher, 'You have no right to build a school here.' His objection has prevented the building, and the materials are lying in the village till this time. Since that period, all our kind friends in the village have become enemies to us: they have risen up and abused us very badly. They said among themselves, 'These people, instead of worshipping our god, have left it and gone to the holy religion!' In many ways they have abused us very badly, and become bitter enemies. They again

conversed among themselves; ‘This is not enough, only to prevent their building a school; as long as they are living in the village, they will be trying to get it; for that reason we must try to find some plan to drive these people from the village.’ So they have been conversing together; they tried to prevent our drawing water from the village well—in many unjust ways they treated us:—they took us to the soubahdar of Begour, and the headman said, ‘These people will not do for the village.’ Many falsehoods he charged us with: he said, ‘There are good people come from a far place to stay in our village, we had better give the ground of these people to them.’ The soubahdar made many inquiries, and he answered the headman, ‘If new people be come to the village, I shall be able to give them ground; I have no right to send away old ryots.’ Then he turned to me, and said, ‘You shall have more ground than you now have, to the value of two pagodas, that you may get on comfortably.’ The headman, and one from Bangalore, a great enemy, thought if they kept the village, the Christians would soon get it; but if a brahmin engaged for the village, it would then be secure. These two went to the pettah of Bangalore, to a brahmin, and persuaded him to take the village. The brahmin went to Mysore, and received an order from the great king. He came to Commanillee, and said to us, ‘This village belongs to me, because I have got an order from the rajah.’ Then the old headman and the bitter enemy from

Bangalore told the brahmin a great many things about us. He believed what was said, and they tried again to send us away from the village; these three treated us very badly. Some time after, the ground which the soubahdar gave us, in addition to that which we had, was taken from us and given to the other people; some of our old ground, and two tamarind trees, they have also taken from us; and one of our houses is given to another person."

The following scene will exhibit the process of village justice, the local courts, and modes of reparation.—"Two women, from one man's house, came into ours when we were not present, and robbed it—for that we felt much, and intended to inquire. In a short time the two women differed and fought, and the news of robbing the house was soon known in the whole village. Then we went and said to the people who stole, 'Have you done justly in this?' The village people who were gathered together said to us, 'We will give you two pagodas and four hundred seers of raggy,' (a species of grain—each seer about three half pints); we answered them, 'The people who stole from our house have taken more than what you promise.' Then they all conversed together, and wanted to charge some fault on us. 'You too have done some wrong in this village:' so they said. We always thought they desired to bring some accusation against us: for this reason we said, 'Let us stay quiet.' One day afterward, a quarrel arose about our household

affairs in our own family; the village people soon heard of it. They came into our houses and said, 'Who gives you authority to act in this way in the village?' Then they took us to the soubahdar of Begour. He inquired into the cause, and told the people, 'This is their own house quarrel, we have nothing to do with it.' The headman said to this, 'You must inflict some punishment on these people, or the business will not go on well—they will become impudent.' By many other ways they tried to bring punishment on us. The soubahdar then punished us badly, and took some fine from us besides, for the fault." The relation of people and prince will appear from what followed. The devices and hostility of their adversaries so far prevailed, that they were for a season exiled from their homes. For ten years during the reign of Sultaun Tippoo, and twenty-three under the restored dynasty of Kistna Raji Oudawer, this family had resided in Commonillee, where father and son had been employed as ryots; and in return for "the ground which had been granted to them by the favour of the great lord, the rent was paid to the Circar, and the duty owing to the government was rendered by them. As a child receives support from its father, so they acknowledged they were comfortable, in common, under the government of the rajah." They therefore made their appeal to him as the protector of the defenceless and oppressed. "We have come," they said, "from the village, and left our family, and cattle, and goods, which we have, and



we know not where we must go ; we do not want to complain because they have treated us so badly here, but because they have *sent* us from the village. That is the reason we present our cause to your feet, to support us with your powerful hand, for we know your hand will never thrust us away." Their appeal was well supported at court by the British resident, who had been informed of the whole transaction. The rajah's decision was given in their favour, and they were restored to their property and rights.

We passed on still farther into the rural solitudes, and traversed a verdant and beautiful district. The country might have been pastoral for flocks and herds, the herbage was rich and abundant, and was varied by hill and dale, enriched with clusters of wide-spreading trees, and small but refreshing lakes of water. Our route brought us to a small hamlet, inhabited by brahmins, who reside here as the officiating priests of a far-famed pagoda, situated at the ascent of a mountain, which it was our intention to climb. They seemed to pass their time in perfect idleness. The festivals of their *swamie* (idol) were the only seasons of their activity. Yet they occupied a most sweet and sequestered nook ; and their habitations indicated a large measure of luxurious indulgence, as if their life consisted only in the abundance which they possessed. I was entertained by one of their tales as I passed along through their green meads. A heroine of hunting celebrity had, Diana-like, acquired the honours of deification.

The weapons used by her in the chase differed from the bent bow and the quiver, the dogs, the chariot, and the white stags of the Grecian huntress. Yet there seemed to me a great similarity in the fable of the Hindoo to the representations of the daughter of Jupiter and Latona. She pursued her sport on foot, and carrying a spear in her hand; so masculine was the strength of her arm, or rather so gigantic was her energy, that, when she cast her instrument of destruction, if it did not destroy her victim, it penetrated the hardest rock. A perennial fountain was shown, which, according to the current tradition, had been pierced by her spear, and whence a flowing spring gushed from the rock as soon as the weapon was withdrawn. Virtues were ascribed to this stream which were sufficient to remove maladies the most desperate and loathsome.

We enjoyed from the top of the mountain a commanding and interesting view of the Mysore country. On one quarter appeared a rich and fruitful plain; on another a thick-set, close covering, and impervious jungle; and on a third were presented specimens of sublime natural scenery. On the brow of the hill was a small building, a kind of tabernacle, without ornaments of any kind, into which I entered. An image of stone occupied the place as a temple—but such an image! it is hardly possible to fancy a shape so monstrous. Some of the rudest, or most inventive of our painters, when creating forms for hell, and clothing demons in

bodily proportions, have produced conceptions of hideous aspect ; but even they, compared to this idol, were “as Hyperion to a satyr.” The image was besmeared with filth and dust, daubed with oil and red ochre, and ornamented with relics of garlands—votive offerings to signify the veneration of some superstitious devotee. The ultimate object of our search was a reputedly holy tank, which lay embosomed in a romantic amphitheatre, capable of containing many thousands ; high hills formed the back-ground, and answered the description of the mountains round about Jerusalem. The scene was fitted to take a powerful hold on the imagination of an enthusiastic observer. From an eminence which rises in the midst of the amphitheatre may be counted a hundred hills, surrounding it in the distance, and numerous glittering lakes of water, with here and there a village or hamlet, scarcely visible to the naked eye. A huge stone rests upon the top of this height, which I ascended with difficulty. I do not know that it is a rocking stone, but it seemed so equally poised that vibration could easily be produced. The following account of the origin of the sanctity of the place I received from a native on the spot : the tradition is there most surely believed. ‘A prince had been diseased with leprosy, and having endured all the alienation which an affection so loathsome could produce, he wandered from his native country, and came hither, accompanied by a dog. The leper reclined by the margin of a marshy pool, musing on his unhappy

state; the dog was led into the brake in quest of game; when he came out, and returned to his master, he shook himself, and some drops of the water fell upon the leprous prince. A change soon passed on his skin where the water drops had rested; he therefore applied in greater quantities the water from the pool, by which his skin was wholly cleansed, and a cure effected. He celebrated the virtues of the healing waters; the fame of them was spread abroad, and the tank was denominated *Savermamukie* — a golden face. Many pilgrims hastened to it from distant quarters, that they might be healed of their diseases, and all found the remedy which they required. The devotees, who still come from all parts of India, first wash in the water, and taking a leaf of the tree sacred to the divinity of the place (for it has now a divinity), approach images carved on granite, to whom their petitions are presented.' The representations are various. I examined one, a well-shaped serpent, with a leaf of the sacred tree in its mouth. The stones on which these are carved are placed near the tank. The devotees heap a number of stones together as they retire, to remind the god of their visit, and the ardour of their devotion. There are always three; two of them as supports to the third, which is laid upon them. On the road, for the distance of a mile from the tank, are hundreds and thousands of these memorials of a foolish and wretched superstition.

This scene is reputed most holy, even by men of

highest rank among the natives of the country. Only a few years prior to my visit, the fouzdar, or provincial governor of Bangalore, was among the attendants at the annual feast of the pagoda, and evinced a deep interest in the history and objects of the consecrated shrine. Superstition or policy secured his patronage and support. The brahmins represented the virtue and acceptableness of liberal offerings at such an altar, and he was persuaded to improve the tank. At the time of my visit he had spent 2,000 pagodas, or 800*l.*, in carrying out his plans. He had sunk a wall on the margin, and built in the tank in a square form; he had laid steps of granite leading down to the water, and constructed choultries immediately contiguous, for receiving the sick, the lame, or the weary pilgrims. I saw these buildings, scarcely yet finished. The tank is thirty-five or forty feet square, but is not deep; the water subsides in the drought of summer, and lies a stagnant and uninteresting pool, with a green marshy scurf upon its surface. The offering was only to superstition, whatever motives might have dictated the improvements. No physical good can result from it, for the water has no virtuous quality, and is not even fit for drinking. In such a state, I should apprehend it was only calculated to generate disease. Such are the sacrifices which the disciples of superstition make for the service or honour of their unprofitable idols!

At Venkatabrum, Commonille, and Savermamukie, and throughout the soubah of Begour, the mission-

aries of the gospel have often appeared as heralds of peace, and bringing glad tidings. As their work advances superstition will be subdued. At Venkatabrum the following scene occurred. One of the preachers, accompanied with some others, had entered the sundee, or fair, and commenced conversation about Jesus as the Saviour of guilty men, redeeming all who believe on him, and commanding all men everywhere to renounce idol gods, to repent of idolatry and all sin. The impression, from his representations, was produced, that all heathen gods were useless, that God was in Jesus Christ, the only true God, from whom alone salvation could be obtained, and that heathen gods could give help to no one. This drew forth an antagonist, who afterwards thus detailed his own feelings : “ For that I conversed angrily with him, and said you must not preach here ; no person will hear you ; go away. So I told him.” The preacher changed his place, retired under the shade of a tree, and talked with the people, many of whom seemed anxious to hear. “ Again I went and heard them. A doubt grew in my mind. I argued with them, and they gave a proper answer to my question. Then love grew in my heart. When they spoke concerning the false gods, I then saw their vanity and falsehood, and I believed that Christ is the true God, and will give happiness, present hope, and future glory ; and I felt, that if I received not Christ, I should not only suffer present evil, but also eternal misery. I received one book which

they had, and carried it to my village ; it was all read to me, and, because it was plain, I understood it. Then I considered there is one God, able to save me from sin, through Jesus Christ : on that account I rejoiced."

I passed several weeks as a visitor at this mission. The earliest agents had been sent forth about the year 1820. One of the two who first were located here had suffered a severe loss in the death of his wife, and other circumstances had induced him to return to England. The gentleman appointed along with him still remained, associated with two others, one of whom had been sent out from England, and the other had been removed from Bellary, for the benefit of climate, &c. This last excellent man was compelled in a few months also to seek the benefit of a sea voyage. He died during the day on which he embarked for England at Madras. He was a most worthy and pious person, but of delicate constitution, and unfit for the labours of a missionary, especially in the East. The missionaries had sought to improve the general means of education among the natives by free schools, retained under their own inspection and control. They had established male and female boarding schools for a limited number of Hindoos : the boys' boarding school contained more than twenty pupils, some of whom had made rapid and promising advances in general knowledge and in the principles of christian truth. Some had grown up from this school who gave indications of fitness

for the office of teachers and preachers. These had been associated with others, converted adults, whom it was proposed to employ as itinerants or settled preachers in the neighbourhood or at greater distances, in a seminary for ministerial instruction. It was ultimately proposed to enlarge this seminary, and to designate it The Mysore College: the prospectus which was circulated for this purpose was thought by some to have been premature, though it received from many liberal patronage and promises of continued support. All the higher branches of human learning were to have been taught the students, and access to the stores of European literature, especially in Biblical criticism and theology, was to be afforded through the medium of the English language. The missionaries enjoyed the cooperation of a most valuable coadjutor, in the person of a Hindoo brother; whose fervent piety, extensive knowledge of the sacred oracles, and remarkable facility in the languages of his countrymen, as well as his eminent zeal, intimate knowledge of the character, habits, and modes of thinking of the Hindoos, and the congeniality of his constitution with the climate, rendered him superior to any missionary I ever had the pleasure to meet. The object contemplated by the missionaries in the projected college, and the preeminence they assigned to the English language and its literature, could only be disapproved of by men who were alike ignorant of the country, and of the character of the human



mind, of the nature of Hindooism, and of the operations necessary to extend the gospel in such a land and among such a people. One native, qualified and trained by such means for such work, is, for diffusive labours, worth six English missionaries; and when such preparations can have been made out of the present converts as a wise and liberal economy will dictate, the vast, disproportioned expense of missionary labour will have been diminished to a great degree, and so much greater an amount of available resources may be turned into fields which now lie unoccupied and unapproached. The man who would discountenance some such mode of operations, is either blindly infatuated or grievously wicked; and if he has influence enough, and exerts it to crush such means of enlightening India, he does more mischief by one such effort than he could countervail by personal labours, protracted to a patriarchal old age, and extended by the zeal and energy of an Eliot or a Brainerd. I have not heard whether or not any part of the Bangalore seminary yet continues in operation. Carey and Marshman, Morrison and Milne, Sir Stamford Raffles, Bishops Middleton and Heber, and many other philanthropists, yet living, advocated and sought to promote the prosperity of such institutions. The Anglo-Chinese College, Serampore College, Bishop's College, and Jaffna Missionary Seminary, are monuments of what the wise and good from all lands have devised for the evangelization of oriental

tribes, kindreds, and tongues in British India. But I shall recur again to this subject.

I should prove myself a most unfaithful witness, and guilty as a Christian of deep ingratitude, were I to fail to record my testimony in this place, of the fidelity and steadfastness of native converts, to whom I was introduced while in Bangalore. The native minister whom I mentioned as associated with the missionaries is still, twenty years since his conversion, rejoicing in Christ Jesus, and with energy and heaven-derived success, spending and being spent in the service of his Redeemer. Perhaps no man in British India now living has been more honoured as an instrument of conversion to Christ among the Hindoos. His zeal, his love and devotion, his faith, his labours, and his success, if properly appreciated, are calculated to provoke very many to love and to good works. Among them who shall shine as the stars for ever and ever, I do not doubt but my beloved, though sable friend, Samuel Flavel, shall stand in his lot at the latter day. The following record from his own pen, received only a few days ago, is an instance, among hundreds, of those whom God has honoured him as a means of turning to righteousness. It illustrates the process and fruit in multitudes of cases by which the sinner has been brought to God. “In 1833, while I was returning from the Koul bazaar, from preaching the gospel, my attention was directed to a deserted temple, by a light shining between nine and ten at night. I went up to it, and

saw a man making *pooja* (worship) to several images. I asked him why he set up these images and worshipped them : he answered that he was seeking the expiation of his guilt and eternal happiness. After directing him to the Saviour, I invited him to come to my place the next morning, which he did, and the Lord plucked him as a brand from the burning, and made him a monument of his grace and mercy." He was admitted to the church at Bellary, May 1, 1836. The memorial from the convert himself is very satisfactory :—" To the best of my recollection, when I was about the age of twenty-five, I first felt that I was a sinner, and needed salvation. Desirous of obtaining the favour of the gods, I made long pilgrimages to Kosu, Ramagherry, Benares, Ramshara, Tripetty, Madura, Juggurnaut, Conjeveram, and Hurryhur, paying homage to the idols at those places, and washing in the rivers held sacred by the heathen. A period of seventeen years I spent in following lies, seeking peace to my troubled mind ; but all in vain. Of this time I spent five years in the worship of Vishnu, and had my shoulders burnt with the *chakramkita*—a ceremony designed to point out special dedication, in which a hot *discus*, the symbol of Vishnu, is applied to the shoulders. For seven years I performed the worship of Sheva ; the rest of the time I spent in the adoration of idols of my own making. About three years since I arrived at Bellary, and as I had often heard that if any one would take possession of a deserted temple,

erect an idol, and pay to it his adorations, he would obtain great merit, and God would reveal himself to him ; I, finding a deserted temple, near a tank, took possession of it, placing in it three images, which I had made, and to which I daily paid homage, and at the same time worshipped the sun and the moon, and made many prayers. I paid every attention to the decoration of the images I had set up. I suffered, also, many penances ; sometimes my head covered with sand under a burning sun. I continued these ceremonies for the space of three months, and daily felt increasing sorrow and trouble of conscience, in consequence of finding that after all my pains, I could not obtain peace of mind, and that God was not pleased to reveal himself to me. When I was in this troubled state, one day when Mr. Flavel was returning from the Koul Bazaar, he came to me, and asked me why I was taking all this trouble in worshipping these lifeless images. On my telling him that I wanted to find God and could not, he said to me, ‘Come to my house to-morrow, (appointing a time,) and I will show you a safe way to find him.’ After speaking a little more he left me. I went the next day to his house, when he spoke to me very long about the vanity of idols, and showed me the way of obtaining peace of conscience through the blood of Christ the Saviour of mankind. This was just what I wanted, and had been seeking for, and I felt great joy. I felt at once the truth of his arguments against idols, for I had my

own experience to teach me that they could do me no good: I was so fully persuaded that I had wasted my life and strength in vanity and lies, that I went at once after my conversation and broke the idols in pieces, and threw the fragments into the tank. I took off all the marks of idolatry from my body, and returned home to my family, informing them that I at last had found what I was in search of these many years, that God had sent his servant to teach me the way of happiness, and that I was fully convinced that it was the right way. I then knelt down, and prayed to God, thanking him for his mercy in sending his servant to show me the way to serve and please him. My relatives were greatly provoked that I had determined to forsake the gods of our fathers, and deserted me, with the intention of having nothing more to do with me. They continued for some time, till they found it would not keep me from persevering in the course I had taken; they returned, but constantly persecuted and abused me. The Lord, I thank his name, has given me grace to bear it all patiently, and now they have in a great measure desisted from their attempts to draw me back to their ways. I have found great delight in regularly attending the house of God, and hearing his word preached. The more I have heard, the deeper have been my convictions that I am now in the right path. Peace of conscience I have found from believing in Christ. I desire to serve the Saviour who has bought me with his precious blood, and brought

me out of darkness into his marvellous light. Since the time I renounced idolatry, I have found true pleasure in serving the Lord: I cast my soul at his feet, and look to his sufferings and death for the pardon of my sins, and my acceptance with God."

The seminary to which I have referred, contained, at the time of its greatest extension, fourteen students; and the preparatory boarding-school had twenty pupils: a few had then finished their studies, and were already employed in active labours. Of the ministerial students only one or two persons have declined from the right way, after a period of more than thirteen years. Two of the three villagers from Commonillee have died in the faith; the death of another, a converted brahmin, was peaceful and full of joy; so with several others who have closed their course and the ministry which they had received. Their labours have been diffused from Darwar to Cape Cormorin, and from Cananore and Mangalore to Madras, and Vizagapatam. In sixteen different stations have these native students, from the seminary or the school, become evangelists to their countrymen, and most of them continue till this day honoured and useful men, cherishing toward each other affectionate sympathies, and exercising a paternal vigilance for each other's welfare and reputation, well calculated to prove that they are the disciples of Christ Jesus, and the children of Him who is the God of love.

Through the kindness and attention of the Hon. Mr. C——, the Resident at the court of Mysore, the rajah's bearers were ordered to carry our party forward to the capital, for which we started, after a longer residence in Bangalore than we had anticipated. Our route lay through some of the minor towns of Mysore. Kingery is eight miles from Bangalore, stretching along in a continuous street for nearly half a mile, with shops on each side of the way. Here is a commodious bungalow for the convenience of travellers; further onward are the remains of a mud fort, enclosing within one gate a village of mud cottages. The road now lay through a hilly country, and was shaded by verdant foliage from the trees which lined the road; the parts adjacent to which were chequered with natural forests, or groves of planted mangoes. Biddidy is a town ten miles nearer to Seringapatam, a place of considerable traffic: almost every house toward the street is a shop, and the inhabitants are all engaged in trade. The traveller's bungalow here is spacious, clean, and comfortable. Oossour, or Ouspettah, is eight miles further in the route: another straggling country town. The rajah occupied this place as the head quarters of his cavalry; it is situated on the banks of a small stream, over which has been thrown a bridge, a hundred yards in length, and built of brick. The surrounding country is infested with tigers, but contains plantations of sugar-cane, groves of betel-nut trees, or extensive fields cultivated for grain. The next

town is Chinnapatam, near to which is Pattala Durg, a dungeon fortress, employed by Tippoo as the prison-house of his least hopeful captives : here they found no mercy. The town itself is open,—some think it rather handsome,—containing one thousand houses, with manufactories for sugar of a superior quality, for glass, and for steel wires employed in musical instruments. A stone fort, of an oblong square, with a fossé-braye outside of the walls, is placed about half a mile distant. The fort is strong, surrounded by a deep ditch, and has two gates at the corners north and eastward. Besides the bastions, which are circular, there are square platforms at the corners, with stones in the centre for sustaining the mortars. In the walls are a hundred and twenty-three embrasures, and enclosed is a decayed mud village and a small pagoda.

Muddoor is memorable in my journeys for its stream and its bungalow. I have crossed the nullah or stream when my palanquin-bearers could wade through it; my palanquin containing myself and travelling luggage placed on their shoulders, and have been thus landed high and dry on the opposite bank. The stream was then gentle and clear, the most refreshing object on which the eye had rested for days. I have passed it when the scene was changed, and presented an exciting contrast. The waters were then red, muddy, and troubled. It had swollen to the dimensions of a majestic river. *It was a flood of rolling and resistless waves, sweeping onward with a swelling, swift, and tumult-*



tuous current; its breadth and depth increased: perhaps, four or five times its original volume. This had been a sudden change too, so unexpectedly, that I have seen the British resident, his suite, and a number of visitors, who had come out for the wild sports of the jungle, impeded, and compelled to bivouac upon its banks. The torrent had risen to such a height in a few hours, and would probably subside in as short a time, from the monsoon and tropical rains. The passage of the Muddoor river, under such circumstances, could be effected only by a temporary arrangement. We crossed by means of a circular vessel, whose ribs were made of large hoops of the bamboo, and whose sides were composed of raw bullocks' hide, like a large leathern bowl. A strong cable was passed from one bank to another, and by means of it the boat was guided, being allowed slowly to whirl round. I think about as many as twelve of us were passengers in such a vessel. Our palanquins followed in the next trip, and we were all safely landed on the other side. A little farther down the stream, but within sight, the followers and escort of the resident were crossing from the opposite shore. Here were high-bred Arabian horses; patient and docile camels, as beasts of burthen; elephants of huge and unwieldy shape, tame as lambs, and obedient as well-bred dogs; with soldiers, followers, and servants. The superiors of the party had started on some pursuit of the forest-chase, and struck into

the thickets of the jungle. Each horse was attended by his own keeper; horse and man plunged into the river, and made for the other shore: the ostler holding by the bridle and swimming by the head of his horse; they buffeted the waves together, and seemed each one to help, as well as encourage the other. The elephants took the passage more deliberately, and with perfect coolness. Their whole body was submerged; the proboscis only was above the water, held up like a trumpet: the eyes and ears of these huge quadrupeds moved upon the surface with perfect composure. Swimming was an operation with which the elephant appeared as familiar as walking. The camels only were helpless and dependent. They were ferried across by means of the leather vessels, their heads being fastened to the boat, and their body left to float in the water. The scene was animating and novel to me. But the passage was effected without any loss or injury. It happened none the worse for our fare at the bungalow that we had been preceded by Mr. C. and his friends. He knew that we were *en route*, and left directions for our entertainment. The table was spread, and covered with the richest provision, and even the rarest viands; wines of the choicest kinds, and dishes of curry and pastry, followed soups, mutton, and fowl, as plentifully as if we had been welcomed at F—— Court. These arrangements, carefully followed out by the servants, had been specially ordered by the hospitable and generous resident. Such entertainment in the middle of an Indian jungle,

as it was unexpected, was fitted to inspire natives and strangers with an assurance of British friendship and generosity, and to leave the best impressions.

Idolatry extends its undisputed and baleful sway over all these parts. The brahmins impose and subsist upon the people. By music, and dancing, and mendicancy, they carry on their deceptions; and the willing victims are led captive by the selfish and blind guides. It is a part of religion for some brahmins to beg, and is an act of devotion for the people to honour the mendicant brahmin who condescends to receive gifts. Their religion does not however provide for the virtuous, but necessitous and indigent poor. A travelling gooroo passed between Muddoor and Mundium. His palanquin was shorter than ours; he sat cross-legged, we generally reclined. His was gaily painted and ornamented. He was preceded by an *avant courier*, who ran in advance of his palanquin about two hundred paces, blowing through a curved horn, and announcing to the people by the way his titles and the honours due to him. Several attendants accompanied him, armed with large knives, the weapons of defence common to Courg.

There is a mud fort at Muddoor, similar to one already described, but not in such repair. The sugar-cane grows luxuriantly, so also does the coffee-plant, in the surrounding country. The manufacture of sugar is performed in the most rude and simple process by the peasantry. The cane is bruised within a hollowed cavity in the

stump of a tree, whose roots have been left in the ground. A beam of wood is used as the pestle of a mortar, being fixed to a transverse shaft, to which two bullocks are yoked. The juice, when thus expressed, is drawn off by a hole bored into the lower part of the immovable trunk. The liquor thus drawn off is boiled in earthen pitchers, and having been left to cool, is granulated or prepared in other states for the market. The coffee was under the restrictions of a monopoly, which are injurious to commerce as well as to the people. He was a jolly Scotchman who farmed this monopoly from the Mysore rajah, and made well of it. He was reputed the best singer and dancer on the west coast, and was accounted a *bon vivant* and good-fellow by the gay people. The happiness or improvement of the peasantry was, however, quite a different subject.

The approach to Seringapatam is a continued descent for several miles, and presents an extended and opening prospect of the fort and the country around. Encircled as this far-famed citadel almost is by the waters of the Cavery, and embosomed in a valley, as it appears, with lofty hills, serving as its back-ground to the eastward, when the traveller looks down upon it, Seringapatam is so situated as to attract and impress the visitor with an idea of its strength and beauty. When I first travelled through to Mysore, I approached this fortress with very mingled feelings. The deeds of war, of despotism, and cruelty, with which the history of

Seringapatam was associated in my memory, occupied every locality, gave life, and incident, and sympathy to every hill and valley, every winding of the road, or bend of the river ; with the imaginary or historical representation of continuing columns, flying squadrons, and breaching parties ; of waving banners, the clash of arms, and the tumult of battle ; of sanguinary carnage, the rage of furious passions, or the rash and impetuous intrusion of guilty and unprepared immortals into the presence of an infinitely holy Judge. This had been Hyder Ali's place of security as well as usurpation ; the capital of his dominion, and the scene of many of his cruelties. Here Tippoo Sultaun had contended with Lord Cornwallis and the strength of his combined and allied forces, but subsequently had been reduced to terms of humiliation ; here, again, had he assembled his captured foes, British soldiers and officers, whom he had vanquished in war ; and here did he, in his reverses, experience the chequered vicissitudes of warfare, when, wounded and cast down, he was trampled upon, and numbered among the slain. Here had been gathered and arrayed as beleaguering warriors, a Sir David Baird and a General Harris, an Arthur Wellesley, Generals Stuart and Floyd, a Sir John Malcolm, and many officers of superior rank and distinguished name. I never could pass through Seringapatam without the most vivid apprehension of the malaria, the disease and mortality which reign there. The events of war have slain thou-

sands, but these terror-kings have cast down many more. Forty years ago this city was reckoned one of the healthiest stations in the peninsula: it is now the grave of many a thoughtless and fool-hardy youth. In the time of Hyder and Tippoo's prosperity, Seringapatam would contain a hundred and fifty thousand people. The population was reduced to ten thousand when I knew it, and many of these had been attracted or retained within its walls by the Company's gun-carriage manufactory. The Cauvery divides, and, by its separate branches, renders Seringapatam, which they encircle, an island. Canals are conducted from one branch to another for the purposes of irrigation. They are sluggish in their current, but render the extensive flat fertile and luxuriant. It is occupied by rice cultivation, and yields a large increase. But the exhalation from the stagnant waters when the fields are overflowed, induces fevers of a fatal character. For more than half the year the channels are nearly dry, and the river is then only a feeble stream, struggling onward between the rocks which rise in its bed. The monsoon from the western coast fills the channel in its season, and it then becomes a rapid and powerful river, broad and majestic, carrying down a great body of water. Each branch of the stream is furnished with a bridge, one of them in length nearly a thousand feet, built of stone, but not well finished or elegant. It was designed also to serve as an aqueduct to bring water into the town. Its mode of erection has been thus

described : square pillars of granite were cut from the rock of such dimensions as to rise above the surface at the highest floods ; placed upright, in rows, they were let into the solid rock, the bed over which the river flows, about ten feet from each other ; they stood close to one another all the width of the bridge, twenty feet ; their tops were cut to a level, and a long stone was laid above each row. Above these longitudinal stones others were placed, contiguous the one to the other, and stretching from row to row, so as to span the river. The half of the breadth of the bridge is occupied by the aqueduct, which was secured, sides and bottom, by brick and plaster ; the road, which ran parallel, was laid with gravel, and divided on the off-side from the aqueduct by a parapet wall. The bridge over the other branch was a temporary erection. The Cauvery supplied water for the double ditches which surround the fortress, cut to a great depth out of the solid rock, and extending to a circumference of between two and three miles.

The palace and Zenana, or Harem of Tippoo within the fort, was a large building, surrounded by massive and lofty walls of stone and mud : its outward appearance was mean, though some of the inner apartments were commodious and handsome. The private rooms which Tippoo occupied formed one side of a square ; the other three sides were employed as warehouses, in which his goods, and even merchandise, were deposited. The principal front of the palace served as a revenue office, and here

the sultan occasionally showed himself to the populace. The chief entrance to the private square was here through a strong narrow passage, in which lay couching four tamed tigers in chains, but ever ready to display their unruly passions in case of any disturbance. The hall in which Tippoo wrote, and in which few persons, except a favourite minister, Meer Saduc, were ever admitted, was behind these. Retreating still farther was his bed-chamber, shut up on every side, and communicating only with the hall, by a door and two windows. The door was strongly secured on the inside, and a close iron grating defended the windows. The bed in which the sultan slept was a hammock, suspended from the roof by chains; and, lest any person should fire upon him while in it, in a situation so as to be invisible through the windows. In the hammock were found a sword and pair of loaded pistols.

The British conquerors converted these buildings, such as were available, into barracks, but the troops used to complain they were ill lodged, from the want of ventilation. The jail was an inferior building, even compared with other dungeons; *small, dirty, and surrounded by mud walls; but the comfort of those who occupied their prison-houses gave the prince or his father no concern.* The inhabitants are still, in the greatest proportion, descendants of the Moslem adherents of Tippoo, and from them the place takes its religious character. To the east of the fort is a well-constructed mosque, with two minarets: there are here



cloisters and courts, columns and arches of the most perfect style of Mohammedan architecture. The minarets may be about 200 feet in height, and are ascended by winding staircases, lighted by small windows. I had the pleasure of driving from Mysore to the Lal-Baugh, or red garden, which is situated on the eastern part of the island of Seringapatam: it is extensive and handsome; its cypress-trees, which are numerous, and of luxuriant growth, form its peculiar attraction; its fountains are in ruins and hastening to decay. It contains a royal palace, built in the moslem style. The apartments are low, but with a cheerful aspect, and well ventilated. The walls are adorned with what seems to be gold and silver foil, and the ceilings are stuccoed and painted. It has only two stories; the ground floor is composed almost entirely of open halls and verandahs, which are supported by light and elegant pillars, with ornamented arches. Hyder and Tippoo only occasionally resided here—they usually lodged in the fort. Their tomb is contiguous to this garden: it was erected by Tippoo, who seemed to enjoy a filial indulgence in honouring his father, and looking upon his grave. You enter it by an arched gateway, over which a room is erected and occupied by musicians, who perform for the dead, morning and evening. Within about a hundred paces of this entrance, a mosque and a mausoleum are built upon a raised foundation. The form of the mausoleum is square, at the base a verandah surrounds it, supported by

columns of black marble, highly polished ; the same material covers the floor. The building rises in the shape of a dome, adorned with stucco-work ; the summit is gilded and crowned by a crescent ; minarets, with gilded points, rise at the four corners. There is an entrance to the tomb from each side : one of them is occupied by a black marble case-ment, carved with great beauty, in a successful imitation of filigree work. An octagonal room, surmounted with the hollow dome, is within, on the floor of which are the tombs covered by cloths of gold and silver brocade : sentences of the Koran have been embroidered on the edges of these cloths. Flowers have been strewed over them, sweet-scented perfumes are constantly spreading their fragrance, and at night the dim light of funereal lamps is shed forth. The mosque is open at one side, and is supported on arches, which spring from rows of columns : other tombs have been placed in the immediate vicinity, and surrounded as they all are by the luxuriant cypress-trees, the effect is imposing and beautiful. These sombre mansions of the dead divest mortality of much which is naturally appalling, yet they speak no peace concerning the spirit ; mighty though the dead once were, nothing but sordid dust lies here. There is another palace, once occupied by these moslem princes, the Dowlut Baugh ; it also stands within a garden of the same description, but is not so large. On one of the walls there still remains a painting, which represents Hyder and Tippoo, at the head

of their forces at Poollaloor, when Colonel Bailey was defeated, and his troops taken prisoners. It is poor as a specimen of art, not superior to the designs on China cups, but it is said to give a correct likeness of the two princes. The British burying-ground had been so closely peopled when I visited this place, as I was informed by an officer, that at the burial of a soldier, it was necessary to place the detachment in order, outside of the wall, when they fired their volleys over the grave of their comrade. Regular troops had been withdrawn, a local battalion had been raised to do garrison duty, and their encampment was outside the fort, at a place called the French Rocks. There was no chaplain or missionary stationed here; the missionaries from Bangalore sometimes visited the place, and preached to the inhabitants; they had schools within the city, and a few Europeans or country-born non-commissioned officers maintained a correspondence with them.

The royal city of Mysore is about nine miles nearer the coast than Seringapatam. It is much more healthy, and had become populous during the reign of the restored dynasty. The court, the government, and the British residency, had their palaces, offices, mansions, and halls of audience, within Mysore. The population was great, but vaguely stated by any whom I could consult. The cholera prevailed at my first visit among the natives, and had been carrying off one hundred victims daily in the town. The surgeon of the

residency assured me, however, that the numbers were reduced to fifty per day, and the alarm seemed to have subsided. A country-born practitioner estimated the inhabitants at 200,000 ; but his calculations were independent of any accurate census. The city was extensive and scattered ; and the population was dense in the bazaars and streets. None of the buildings which I saw could boast of antiquity, or give evidence of permanence. The materials of almost all were mud ; and even the ornaments of the palace seemed to me to be only of painted wood. The people were a mixed multitude, and had been attracted by the presence of royalty or the business of the government, the hope of gain and preferment, or the redress of wrongs. Arabs, Persians, Mahrattas, Canarese, and natives from the coast, Brahmins, Mohammedans, Moguls, Indian dervises, soldiers of fortune, merchants and tradesmen, servile parasites of the court, and abject slaves of oppression, constituted the motley throng which crowded the avenues and paths of Mysore, or inhabited its streets and lanes, who met and mingled in this central capital. The fauxbourgs and environs of Mysore had grown with mushroom rapidity, and seemed as temporary in their character as the gourd of Nineveh. The residency was composed of suites of apartments situated in different parts of the gardens, which were assigned to the British envoy, and were as spacious and princely as any nobleman's demesnes. The stables were like royal

mews, and alone were fit to accommodate any gentleman ; and indeed, not unfrequently the resident himself occupied apartments here. He was fond of horse-flesh, though no jockey ; and sometimes had as many as sixty horses, his private property, in these stables, among which I have seen one, valued at 2,500 pagodas, suffering from tetanus or lockjaw for nearly a week. The horses most prized here, were from Arabia, Cutch, and Persia. Wherever any of the visitors slept or breakfasted, in the bungalows, or in the more stately apartments, all met to dinner in the residency, when the party often amounted to thirty or forty. For the hot season, there was a chateau erected on the top of a hill, eight hundred or a thousand feet above the city. To render this easily accessible, a winding path had been cut on the mountain side. The situation was airy, salubrious, and picturesque. At the first visit I paid to Mysore, I was conveyed to this elevated and sequestered retreat. From its windows was obtained a distinct view of the Nielgharies, especially before sunset : they may be fifty miles distant ; but they tower in lofty grandeur toward the west, and the declining sun casts forth their sombre shadows, as a foreground to his magnificence when going down. I spent several weeks in the retirement of Mysore, coming forth at my pleasure from the peaceful scenes through which my walks lay, to mingle with the more stirring incidents of the court or the residency.

The Dussarah, an annual feast, occurred at this time : though observed by all classes of Hindoos, I imagine it to be of Moslem origin, and to have been introduced by Hyder Ali. There is a Dussarah, a fortified town, in the province of Guzerat, which, with twelve surrounding villages, is the property of a Mohammedan zemindar of Arabian descent. About the year 1209, one of his ancestors was put to death for killing a cow, and he has been since reputed as a martyr, and his tomb held in high esteem. Many of the Indian festivals can be traced to similar auspices. During the feast of Dussarah, the rajah held his durbar, or levée, in an open court, fronting the palace-yard. Visitors at the residency had the *entrée*, and were expected to honour the prince's durbar. I attended during one of the days, and was presented to his highness by the resident. Chairs were placed on the left hand of the musnud, or throne ; and after the Europeans had been presented, they were directed to seat themselves ;—the games and sports of the feast were then proceeding in the palace-yard, and in presence of the rajah. The English visitors were led up before the throne, and presented to the prince, making, as they approached, three *salaams*, raising each time their right hand to the forehead ; the name and designation was then pronounced, and the ruler condescended to hold out his palm to shake hands, which he performed with great listlessness ; his hands as clammy and cold as if each finger were a snail. After each

guest was seated, a garland of flowers was hung round his neck by one of the rajah's servants, and then followed with a supply of betel-leaf, and the nut which natives eat; a third succeeded with a vessel of rose-oil; each visitor received the betel and the perfumed oil, and rising from their chair, made salaam toward the rajah. The throne on which he was seated, accompanied by his son, an illegitimate child about six years old, was a square enclosed bench, made of solid gold; the position he occupied was cross-legged, without dignity. On the right hand stood his officers of state, and behind him were ranged servants of the king, with fans and brushes of peacock feathers, to drive off the flies. The pageantry and gewgaws of this court were not at all imposing.

The parade and sports in the palace-yard were frivolous and servile in the most abject degree;—wrestlers striving for prizes; gettee fighters contending for victory: sparring and boxing were the most *manly* amusements which I witnessed; and these were for the rajah's pleasure. The combatants were shaven, and the upper parts of their body entirely naked: the boxers were armed upon one fist with weapons made from buffalo-horn. The tradesmen appeared in procession, and did obeisance, prostrating themselves to the ground, acknowledging the benignity of their ruler. Thousands of people were gathered within the court-area with slavish adulation, ready to raise their admiring voices. Buffaloes to fight with each

other, trained and prepared by *shaving* for the conflict; elephants, to contend with the buffaloes, or still fiercer tigers, or to dance among fire-works; were then brought upon the stage. A tiger had been caught in the jungle a few days before, by men whose business it was to take him in his lair; he had been kept for the feast, and fed on short allowance, at the same time to lessen his strength, and add to his ferocity when let loose: when led into the area to contend with an elephant, his keepers slipped their noose, and let him free. I did not see the result, but was told that he declined the combat, leaped over the fence, and cleared a way for himself through the avenues of the court. This afforded unexpected sport to our European guests, and the tiger-hunt in the streets of Mysore assumed all the animation, but more of the hazard of a forest-scene. No one knew, or at least, no one repeated injuries inflicted on the people, whether any were killed or not, but the tiger was not allowed to escape: the gun and aim of the sportsman were too much for him in a region where he was a stranger. The tiger is never a match for a trained elephant. I do not know if they be *natural* enemies, and contend when they meet in the jungle. The claws and teeth of the tiger can make no impression on the scaly hide of the elephant, whose only weak point is his proboscis. This he generally turns to its highest possible curve; and then he contrives to bring his adversary between his hind and fore-leg, to kick him forward and backward,



and then, when down, to tread him under foot ; for the tiger, in such a state, death is certain.

The scenes of merriment in which the Moham-medans delight, when unawed by the presence of Europeans, indicate their degree of refinement and their ambition. Representations painted on paste-board are carried about, followed by crowds of pleasure-seeking Moslems : these are amused by tumblers and dancers, whose movements are all rendered sonorous by the ornaments and bells fastened on their limbs ; masks are used by others ; and the form of tigers, led in chains, creeping on all fours, or roaring and springing about among the crowd, is assumed by the performers. The combats of negroes are assimilated by others, painted as African blacks, and armed with short staves. The myriads who saunter forth adorn themselves with the gayest clothing, turbans of every colour—green the most sacred, but red, brown, and purple ; blue, rose, and pink vary their aspect : sailing onward with wide silk trowsers, and flowing shawls over their shoulders, they gather round the dancing girls ; groups of whom, covered with tinsel toys, dressed in soft muslins and gay silks, and carrying on their heads plates of gold, employ themselves to fascinate or receive the wages of degradation. Torches, fire-works of all kinds, horsemen on their prancing and neighing steeds, and faquirs, with all the delusive assumptions of religious hypocrisy, diversify their occupations. Jugglers, and performances on the magic lantern, elicit the merry

shout, or perplex the more inquisitive idlers who wander through the streets.

Among the curiosities of the capital was an elephant-carriage, which had been constructed under the direction of the rajah, and in which his highness occasionally took an airing. It was sometimes used for the gratification of visitors at the residency. Six elephants were yoked and harnessed in this vehicle : their trappings and harness would be a load to a common horse ; each elephant carried his mahout, or driver, behind his ears upon his neck. They moved at a pace which seemed for them only a smart walk, but so swift was their progress along the road that gentlemen mounted on horseback could only keep up with the carriage by making their horses gallop. The carriage had been built by a French coach-maker from Pondicherry, and was only remarkable for its dimensions, which were sufficient to contain ninety persons. A musnud, or elevated seat, like an ottoman, was placed in the centre, to be occupied by the rajah and his personal friends ; seats were ranged round the margin with the faces inward, and the shape of the carriage was an oblong. They tell a story of a general, some of whose early days were spent in confinement at the fortress of Seringapatam, that on a visit to the rajah at Mysore, about the time of my sojourn here, he went out by invitation with the prince in this gigantic carriage : it was a royal pastime, and the rajah had given the hint to his servants to put the elephants to their quickest

pace : but the effect of the velocity was such upon the nerves of the old warrior, that he implored the interposition of his highness to stop the carriage, or let him out. What would the old man have done in a railway steam coach ? I visited the stables of this prince : the most attractive object to my mind was an ass from the jungles of Persia, a present from the ruler of that country to the rajah. It was truly a noble animal, symmetrical, and of cream-coloured whiteness, so high of blood and spirit that he required two keepers in constant attendance ; he stood fourteen hands high, the size of a common Arab horse. If the asses, on which the judges and rulers of ancient Israel used to ride, when they went forth out of their gates, were of this species, their appearance and attitude would be quite corresponding with their station : this, too, reminds us how much the animal creation has deteriorated under the cruel and unwise usage of passionate and oppressive man.

The society and intercourse at the residency was not always subject to the forms and trammels of ceremony and state. The first hour of dinner was usually enlivened, at least attended, by the music of the residency band, which had been trained to play some European pieces with great taste. Irish melodies were no strangers among their performances : *Erin go Bragh* was the signet in most frequent use : but these strains were soon superseded by general conversation, and local or national anecdote and story ; whatever was Irish was relished, yet

not so as to offend other peculiarities. As a great rarity in those far eastern climes, the butler was one day ordered to bring from his store a bottle of Irish whisky. The cork was drawn, and the bottle and a liqueur glass sent round the party: each one sipped, and as they tasted, recalled memorials or associated fancies with their father-land, the Emerald Isle; all praised and rejoiced that they had once more been brought into such proximity with the produce of their native country. The bottle, however, came a second time to the host, and he seemed to have some doubts: his confidence was shaken—he called the servant—examined whence the bottle had been taken, and it was well ascertained that the Irish whisky was nothing more than country arrack—but perhaps just as good for the country: and the less taken of either, the better for the constitution. The conversation had turned to the reputation for wit and drollery of the Irish peasantry, when it was mentioned as a good story, and quite a pardonable blunder in an Irish soldier, who had been ordered to compare the *time-piece* with the *sun-dial*, and to settle the matter with his master, had raised the dial from its pedestal, and brought it into the room that both might be compared together. On another occasion a party of natives approached the residency, carrying some sacred or important deposit; they laid down before the company a snake taken in the jungles, more than six feet in length, and as thick as a man's thigh. It was a monster-specimen of jungle snakes,

and attracted the curiosity of all present. The natives offered it for sale, but either none were inclined to purchase, or no one would pay so much as the captors had expected, and they deliberately lifted the somnolent but loathsome reptile, and conveyed it back to the jungles: such is their horror of destroying a serpent's life, and their veneration for that deified brute—whose shape is an emblem of many mysteries in their religion—that they will suffer the most noxious serpents to escape, though they do not scruple to place them at the mercy of European travellers.

The Abbé du Bois, a Jesuit missionary from France, had resided in Mysore for thirty years: he had recently left that country when I first visited it. He had possessed considerable influence both with the rajah's court and at the residency, and had left an impression among the people of his benevolence and austerities. He had obtained his reward, and was regarded as an oracle by some *soi-disant* Christians. His letters and correspondence were coveted by dignitaries of the English church, and he had been received with great court by Anglican functionaries in India, and at Leadenhall-street; till at length he assumed the province of monitor and counsellor to Protestant churches as to their duties and prospects. He published letters dissuading English Protestants from missionary enterprises in India, assuring them that he had laboured for thirty years with but little effect, and was now retiring to make his own peace; and

farther, that he regarded the present race of Hindoos as doomed to destruction, and, therefore, irreclaimable by any efforts of missionaries. It is a maxim of ancient times "*fas est doceri ab hoste*;" but few would be so infatuated as just to do what an enemy advises. "If any form of Christianity,"—these are the old Jesuit's words,—“were to make an impression and gain ground in the country, it is undoubtedly the Catholic mode of worship, whose external pomp and show appear so well suited to the genius and dispositions of the natives; and when the Catholic religion has failed to produce its effects, and its interests are become quite desperate, no other sect can flatter itself even with the remotest hopes of establishing its system.” “There are in the actual circumstances of the case no human means to introduce Christianity among the natives, with any well-grounded hopes of success.” He declared that, in his opinion, three modern versions of the Scripture, the Tamil, Telinga, and Canarese, were “fit for nothing else” but “wrapping the drugs of country grocers in them as in waste paper.” Did the pope, or his emissaries, ever use any means of making the unadulterated oracles of God accessible to the people?

Facilities were afforded me for knowing the private character of the rajah—his personal physician and daily attendant was familiar and communicative on many minute characteristics. The rajah was a devotee to his idol-worship—five days every month he fasted so abstemiously, as to prevent

himself swallowing his own saliva—he was punctual in observing days and seasons for ceremonial ablutions, for offerings and attendance on the pagodas. He declared of the English, from his opportunities of judging them, that they *had no religion*, though they were brave as soldiers, and wise as rulers. He watched narrowly, and knew intimately, the habits of his European friends, who resided at his court, or near his capital. Yet the rajah was not a virtuous or honest man; he was neither chaste nor just; neither a wise nor a good king. His wives and concubines were numerous, and his private amours were not unfrequent. His only offspring was illegitimate. His rule was arbitrary, cruel, and oppressive; his country was impoverished, his people misgoverned, and his army an ill-paid rabble. The British government made him, and have since set him aside as the instrument of their power; they found him disposed to be treacherous, to enter into leagues with their adversaries, and to become a dangerous and plotting neighbour and ally. The Company now rule the country for themselves.

The following transaction came under my notice while here. The missionaries at Bangalore had sent out two parties of native christian itinerants, one of whom were to labour in and around Mysore, and the other were requested to extend their journeys to a greater distance. Their efforts had created some inquiry and alarm among the Mohammedans and Brahmins, and measures to

suppress their opinions were promptly adopted. The stationed party here were meditating a retreat to another field for labour ; and the other party were at the same time passing through the city, from which their brethren were about temporarily to retire. An Arabian became furiously excited, and exhibited the most sanguinary hostility ; he rode out of the city in quest of the hunted and hated Christians, who, he imagined, had left the place ; he came upon the others, who were unconscious of their danger : riding toward them in a rapid manner, he hailed them, “ Are you the Christians ? What ! were you the two who were *preaching* in Mysore ? ” *They* had not preached in the city, and they answered “ No ; ” and he hastened forward at full gallop. About an hour afterwards he returned to them, and addressed them in Arabic, with gestures and looks which indicated great wrath ; and then in Hindostanee, he added, “ These Mohammedans dwelling at Mysore are silly and weak creatures, and are easily deceived—therefore, these Christians are trying to deceive them. I have read the Testament in the Persian language. Jesus Christ is mentioned in that book, and called God—that is wrong. It is not just to say that Mohammed was a sinner. If any man wish to preach another religion he must preach to his own people, in their own place—that is nothing to us. But to speak in the bazaars and streets so openly, that Mohammed is as other men, and that all are wrong till we believe in the christian religion !



we cannot remain silent: we ought not to let them go away: and we must not allow them to escape, for they should not live. Now, it appears, many must lose their lives: but I am a stranger to this Mysore: I never put a great value on my life. I have heard for these three days about the Christians, and I have been looking after them in every street, without being able to find them. But if I see them, I am ready to lose my life by taking away theirs." He then returned to the city. In the mean time, the supposed or reputed offenders had been traversing the streets and lanes, and resorting to the market-places and temples of the city, that they might fulfil their mission. During the week they had extended their labours to the suburbs, to villages and places of traffic; but on the Sabbath, a day which they observed as a memorial of their Saviour's work, they confined themselves to Mysore. As in the time of Christ, the Jews, Pontius Pilate, and Herod, so now the heathen, Mohammedans, and Roman Catholics, conspired together against the servants of the Lord and his anointed—a false accusation was lodged before the rajah against these evangelists. Two armed police, peons, were sent in quest of them. The christian itinerants heard, on their return from village labours, that official persons had been inquiring for them. They deemed it their duty to occupy their usual place, in the midst of a sundee, or fair, for the purpose of conversation and preaching. The rajah occasionally resorted to this place for his own pleasure, and

he was now in a remote part of the bazaar. The cotwal, or police magistrate, required the attendance of the christian preachers, and the following is their report of the interview: "We went: he asked us, 'Who are you?' To this we said, 'We are the servants of God:' 'What Shastrum do you teach?' 'We do not preach the Shasters: we preach Him who died for the sins of the whole world: we preach that He only is the way, the truth, and the life—his name is Jesus Christ; we preach Him only, not any other Shasters.' After this he asked several questions. The Lord opened our mouths to give an answer to every question."

The cotwal sent a *peon* to the rajah, to inform him, that those men whom he wished to see, *were in his presence*. The rajah immediately ordered two other officers to take them into custody—the cotwal accompanied them to the king, who was then mounted on his horse, attended by some brahmins and courtiers. He appeared highly incensed at the time, and employed a brahmin to act as his interpreter. The first salutation from the rajah was, "O, these are the fellows after whom I have been seeking these three days: now you are apprehended, where do you come from? how many of you are come? Are you dwelling in my city? By whose authority and orders do you stand in the street and preach?" They replied, 'That God, who created all things in heaven and on earth, and all living creatures, and every soul,

has, by his Son, given us orders to preach this doctrine—the pardon of sin through him; according to his authority, (this is) the way of salvation, the entering into life: this is what we preach.” His highness answered to this: “You are like persons who seek to coax children by giving them date-fruit—this you are doing with my people: you give them date-fruit, (but it is to) intoxicate them. You shall not stop in my city, else I will give you great punishment. This time I will let you go, for pity’s sake.” They said, “We are all sinners; therefore the word of God is sweet for the sinner; we were ignorant of the Creator of the world, and of the Saviour of sinners. Now God sent his own Son, Jesus Christ, that the poor and miserable might receive, through him, salvation and blessing; we are ordered to let sinners know this; we have accordingly made known the sweet gospel; and we are yet bound to make it known.” The rajah spoke again: “You must go to the honourable Company’s cities: if you do not leave this, I will tell Mr. C. to drive you away. What caste are you of?” They informed him they came from Bangalore, and were associated with many others; that the tutors (of the Seminary) sent them, and that they were of the caste of the priests. “Do not,” they added, addressing the rajah, “let your highness be angry, for we have come to bring a word which will give benefit to your own soul, and good to the whole of your city. Here is the same gospel for you,” (offering to him a copy of the gospel in

the Canarese.) He turned aside disdainfully, and treated them with severity, and commanded them, saying, "Preach no more in my city—go away." At this they declared, "The Lord Jesus Christ will again appear. He is the final Judge,"—and continued to speak on the last judgment. The rajah gave directions to the peons, in whose charge they were placed, and then rode away. They were immediately conveyed to the different cutcherries (police offices) in Mysore; where a description of their features and stature was taken and entered into each cotwal's office; and after eleven o'clock at night they were released, and next day were obliged to leave the city.

The narration which these humble men gave of their proceedings was found to be faithful by the testimony of other natives, and was corroborated by the communications of my friend, the rajah's doctor. In Mysore and Seringapatam the seed of the kingdom had been sown like a handful of corn, and there were a few, who, though obscure in the world's eye, were not hidden from God, and who rejoiced in the salvation by Jesus Christ. I met with them then, and have often heard of them since; and within the last few months communications from the country inform me, that several pious European gentlemen, now residing in the city of Mysore, are conducting benevolent and evangelical operations in Mysore, by the assistance of natives, who were in a course of preparation, as associates of the men whose story I have now recited. The handful

of corn, though sown on the top of the mountains, will yet flourish like grass of the field.

My route from Mysore to the coast lay through a wild and picturesque region. I never beheld any country with bolder outlines or grander features of natural scenery. A road was then in process of formation by pioneers, both in the rajah's service and in the pay of the Company. Eight hundred labourers were constantly employed in this work of improvement. The jungle thick, the ground was marshy, and the malaria pestilential, and proved fatal to many Mysorians. The mortality among this corps was such, that many hundreds, perhaps thousands, fell under the effects of fever. Through several stages there was no highway; we traversed fields, or opening spaces in the forest, where the grass was higher than a man's head, and where, for safety from tigers and elephants, our escort deemed it expedient to keep up a running fire by matchlocks; we forded through nuddies and nullahs, streams and rivers, without bridges, or crossed by means of bamboo stakes. One part of our track lay through the *elephant* jungle, *par excellence*—the undisturbed domain of those giant lords of the forest—where as many as eighty or a hundred elephants in one herd might occasionally be met. Yet from them the traveller had comparatively nothing to dread; his chief hazard was in meeting a sulky and prowling outcast wandering alone, who had either been expelled from the community in disgrace, or had left in some fit of disgust. This was not unusual; it

occurred in our own experience; as we passed through, an old elephant was haunting the route of the traveller, and had killed a soldier a few days before. He was marked by the natives as an old elephant, with a broken tusk, and blind of an eye, probably the scars of war, or some personal quarrel in the forest. They represented him as lurking about, and concealing himself by day in the water of a tank or pool, and as only tempted to come out if he marked any defenceless or unconscious traveller. These exiled delinquents sometimes, however, assume greater boldness. I saw a gentleman, who had been exposed to such danger on the road, and whose bearers were so frightened, that they set down his palanquin, and sought refuge as they imagined it could be found. The traveller himself was a little deaf; when he ascertained the cause, he took his gun with him, and sought a tree for shelter. The elephant drew toward the palanquin, and walking round it, looked in as if he were in quest of the traveller. The gentleman took aim, and fired. He might as well have danced a hornpipe. The elephant laid hold of the palanquin with his trunk, and pitched it into the air as the traveller would have done an old hat, broke it to pieces, and tore into fragments the contents—clothes, parcels, &c. There are villages in this region, but their habitations are literally among the trees, above the reach of such uncivil neighbours. This is no hearsay representation; I saw them, and passed under them, though I did not venture up to visit the inhabitants of such

airy dwellings. In one part of the road my bearers took the alarm, and created such noises and confusion as might have been expected had they been assailed by Mahratta plunderers. It was in the middle of the night ; I had been slumbering in sweet sleep, when their cries of consternation awoke and confused me. I asked what was the matter. They told me they had come upon the track of a single elephant. I inquired how they knew it, and they pointed out the impressions of his footsteps. These traces were of an oval shape, as big as the crown of a hat, and were evidently of recent formation : it might have been a few hours before. I encouraged them to hurry on, to shout vociferously, to fire away, and keep a blazing torch and good spirits. Their torch appeared like a moving conflagration ; long billets of light split wood, which burned with a clear and continuous light, and lasted generally from village to village. The reflection of the torch in the forest was cheerful to the traveller, and alarming even to the beasts of prey, and we moved onward without interruption. The greatest obstacle in our journey arose, in one part, from the thick entanglements of the jungle and the awkwardness of the natives who were appointed to carry our palanquins. Twelve of the villagers could do no more than six experienced bearers would perform without difficulty. They had, moreover, a way of their own, and an apparatus which they had to mount for carrying the palanquin, which was far from pleasant to the

traveller. These were men whom the Mysore government had placed in this district, to whom lots of ground were assigned for their services, and whose duty it was to forward travellers whose route lay through the country; and their services were secured to us by the kindness of the resident.

In passing through the province of Wynaad we came to Manantoddy, a hill-fort of the English government, and a sort of rendezvous for their pioneer camp. From the time we crossed the nuddy which seemed to divide this province from Mysore, our road improved, the scenery became more enchanting, and the lofty grandeur of the mountains burst forth with the finest effect. The ravines and declivities among the hills were clothed with verdure of the richest green; the trees, of gigantic stature, lined the ridges, and rose with trunks of the largest timber from the glens and glades of this luxuriant country. You look far down into the deep ravines, and behold forest-trees of mature growth, yet, seen as they are from your lofty position, they hardly seem larger than bushy brushwood, and their dimensions are only guessed by the opening spaces which are seen beneath them. The situation of Manantoddy is solitary to the two or three officers whose duty requires continued residence. But to one disposed to converse with nature, or to study natural history, to gaze upon and explore the monumental antiquities of creation, or the fragments of remote convulsions, such a station must prove more attractive than the



ruins of civic greatness, or the mounds and strongholds cast up by warrior conflict. I was received by the officer in command with prompt and cordial hospitality, and spent a short time under his bungalow-roof with great pleasure. He has since given to the world, in two lively volumes, the notes and reminiscences of a thirty years' residence in eastern countries. Major B— was then a keen sportsman, and was sometimes drawn into the jungle farther than a sober consideration for his own safety would have warranted. He showed me the tusks of a boar which he had encountered and killed, but which had nearly overpowered and rendered him a martyr to the wild sports of the East. The ferocious beast had turned on his assailant, and attempted to gore him in the stomach. Major B— was only saved by a strong belt which he had girt round his loins. The tusks of the boar passed through and rent his other clothes, and partially tore, but did not penetrate the belt. The combat was short and critical, but ended in my host's triumph. Birds of every plumage fluttered and dwelt around, giving animation to the solitudes of the forest. The peacock was here in flocks, and supplied the table with a constant dish. Game was abundant. Elephants roamed on the contiguous mountains ; their tracks, where they had made paths for themselves, were visible from the door of the bungalows. Among the phenomena of animated nature, a rare species of a kind of monkey-sloth was caught by one of my friends here. The natives of the country appeared never

to have seen such a little man of the woods. The creature was discovered, with one of its young, to appearance almost tame, and inclined to become domesticated: so much so that they were allowed to move about without restraint. The parent might be about ten or twelve inches in height, and the young one about eight inches. They walked upright on their hind-legs, and besides their erect form, had much the appearance of human beings: the countenance of the old one being like the face of an elderly female. For some time the parent seemed fond and attentive to its young one; they both fed without any reluctance. Latterly, however, the elder animal became morose and reserved, refused food for a day or two, and excited fears of its approaching end. My friend was, however, surprised shortly afterwards to discover the body of the young one beheaded, and the trunk left carelessly by the mother. So far as could be traced, the parent had committed infanticide; and what added to the wonder, the little murderer seemed afterward quite relieved of its melancholy, and was inclined to indulge its appetite as before. I am not naturalist enough to determine the rank in the animal tribes which such a monster should occupy. My friend was persuaded by an officer of superior rank to give to him the survivor, to enrich his museum. I hope Major W— was able to preserve the creature alive, or, at least, to bring her bones and hairy skin to Europe, and to determine, either by his own observation, or the assistance of some

friend, to what species this inhuman murderer belonged. If so, I do not fear that the matter is lost to science. Major W— was a naturalist and painter of superior talent.

I stood frequently lost in admiration, gazing at the scenery which presented ‘the uplands, sloping and decking the sides of the mountains, and the woods rising over woods, in gay theatric pride;’ in the midst of which this little fort lay as a beacon on the top of a rock. Though it was elevated, there were mountains on either side, which rose, breaking through the clouds, far above its parallel. Mount Dilly sometimes presented its summit, with verdant sides and elephant paths, like stripes of cultivated land, on which the purest sunshine gleamed with unmixed serenity and unshaded clearness, while the mists gathered round, and settled upon its shoulder, or rather what seemed from our position its base. The sun shone at the same instant with refulgent strength on the grounds which Manantoddy occupied, and contrasted with picturesque grandeur the proximate scenery. Here was the

“ ——— tall cliff that lifts its awful form,  
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm ;  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

Our route lay along the ridge of a hill and the range of a valley. The winding path was so perfectly finished, that a coach and four might have travelled along for many miles; and we had the

grand scenery of the Western Ghauts opening on our view in new forms at every turn of the road. The hill country stretched till within a few miles of Cananore, when the aspect of the country and nature of the soil were greatly altered: the red, pulverised, clay surface of this province would forbid the expectation of luxuriant vegetation, and yet nothing can exceed the fertility of the lands which are held and well cultivated by the nairs of Malabar, a little farther south. The rains which fall around Cananore are exceedingly heavy and protracted; the water, however, soon passes off the surface. The description given by Sir Thomas Munro, of the province of Canara, might be applied to some of the lands lying contiguous to Cananore. "The eternal rains have long washed away the rich parts, if ever it had any, and left nothing but sand and gravel. There is hardly a spot where one can walk with any satisfaction; for the country is the most broken and rugged, perhaps, in the world. The few narrow plains that are in it are under water at one season of the year; and during the dry weather, the numberless banks which divide them make it very disagreeable and fatiguing to walk over them. There is hardly such a thing as a piece of gently-rising ground in the whole country: all the high grounds start up at once, in the shape of so many inverted tea-cups, and they are rocky," &c. &c. The villages nearer to the coast appear better situated, and their soil is more fruitful: the produce of their grounds,

too, finds a profitable market in the English garrison at Cananore.

There are properly three places known as Cananore: the cantonment, the fort, and the native town. The first is nominally British; the other two are virtually so, but are in name the territory of the Beebee of Cananore: her possessions extend only two miles beyond the glacis of her fortress. The situation of this place is favourable for commerce and shipping, being at the bottom of a small bay, the best on the coast, and well defended. The Portuguese were the first Europeans attracted here, and landed about 1501; they were well received, obtained permission to build a fort, and then drove out the inhabitants. In their turn they were expelled by the Dutch, about 1660 or 1664; who are said to have expended, during ten years, 50,000*l.* in strengthening its fortifications, and afterwards sold it to a native Mussulman family. Tippoo Sultaun took it from them; and from him it was captured by General Abercrombie, in 1790. It is usual in Malabar for the succession to go in the female line; a practice which is observed in the family to whom the principality of Cananore belonged, and to whom the English restored the nominal sovereignty for an annual tribute of 1,500*l.* This princess is also the sovereign of the Laccadive Islands: she is regarded likewise as the head of all the Mussulmans in Malayala: yet all her revenues and duties, her commercial, as well as political economy, are regulated

by the approbation of the Company. She engages in trade, and possesses several vessels, which are navigated under her own flag: they sail along the coast, and proceed to Surat and Arabia, to Bengal and Sumatra, importing horses, piece-goods, sugar, almonds, opium, silk, benzoin, and camphor: pepper, cardamoms, arrow-root, sago, sandal-wood, coir, for ropes, from the cocoa-nut, and sharks' fins, are her goods of export. The beebee was about eighty years of age when I visited Cananore, yet she transacted the affairs of her commerce and her government, and examined the accounts for herself. The following sketch will illustrate her family relations and influence:—Her grand-daughter was destined as her heir, passing over her sons, or sons' sons. When this young lady was married, a great entertainment was given—a gentleman present thus described it:—the European ladies and gentlemen were the guests. “We were received by the beebee in her bed-room, and the ladies were admitted into the chamber of her grand-daughter. The dining-room was very large and well lighted, and the dinner was entirely after the English fashion. The quantity of meat put on the table, as usual in India, was enormous, and the wines and liquors were very good. The young chief, or son of the beebee, with the father and husband of the young lady, who have no kind of authority, received the company in the dining-room, but did not sit at table: when dinner was served they retired to a couch at one end of the hall, and smoked

hooquas till the company rose to dance. Appropriate toasts were given, and these were honoured by salutes of guns from the beebee's ships. Many fire-works were displayed, and there was music both European and native. The house of the beebee is very large, and though not so showy as some of the sultan's palaces, is by far more comfortable, and is in fact by much the best native house that I have seen."

The beebee and her Mussulman connexions are not the only Mohammedans residing in this vicinity; there is a caste, or race, or tribe, called the Maupillies, supposed to be descended, on the father's side, from Arabs. For many ages intercourse was maintained between this coast and Arabia by navigators; who, sailing without wives or families, mingled with the natives of Malabar, and gradually raised up a race of mixed descent, that would not be admitted to the privileges of Hindoo caste; while the repeated visits and dominant power of their kindred would secure them a position and respect in society. The Maupillies are larger and more muscular and athletic than the Hindoos, with more sanguinary courage and more promptitude to revenge personal quarrels, to rob or to murder their victims; they evidently reckon themselves more independent than other natives; they all carry a knife in their girdle, and it is understood use it too freely in their own defence, or for assault. They are known by their small skull-caps of quilted buckram; the women clothe themselves like other

Mohammedan females, but the men conform to local customs, and wear no covering above the waist. The meaning of their name, in the provincial dialect, may be “a mother’s child;” signifying that the mother is known but not the father. To this idea corresponds the practice of the Nairs, the principal tribe which inhabits Malabar, who inherit from the female line, so that the property, even of a man, descends to his sister’s children: a woman is lawfully permitted with them to entertain two or more paramours, besides her husband; and if any one of these has left his slippers at the door, the husband is not allowed to pass the threshold of his own house. I was told, as a part of the system, that only the eldest son in a family was allowed to *marry*; the most licentious intercourse being practised between the sexes: thus the custom originated: since the wife alone was supposed to know the children of her husband; whereas if he left his property to descend in a direct line, he would run the risk of enriching children not his own; but it is presumed his sister’s children are certain to be of his own blood. This people are represented as evincing a more independent spirit, and desperate resolution, than other Hindoos, while their industry and enterprise are commended, as securing them many comforts not enjoyed by others; but, alas! how are the wells of domestic peace poisoned, and how are the sympathies of love’s warmest bosom desecrated! How much has Christianity to achieve when its triumphs begin. Their women wear no clothes above the loins; they



protect their bosoms from the sun by a muslin handkerchief, but it would be deemed immodest to have it spread over them when any man passes; they, therefore, always remove it when they meet a man—such is fashion. The women, as well as the men, are better looking than the Mysoreans; they are handsome, fair, and well made, and scrupulously observant of the customs of their people and the rites of their religion. The Teeyers are a menial tribe, a caste inferior to the Nairs and Maupillies. I have seen them not ashamed to acknowledge the superiority of other castes.

The cantonment is situated on the open plains, and lies above the rolling sea; besides the barracks, it contains a number of private bungalows, occupied by the officers and their families. There is also a church built in the plainest style, to which was attached an episcopal chaplain; but, alas! poor fellow, not only had he mistaken his profession, as to fitness, but his moral qualities and personal conduct could not commend his creed or his system. A good-natured, obliging fellow though he was, his weaknesses, indiscretions, and criminal indulgences were more than I can number, nor shall I name them. Many ridiculous stories were told, and many things were done, to make a Christian sad, and to make the infidel mock and disregard his own convictions. Social and mess-room habits, extravagant expenditure, and accumulated debts, rendered the poor fellow's name a bye-word, and his religious services a derision. The cantonment was large enough to

contain one European regiment and two native corps. I only met the local staff and the officers of H. M. — regiment; with the latter I held intimate and frequent intercourse, and, as often as I could, dined at their mess, or with the commandant. The latter was a hospitable and warm-hearted countryman, and was much respected in the province. I met at his table two peculiar characters: the Vicomte de Richmond, and a medical and scientific associate, sent out by Louis XVIII. The French nobleman was a pleasing and interesting person; he had been born at the Isle of France, and had been educated in France and England. He spoke the English fluently; had passed through Persia, visited Bombay, sailed down the Concan coast; was now starting for Mysore, through which he meant to proceed to Pondicherry, and, having assumed the functions of governor-general of all the French settlements in the East, he was then to visit Bengal. His medical and scientific attendant never opened his mouth, except to fill it, and never seemed to raise his head at table, except to look for something more. He was, however, said to be an indefatigable student of nature, and a most laborious searcher for botanical specimens. The vicomte was a favourite in all regions and parties; I found he had been so at Bombay, and was so esteemed afterwards at Mysore.

I was induced to visit Tellicherry, and some other of the places farther down the coast, but I shall first mention the staple production of this province—

the pepper plant. Most of the population in this district are, in some way or other, engaged in the cultivation of the pepper vine, or in the gathering, drying, and preparation of its fruit. Like the hop, it is parasitical, and artificially propped up in the same manner. In the end of May, when the rainy season commences, a number of trees,—if large enough it matters not of what kind,—are lopped of their lower branches; a pit is dug, a foot and a half deep, round each tree, and a slip of the pepper plant is set in the ground at their root. This grows three years before it bears fruit, during which nothing is done more than to bind it loosely to the tree and to prevent its falling to the ground. The rainy season is so continuous for six months, that it requires no artificial irrigation. The fruit, when it appears hanging to a middle stalk, like Portugal onions to a straw, is cut and laid out in the sun for three or four days, and after being thus dried and stripped from the stalk, it is ready for sale. The fruit appears during the rainy season. The white pepper is prepared by depriving the corns of their outer skin by maceration in a compost of quick lime. The cinnamon, and other aromatic trees, as well as the sago, a beautiful species of palm, grow here without much difficulty, and give to the country a most enchanting appearance. The coast wears the same aspect for many miles toward the south. To the north of Cananore, similar scenery extends only for a few miles. Bimlipatam is a village a few miles in this direction, and is reached by a well-made

road through an avenue of trees. There is here a romantic valley, diversified by an inlet from the sea, and wooded beautifully on either side. An old French factory once commanded the village, and formed a picturesque object from the low grounds. The inhabitants of Cananore make this a place for pleasure excursions, for boating on the water or enjoying the shade of the sheltered scenes.

Tellicherry is twelve miles south by the coast ; the inland road is more direct, only eight miles : it has no river, nor any rising hill intervening between the sea and the town. Many of the houses stand upon the beach, and the cliffs are composed of pudding stone. The places which were once selected as places of strength, are now occupied as sites for bungalows ; to which, from their elevation, Englishmen retire, that they may enjoy a fresher and purer air than can be expected below. These add to the effect of the appearance. I was kindly entertained at the residence of the civil judge of the province, and obtained from him much information which I had not otherwise acquired. Tellicherry has been always a port of great commercial consequence on the Malabar coast ; and was an object of warlike controversy. In 1781 it was invested by Hyder Ali, who established a fortified camp in the vicinity, preparatory to his attack upon the place. A strong detachment from Bombay, under the command of a Major Abingdon, arrived to relieve the town early next year. He proceeded with secrecy and skill, and came upon the enemy by night, when unpre-

pared for such a visit ; he carried all their outworks and forts, entered their camp, and routed them in every quarter : 1,500 prisoners were taken, besides the victims of war who were slain ; a large train of artillery, all their military stores, and a numerous body of war-elephants became the booty of the captors. The roads off Tellicherry are convenient for shipping, and admit of a near approach to the shore, with good anchorage and a quiet sea under the shelter of Mount Dilly and Green Island. It has, therefore, always been a principal port for British trade on this coast. Almost all the pepper grown in Canara and Malabar is collected and shipped here. The Company's vessels and private traders, therefore, frequent this port. There are two places, as distinct as two towns, one more inland than the other, called Tellicherry. The town on the sea coast is inhabited chiefly by the Hindoos and Portuguese in the service of government ; the other division is situated among trees, is larger, but of meaner construction, and is occupied solely by natives, who are classed by their creed as adherents of Brahma, Mohammed, and the Pope—Christians the last class should not be called. In the centre of the houses, toward the beach, there are remains of a large fort, erected under the direction of Europeans. From its elevated site, it was perhaps designed to command the harbour, but it is so dismantled, as to be deprived even of its flag-staff. There are, however, several good dwelling-houses, in which servants of the Company

reside. The civilians and judicial officers of the Government have their houses in retired and remote parts of the country, some of them four or six miles apart. There is no visiting here, except by conveyances. The dwelling of the judge who so hospitably entertained our party, was in a secluded and most picturesque situation, and as large as an English nobleman's mansion. An incident occurred with one of us, which will exemplify Indian life. The heat of the night was great, and had been felt by us the more intolerable, from our recent residence in a higher region. An unquenchable thirst soon exhausted the supply of water in the bedroom; but there were no bells, no water-pipes, no servants, and we were ignorant of the geography either of the house or its wells. The midnight hour had long and wearily passed, but it was yet several hours till gun fire, and we had extinguished our light; where to find the servants we could not tell, but to awake our kind-hearted host, merely for a drink of water, would have appeared intrusive. Nevertheless, the exigency was urgent, and a parched throat and tongue prevailed to break through all restraints. The chief sufferer started on an exploratory tour through the wide, open, and spacious rooms, passages, and halls, to discover a draught of water; the intervening delay seemed to me so long, that I could brook it no further. I, too, followed in my night gown, and met my companion in dishabille, bearing in both arms a chattie, or jar of water, and labouring up stairs with the prize as

joyously as if the chattie were a treasure which had been seized as a spoil from our worst foes.

This station had at one time enjoyed the services of a chaplain of excellent character and evangelical principles ; a manifest contrast to the poor fellow of the same church, to whom I last referred. He had, however, now withdrawn to another station ; some good had followed his exertions. Major B. and one or two others in the same rank were more than favourable to religion : they practised and endeavoured to promote it. There were a few European soldiers at Cananore, and a few natives or country-born people there and at Tellicherry, who valued religious privileges, and sought to improve themselves and others in the maintenance of them. With these humble and pious persons of both ranks, I enjoyed frequent intercourse, especially with the christian soldiers. Two of the native Christians who had been trained at Bangalore, were employed here for a season to preach the gospel, and gather wanderers into the fold of Christ. I understood from Major B——, that their exertions were faithfully devoted, and their labours well received ; so that the cause of truth and peace was promoted, and the good of mankind was extended by their means. I cannot, however, refrain from transcribing a representation from the pen of one who was no *swaddler*, or evangelical, of such a station as Tellicherry, when uninfluenced by the restraints of religion, or the presence of a faithful watchman. “ There being seldom any

other religious observance of Sunday at the out-stations in India, beyond that of closing the public offices, and enjoying a respite from business, it is a day more particularly devoted to the paying and returning of visits, in which the morning is consumed; and in the evening there is generally a party at the house of one of the principal residents, to which all the rest are invited. . . . The whole of the family with whom I was staying, and several others of their guests, rode out to the collector of revenue at the distance of about three miles from the town, where we had all been invited to dine. We found already assembled here, the whole of the European residents, with the ladies of such of them as were married, though it was just past three o'clock, and the dinner hour was nominally four. The ladies were all in full evening dresses, but the gentlemen were all in white jackets. There being two billiard-tables in the verandahs, the gentlemen were occupied in this game, and the ladies barely found a companion each to beguile their time until dinner. We sat down in number about twenty, to a very sumptuously furnished table, where turtle-soup, excellent fish, choice turkeys and poultry, old madeira wines, iced claret and sparkling champagne, were in such abundance as to have furnished a feast to the most fastidious epicures (of five times the number); at least ten or a dozen dishes were taken away without being tasted; not one-tenth part of the provisions set on the table was consumed, though the guests were all in good health



and spirits." No wonder that such habits of high living ultimately injure the health and the taste to such a degree, as to destroy all relish for the greatest luxuries that even Indian wealth can procure. "The twilight was passed in an agreeable ramble over the sides of the hills, on whose summit the dwelling of our entertainer was seated; our evening was divided between billiards, cards, chess, and backgammon, and a sofa party for conversation. The rigour of the protestant mode of observing Sunday in England, soon relaxes in India into a freedom quite equal to that of the catholic, when a small community finds time to hang heavy on their hands without amusements." I have quoted quite enough of my friend's sentiments and occupations to describe a civilian's up-country Sunday. Can my readers wonder that christian missions should be disliked and misrepresented, and that impediments almost insurmountable should obstruct their success and vex the minds of the benevolent men who conduct them?

A few miles distant from Tellicherry, in the interior, an enterprising gentleman, of Scotch descent, had obtained the occupation of some lands, which he cultivated as a plantation for pepper and other produce of the country. Mr. B—— was considered as singular in his habits as he had been successful in his undertakings; and he had not scrupled to avail himself of the servile degradation of his fellow-men, natives of that province. In

Malabar and Canara, a description of slavery has been upheld as the doom of about eighty thousand of the people : they are not captured negroes, but aboriginal Hindoos ; they are bought and sold by proprietors, and subject to capricious treatment, but their oppressors are amenable to the Company's judicature ; the slave-master is not the law-maker. Mr. B—— had bought a number of these degraded people, and some of them ran away ; he pursued to recapture and restore to their bonds the run-aways. His proceedings became matter of litigation ; and the opinion of the highest law-officer in India was delivered, that no Briton could hold a Hindoo in slavery within the Company's territory.

Mahé is a French settlement, the only one on this coast. They first took possession of it in 1722 ; and though the British recovered it in 1761, the French again obtained possession in 1763 by a treaty of peace. In 1793, Mahé again fell into the hands of the Company, who held it till the restoration of the Bourbons. It had been given up by the English, and was governed by a Monsieur Law, in the name of Louis XVIII., when I passed through the province. Their territory was limited to a few miles, and is distant only five or six from Tellicherry, being situated on the banks of a river which is navigable for large boats for a considerable way up the country. The harbour is secure ; and small vessels can cross the bar with safety. The country through which we pass is beautiful ; and the roads are fine between it and

Tellicherry; but any one who goes thither to observe French people in this part of the world, will suffer disappointment. I went rather as a visitor of the country than one of its conquerors. I carried, however, letters of introduction to the governor from my friend, the judge, which secured me all a Frenchman's politeness. The town had been neat, and contained some good houses, which were also well and prettily seated. The undulations of the country, and windings of the river, and the mountainous background of the Western Ghauts, rendered the vicinity picturesque and varied. But decay marked the appearance of the place, and the governor was the only Frenchman, the only European in the settlement. Monsieur Law was a collateral descendant of the celebrated Baron Law of *projecting* notoriety; whose Mississippi scheme and bank speculations once turned the heads of old France. The modern governor was as visionary in his greatness, and as aerial in his day-dreams, but he lived in the world of his own fancy—few were deceived in his speculations. Poor old man! I pitied his isolated and dreary portion. When I reached Government-house, the whole establishment was in distress, and every countenance the picture of consternation. But the suite of the governor consisted only of Hindoos or half-caste Frenchmen; his *Excellency* was rolling on a couch in convulsive agony, and surrounded by distressed attendants, ministering as well as they were able, and as they thought, to their dying master, slops and

decoctions, the virtues of which seemed doubtful. I approached the aged sufferer; he was nearly sixty-five years of age. I asked the cause of his distress, and found it a spasmodic affection. He eagerly demanded if I was a doctor. I replied, that I had not much skill, but I knew a little of what was useful; and, if he would permit, I should take him into my own care. I prescribed; and in less than three-quarters of an hour the old gentleman was out of bed, and dressed, showing us the objects worthy of notice, and vowing that it was his stars, his good angels, which had directed me to his relief. He was overflowing with royal anecdotes as well as with gratitude. He spoke of his "friend Louis," his "friend Charles d'Artois," and his "old friend George IV.," as if they had been his playmates or schoolfellows, in whose boyhood he had been their familiar friend, and with whom he yet remained on terms of closest intimacy. He was, however, quite as unceremonious and unrestrained in his phraseology respecting the "King of kings," whose name was on his lips every sentence he uttered; *Mon Dieu!* varied by the occasional interchange of, My God! Jesu Christ! formed integral parts of speech, not mere flowers of rhetoric. However, he had all the suavity and affability of his nation when this profanity was gently rebuked; and with a thousand professions of gratitude, he acknowledged his error, protested how religious he was, and vowed abstinence henceforward from such offence. The whole settlement

were in Cimmerian darkness — the truths of religion were not known—how could they call with acceptance on Him in whom they did not truly believe, and of whom they had not heard?—and how could they hear without a preacher? The only person of a religious character was an ignorant native priest of the Roman Catholic communion, who officiated at Mahé.

I was now brought to the borders of the province of Calicut, and can only glance at its position and history. The town and port lie about three hours' sail, with a moderate breeze, south of Telli-cherry, and was the first Hindoo harbour into which European navigators entered in the fifteenth century. Vasco de Gama arrived here in May 1498; and the Portuguese attacked the place to take it in 1509, with 3,000 troops, but were repulsed with great loss, and their general was slain. It was often the arena of strife between the English and Hyder Ali, as also with his son Tippoo. At the fall of the latter prince, English supremacy gave security to mercantile enterprise and native occupation. The proper name in the native language is Colicodu, which means the cock-crowing, and implies that a province so named extends as far as the crowing of a cock will be heard. This Hindoo chanticleer must however have had a stentorian organ for uttering his clarion notes, since the district extends about seventy miles in length. It is in breadth very narrow, only a few miles. From the usual name the designation of cotton calicoes is

derived: some fabrics of this description were first brought to Europe from this port. The ancient town has long been submerged by the sea; and when the tides are very low, their waves are said even now to break over the tops of what used to be the highest temples and minarets. It was formerly a magnificent and extensive city, but the present town is placed in a low situation on the sea-shore, is unsheltered, and its streets are narrow and dirty. European merchants and civilians have their residences in the country on elevated and retired positions, amidst topes or clumps of mango, jack, and cocoa-nut trees; surrounded by the rich and fertile scenery of Western India, whose hills are cultivated to their summits with cardamoms, while forests of teak, bamboo, and poon, stretch far and wide.

“ Here, from the mountain to the surgy main,  
Fair as a garden, spreads the smiling plain;  
And lo, the empress of the Indian powers!  
There lofty Calicut resplendent towers;  
Her’s every fragrance of the spicy shore,  
Her’s every gem of India’s countless store.”

I embarked for Bombay in a vessel, a sort of armed ketch, belonging to the East India Company, commanded by an officer of the Bombay marine, and worked by a Mohammedan crew under the mastership of a native officer, designated the *serang*. His subordinate assistants were called *tinduls*, and the men *Lascars*. The *Moors*, or Hindostan language, was spoken by them. The navigation seemed to me quite as efficiently managed

as I had seen it in British ships; a little more noise and more hands for any job, perhaps, but equal regularity and obedience; as good sailing, and as quick progress, marked the Hindoo seamanship. The vessel was commissioned to receive specie from the several ports on the coast, for the use of the Bombay government. We had therefore none of the effluvia or confusion belonging to cargoes from the dry-salter or the planter, and the opportunities were the more favourable for our visiting the principal stations on the coast. The cabin party consisted of Lieutenant R—, four ladies and myself; three of the ladies had been born in the country, and exhibited much more of the vivacity peculiar to the French, than of the languor belonging to the Hindoo, or Indo-British character. Our society was therefore lively, and being brought into proximate intercourse, we spent a few very agreeable days. The cabin was so constructed, that the parties did not incommode each other by night, and yet, during the day, we had but one cabin and one poop. Our commander performed the office of a hospitable entertainer throughout the passage, and maintained the reputation of a provident host. He had been often stationed in the Persian gulph, on the Euphrates, and the Red Sea; and had many anecdotes of Arabian and Persian character. I was pleased with his deportment, as I well might be in every respect; except in the matter of his God, where I had reason to dread great laxity of

principle, or absolute scepticism. Always afloat, where few religious privileges had been enjoyed, and constantly mingling with people of other creeds, and with few, at any time, of his own countrymen, he had become indifferent, and thus imbibed feelings of hostility to the christian faith.

Mangalore is situated at the embouchure of a river, about eighty miles north of Cananore. I spent several days at this place, and had the pleasure to mingle with the civilians of the station, whom I found quiet and enlightened men. I also met some of the military officers resident in the fort, and others doing duty in the pioneer camp, as well as connected with the Company's commissariat, whom I had previously known, or to whom I had friendly introductions. Had I been left to my own choice, Mangalore appeared to me the only place on the West coast, where I should have liked a continued residence. The climate is milder than the more southern or eastern stations; it possesses all the picturesque beauties of hill and dale, mountain and plain, wood and water, and the most happy combinations of all these charms. Its contiguity to the sea secures to it cool and fresh breezes daily; the cultivated, dry, and elevated lands, which rise toward the lofty Ghauts behind, shelter it from the overpowering winds that blow over the plains on the opposite coast. Animal food, vegetables, and fruit, in their season, are plentiful and cheap. There is perhaps temptation too strong to the keen sportsmen in the jungles, which



lie not far off in the Courg country. A vertical sun, and the malaria, which abounds in an Indian forest, do not furnish elements peculiarly congenial to an Englishman's constitution. The custom, too, of swallowing brimming tumblers of "brandy-pawnee" which often prevails with the young and thoughtless, ministers too certainly to disease and mortality. An instance of this fatal delusion occurred in a warm-hearted rattling fellow, whom I had met in another part of India. When he heard of my arrival in that province, he came in, a distance of some forty or fifty miles, to renew acquaintance, and was then in the highest spirits and rude health. A few weeks afterwards, the abundance of game, in the vicinity of his camp, and his love of the chase, induced him to over-heat himself; his incautious use of spirituous mixtures, and exposure to draughts, brought on a delirious fever, and he was carried off without conscious apprehension, or an hour's warning, in the midst of strangers, where not a tear bedewed his grave, or a record remained to distinguish his sleeping dust.

I repeatedly had an opportunity of examining the shore and river banks of Mangalore: but in no part of the many wanderings of my life, have I suffered a more lively apprehension of proximate danger, than while crossing the bar of the harbour. There are two streams, which form a junction before they reach the sea; the source of the one is easterly, and navigation may be conducted up

it sixteen or twenty miles—the other comes from the north, and runs along the coast, parallel with the shore, for ten or twelve miles: on the eastern bank of the latter Mangalore is situated. From the town to the landing-place an extensive sandy flat intervenes. The hospitality of our friends entertained us till the last hour; and a desire to take the cool of the evening for embarkation, induced us to delay. The pleasure of friendly and enlightened converse, made time pass imperceptibly, and it became necessary we should traverse this long sandy tract by torch-light. We could only reach our vessel in a massulah, or flat-bottomed boat: a narrow fragile bark, in which there was not a single nail, but every separate, slender, and bending plank, was only fastened to its neighbour by *coir* rope. Night gathered in overwhelming darkness; the surf rolled and dashed with vehemence, and its noise was mingled with the ominous surges of the rivers, now joined, rushing over the bar:—the boat seemed to twist and bend like a willow before the blast. We had six rowers and a steersman; but such oars!—pieces of bamboo, to the end of which a board eight or ten inches square was corded. The distance we had to row had been increased—our vessel having dropped down with the tide and lying to: we therefore *rowed* out to sea three or four miles. So narrow was our boat that two could not sit abreast. My companion, a lady, had therefore to crouch between my knees. To add to our excitement, she became sick, and we dared not move

to the right hand or to the left. A single half-inch plank was all that lay between us and the deep ocean, for more than an hour. We ourselves were powerless, and had no confidence in the seamanship of our native sailors, or even that they knew or could discover whither our vessel had dropped. Never were distracted creatures more completely, in appearance, at the mercy of the waves, or more helpless. I could not have been more subject to the caprices and terrors of a wild and ungovernable imagination off the cape of storms. Yet we reached our vessel in safety, and without the ripple of a wave entering our boat, or the spray wetting our garments: so our fears passed away.

At another time I wished to land a horse which we had on board. He was young, and, though naturally gentle, was of high blood, and had not felt his confinement between decks congenial either with his natural habits, or his early training on the plains of Persia. The vessel on board which he had been placed was called a dhonie, and could cross the bar. We selected such a part of the sand-bank which lay between the river and the sea, as would suit for the vessel to lie alongside. It was, however, necessary to make the horse leap over the side of the vessel into the shallow water, which was done by his keeper holding the bridle and going before him. The horse seemed glad enough to escape from the hold, yet he was rather reluctant to take the plunge overboard. But at length he leaped out :

and never did lion of the forest more rejoice in his liberty, or embrace it with more triumph ; he shook off all restraint, spurned the bridle, and with mane erect and whisking tail, he careered along the strand with a majestic elasticity, which indicated the luxury of wildest joy ; his neck seemed clothed with thunder, “the glory of his nostrils was terrible ; he pawed in the valley and rejoiced in his strength ; he mocked at fear, and was not affrighted ; neither turned he back from the roaring sea.” I stood on deck, and whilst dreading some accident, I could only admire his perfect symmetry, his fleetness, and his strength. He was ultimately secured, and yielded to his keeper as a child subdued by affection.

Mangalore has been the scene of warfare and carnage from the earliest times of European intercourse. The Arabs had made it a mart for their produce, and a port whence they received Asiatic commerce. The Portuguese came into collision with them. Hyder Ali occupied the position in 1763, and the British disturbed his possession, seizing his vessels. He recovered this loss afterward, and held it till 1781. The British again invaded, and continued masters of, the place, though assailed by one of the most formidable armies, under Tippoo Sultaun, till peace was concluded between the sultaun and the English. The latter again took the place when Tippoo’s power was annihilated. Nothing but the ruins of the fort may be now seen in a heap of rubbish. The collector’s house stands on an eminence,

and commands a magnificent prospect. It is approached by the bank of the south ditch of the old fort; when I visited him, he had a hundred convicts at constant work, making improvements. The house of the colonel commandant overlooks the northern ditch, which is now a garden surrounded by picturesque ruins. On the summit of the fort, a flight of steps and a terrace were built, which supply an evening promenade, where, with a fine sea view, the residents enjoy the cooling freshness of a western breeze. The native population of the town is about 20,000, divided into Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Romish Christians. The last class have some historical interest attached to their name. The proximity of the place to Goa attracted the attention of the Jesuits, who had there a college and an Inquisition. They succeeded in persuading many to embrace their tenets, who ranked as the middle and industrious classes among the Hindoos, and who did not intermarry with other castes, or even with the Portuguese. Hyder Ali carried these away in thousands, and forced them to assume the ritual marks of Islamism. It is said as many as eighty thousand were the victims of his religious bigotry and intolerance, whom he compelled to emigrate from this district. They, or their descendants, returned when the power of his son was broken, and they enjoy the patronage of the English government, and the sympathy of many who admire their constancy. They have numerous churches in the Portuguese style, the interior

of which is decorated with the pomp usual in catholic worship. Their officiating priests are native Hindoos, educated at Goa, who, on their return from college, observe strictly the rules of the catholic priesthood, administering the mass and sacraments in Latin, and discharging all the functions assumed by the same classes in Europe; but in no way excelling them as to the moral and enlightened instruction imparted to the people. Since I visited the place, some German missionaries have commenced a protestant mission at Mangalore, and are encouraged by the manner in which they have been received among the people, and aided by the Company's civilians. They have judiciously availed themselves of the cooperation of two Hindoo Christians, who had been educated and brought to a profession of Christianity at Bangalore, in connexion with the mission seminary.

An important department of the East India Company's economy, the cavalry branch of their commissariat, was conducted through this port. The dragoon regiments, horse artillery, and native cavalry were mounted on Arabian chargers. To supply horses for as many as ten or twelve corps, as also for the officers of infantry, required a constant trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulph. The horses were generally landed at Mangalore, and conducted to the Company's stud at Coongul: where hundreds of the choicest Arabian breed were constantly kept under the charge of commissariat officers. It was a sight worth

travelling to see so many coursers of the desert, which had been reared as companions of the Arab camp and brought to the plains of India, displaying all the spirit and all the gentleness of the Arabian. I visited the place and spent some days with the gentleman in charge. I found there a number of officers, who had come from motives similar to my own, or to select horses for remounting their corps. We occasionally rode out on the young horses; but the native and uncurbed liberty in which the colts had been bred, put my horsemanship to the test more than once. The horses were valued at from four hundred to a thousand rupees. The establishment and piqueting were conducted in most admirable order. The Company had another place, as a sort of nursery for native beasts of burden, Honsoor, where elephants were reared and trained. This was called the Company's farm, and a magnificent affair it was.

In our course up the coast, having passed Barcelore, a mountain 5,000 feet in height and ten miles inland, the next place of any note was Onore, (Hona-waur,) at which I did not land. I have been informed it was formerly a port of great commerce. It is seated at the mouth of a stream which communicates with a salt water lake of some extent, reaching to the foot of the Ghauts. Hyder Ali had built dock-yards here, which his son Tippoo demolished. In 1799 it came finally into the possession of the British, who have a custom-house to superintend the trade in rice, pepper, betel-nut,

cocoa-nut, and salt fish. Hyder Ali found the territory an appendage of the ranee, or princess of Bednore. It had been previously in the possession of the Dutch, who captured it from the Portuguese. When these latter, the earliest European conquerors, visited Onore, it was the capital of an independent rajah, whom they subdued : such are the vicissitudes of conquest. "Fortified Island," six miles in circumference, is two miles to the northward, and is surrounded by a stone wall, with towers of defence, which are visible from the sea. Anjediva is a smaller islet, only a mile in length, but rendered more known in history by the retreat of Sir Abraham Shipman and his troops, who had been sent from England to take possession of Bombay, a marriage portion with the Infanta of Portugal, as the queen of Charles the Second. The place was a grave to many of the soldiers, as well as their general. It is now a land of exile for convicts from the Portuguese settlements in India.

Goa had more attractions for my curiosity, and claimed greater attention, as having been the seat of Portuguese vice-royalty, the scene of a Romish Inquisition with Jesuit functionaries, and the See of an archbishop, who ranked in the papal hierarchy as primate of the East. I landed, and spent two days in wandering over its ruins and marking its decay. We entered the harbour, and sailed up the Mandova river, till our small craft lay alongside New Goa. I had before this finished my trip in the Company's ketch, and now sailed in a country



vessel, which I had chartered for my own accommodation. This I found as convenient, and nearly as cheap, as two palanquins, with their complement of bearers. Our movements and time were at our own command. We had a small cabin, inclosed by a bamboo roof, which answered for a poop, when objects at a distance required to be examined; a sail-cloth served for an awning and the walls of our marine tent. Our botilla lay at anchor while we explored the monuments of Goa, ancient and modern. The embouchure presented to the voyager a picturesque and enchanting *coup-d'œil*. Down to the water's edge the trees hung their umbrageous branches, clothed in the most verdant foliage. The bay spread out right and left, embosomed within the most peaceful amphitheatre, and affording every facility for aquatic amusements or maritime commerce. There are monasteries and churches on every point and nook of land, white-washed without, and surrounded by wood and water. I understood a native to affirm that there was a church here for every apostle and each evangelist; while the women who followed the Saviour were all *equally honoured*: if honoured they could be, by having their names attached to shrines of superstition. There were in the province 200 churches and 2,000 priests in devoted subserviency to papal Rome. One church excelled all the rest in its attractions and sanctity. San Creten, called also the *Chapel of the Palace*, was built after the model of St. Peter's at Rome, and was venerated as the

most sacred edifice by the devotees of Western India. The altar-pieces were adorned in a gorgeous, but tawdry style ; the gilding and painting were lavish, but without a chastened or refined taste. There were several oratories, or confessionals, round the choir, in which I observed father-confessors. The relics or memorials, the *nostrums* or charms, which hung round the principal altar, showed the degradation of the worshipper, and the impositions practised by the priests. The bone of a deceased *saint* ; the wax model of a leg or an arm, an ear or a tooth ; the necklaces and beads of distant suppliants ; the doggerel prescriptions of superstition, and the *muntrums*, or recipes, to preserve *chastity and resist the devil ; the vials with elixirs*, and the coarse pictorial representations, setting forth the virtues of urinary secretions, when swallowed as medicines, which were the memorials of this altar, declared the character of Eastern popery, from the highest places of its power, and the strongest fortresses of its dominion. I attended the performance of cathedral service in what was called the *see church*. Sixteen priests, in black vestments with a white stole, entered while I waited, and took their places round a reading-desk, which stood toward the altar, on an elevated platform. They were all dark complexioned, and appeared natives of the country. Their missal, or breviary, was a large folio, and the language did not sound to me as Latin or Portuguese ; I supposed it to be Mahratta, or ancient Concance. The

congregation consisted of only four besides ourselves and followers, though the building might have contained many hundreds, and was in good repair.

The *sacred* Inquisition stood hard by, but it was now only the shadow of what it had been ; its doors and windows stood open ; its dungeons and cells were said to be without captives or occupant ; its terrors had passed away ; and it served only as a monument of faded intolerance, and declining priestcraft and superstition. My friend, Captain R—, who served in the corps of occupation when the British troops garrisoned Goa, a few years prior to my visit, had gone forth in his rambles to search for what was curious. He reached the Inquisition, entered its chambers, and passed from one to another without apprehension, till, unexpectedly, he came into its secret-place, or strong-hold, which he entered by a window, where he found a company of priests still officiating as the ministers of cruelty and bigotry. The encounter was equally a surprise to both parties, and the arms of the soldier were ready to be drawn for his defence, when a compromise was effected, inasmuch as he had traversed beyond his bounds, and the priests were unwilling to excite hostility. I was too much an invalid, and too solitary a wanderer, to make any wonderful discoveries ; besides, I was not dressed in even a little brief authority. I therefore *believed* what I was told, that the power of the Inquisition had passed away. I did not intrude upon the *santa casa*, or holy office, where many hundred

victims had been brought to an iniquitous tribunal, judged in matters which belonged only to God, and consigned, by the sentence of blasphemous usurpers, to undeserved death. I might, had I advanced but a few paces, have seen the spot where the miserable martyrs, convened from their dungeons, had received the sentence of their murderers. Here the images of the presumed heretics who had died in their cells were wont to be presented, their bones enclosed in small chests, and covered with pictorial flames and demons; while the living heretics, a hundred and fifty at a time, more miserable and degraded still, habited in a grey cloth, on which was painted their portrait placed among burning torches, flames, and demons, and crowned with a pasteboard cap, bearing the same infernal symbols, were made to walk forth barefooted over the sharp piercing stones of the streets, bearing a lighted taper in their hands. Hence were they led to the bank of the river, where fagots had been prepared for their burning, or *auto-da-fé*, and where the viceroy, with his attendants, were assembled to witness the act of faith, when the executioner seized and bound them to the stake, to be consumed amidst the burning fagots. The dungeons of this horrible prison-house were described as in number two hundred, and each only ten feet square, the abodes of misery in such a climate, where hundreds have languished for many years without intercourse with relatives, and unknown to their friends whether they yet lingered in existence, had died in

their dungeons, or were burned as heretics, and condemned to perdition. No wonder that the “mark of the Inquisition” should be deeply traced in the solemn countenances and peculiar demeanour, or priestly terror, of those who, after tedious confinement, had been liberated from this scene of torture and dreaded oppression. The halls and courts of such a building could tell nothing but misery and sorrowing affliction, and to traverse them would only identify our associations with priestcraft and superstition.

The numerous convents and monasteries had been ruled by the Augustinians and Dominicans, the Capuchins and Jesuits. I saw nothing of their library, but Dr. C. Buchanan speaks of its choice and rare books. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a highly-finished marble monument, and his coffin is encased with silver and precious stones. The church and convent of St. Augustine, in which he is entombed, are reckoned of superior architecture. I passed through the palace of Albuquerque, from the water side, the halls of which were untenanted, the courts overgrown with weeds and grass, and the surrounding lawns laid open to every intruder. The walls were monuments of ambition and pictures of decay, a fit emblem of the Portuguese power, which had dawned with the achievements of that renowned soldier, had been limited by his conquests, and began to fade when his career had closed. The old city of Goa may be called a republic of priests ; ecclesiastical buildings and

clerical functionaries are its only tokens of life, sluggish and obsolete though they be ; the “ host,” or the priests’ manjeel, passing through the street, formed the only moving incidents. The manjeel, a substitute for the palanquin, is a sea-cot suspended from a bamboo, with a coarse covering thrown over it, and borne upon the heads of four men. The more lordly padre, or assuming churchman, was preceded by a footman, bearing his staff, to which bells and rings were attached, and by whose jingle, as he ran, the bearers were able to keep time in their motion.

We tried to sleep in the bungalow of a brahmin at New Goa, to which we had been directed by communication with an old Portuguese, Admiral De S—. Our Hindoo host professed to provide sleeping-cots for his guests, but if he had brought them from Egypt under the third plague they could not have exhibited more moving animation, or more effectually have prevented repose, while the walls and floor were teeming with a noisome population. Sleep we could not ; and to be longer in such company we were ashamed ; we therefore rose, and most resolutely endeavoured to maintain a sedentary position, from which also we were driven, sleep and vermin keeping up the strife with eminent success. Portuguese filth was found by us equal to the most modern Coptic versions of Egyptian plagues, and we were fairly forced from land to water for our own protection. Our brahminical Boniface did not profess to supply his guests

with stimulating drinks, nor even provision for the table—the latter our servant purchased at the bazaar; but what was lacking in provender, the old idolater made up by the number and compass of empty apartments, through which we might roam, and the lavish amount of his charges. Old Goa is eight miles up the river; the straight streets and handsome stone-built houses give the city a magnificent appearance; but it is a vain show; the largest houses are uninhabited. There are two harbours, defended by castles and batteries. Algoada point, and Nostra Senhora de la Cabo (a monastery), are the extreme and most conspicuous points of the bay; the former on the north, and the latter on the south entrances. But the merchandise of the port is insignificant, and the inhabitants of this viceroyalty, once the noblesse and royal blood of Portugal, are now sunk in the lowest poverty, and reduced to the utmost contempt among their neighbours. I heard of one, a princess of the royal house of Braganza, dancing at a ball given by some British authorities, slip-shod and without stockings fit for appearance. Such tales were told by those who had witnessed the humbling scene, and joined in the sportive dance.

The servile work of Goa is performed by negro slaves; and a more affecting picture of moral ruin, and mental imbecility, I have not seen as produced by oppression, than was presented by the poor captives from Mosambique, whom a cruel cupidity had stolen from their friends and home. Vacuity,

absolute and unbroken, rested upon their countenances; mind in them seemed motionless and characterless, like the unmoved sands of the Zahara; their very talk and mirth were no more animated than the chattering of the monkey tribes. I never did so pity the slave as at Goa. But, indeed, it is only the broken and prostrate spirits who can securely be made bondmen here: the energetic and restless would find an asylum and safety in the Company's territory: if once they have passed the confines of the province they are free, and cannot be reclaimed by assumed proprietors.

The southern Concan stretches along the coast from Goa to Bombay: a narrow stripe of land below the Ghauts, from thirty to forty miles in breadth, well watered and fruitful. It was long noted as the nest of pirates, till about eighty years ago, when their strong-holds were destroyed by British assailants. The places most known are Gheriah, Rutnagerree, Severndroog, and Hurnee, Anjenweel, and Bankote. Angria, the piratical chief, made Gheriah the principal seat of his power; and when it was reduced in 1756, by Admiral Watson, 200 pieces of cannon and mortars, besides military stores of all kinds in abundance, and 100,000*l.* in money were found in its fort. A fleet which used to cope with English, Dutch, and Portuguese men of war, and repeatedly captured frigates and sixty-four gun-ships, was destroyed, together with two large ships building on the stocks. The next port is sometimes called



Rettrah-Gheriah, from its *resemblance* to the former strong-hold. It was used to be distinguished by a large banian tree, which had stood for centuries as a sea-mark. Rutnagerree is now a civil station of the Company's collectorate. My friend, Mr. R. M— was attached to this place when I passed: one of the most amiable and benevolent of men, whose influence and talents were devoted for the welfare of the people, and whose happiness arose from his efforts to do good. Severndroog was described to me as having been one of the strongest sea-fortresses in the East. The island itself, a solid rock, was excavated, or its weaker parts built up of blocks of stone, ten or twelve feet square, and mounted with a battery of fifty pieces of cannon; while the opposite shore, on the continent, now called Hurnee, was fortified by strongly constructed works, and defended by eighty other pieces of ordnance. What seemed the robber's strength became his weakness. Commodore James, in 1755, attacked the island, battered the walls, fired the buildings, and succeeded in blowing up a powder magazine; when the British sailors pursuing their success with battle-axes, cut a passage through one of the gates, and completed the conquest of the citadel. Hurnee formed a station of the Scotch Missionary Society, and was occupied by several faithful and indefatigable agents of their benevolence. I visited their mission,—examined their schools and other operations,—breakfasted with them in their eagle's eyry, a nest among the

craggs, romantic and retired, as well as cool and salubrious. I also drove with one of them to Dapoolie, a cantonment situated a few miles inland. I liked the easy and accessible habits of my countrymen on this coast, and spent a few pleasant days among them. The missionaries were respected, and their schools were numerously attended, and well conducted: so far as I could judge. I travelled by the coast from Hurnee to Bankote, and crossed the river at Anjenweel in a small boat. My horse was made to swim across, his head kept above water, being fastened to the stern of the vessel. The river was broad and deep, the current strong, and capable of receiving ships of burden. I rode over a mountain, the sides of which had been cut into terraces and steps, to afford facilities for horse and foot passengers. At another time, our pathway lay through an extensive tope or wood, where bats were as large as crows, and as numerous as in a rookery: they hung in hundreds upon the trees. In natural history they are known as the *Roussettes*, and might, from appearance, be dreaded as vampyres, (*vespertilio vampyrus*.) The natives had not, however, any farther apprehension of evil from their vicinity than the destruction of their fruit. Bankote is known also by the name Fort Victoria. It is a military post of the Company, and serves to connect the lines of defence along the coast. I was chiefly interested in it, from the branch of the

Scotch presbyterian mission, which had been established here by some gentlemen whom I had known in Britain, and with whom I was happy to renew acquaintance and intercourse. Their zeal for general education kept pace with their desires to extend the gospel; and their supply of religious tracts and scripture portions was accompanied with elementary books and works of general knowledge. They had a lithographic press in efficient operation for smaller productions, and their demand for more extensive publications was met by the American mission press at Bombay. The mission was in close connexion with the kirk chaplains at the presidency; but they also maintained fraternal intercourse with the American missionaries, and the agents of the London Missionary Society on the same coast. Their schools were established over a wide extent of country, and the children attending were faithfully instructed in the truths of Sacred Scripture. They extended their tours and itineraries to Poona, as also to Bombay, and enjoyed the confidence, if not also the sanction of government. One of the first missionaries had been an officer in the Company's service. Lieut. M—— did not, however, long live to labour in this good work. Although sickness and death have removed some of the earliest, and not least faithful agents, their mission is upheld,—its sphere is widened,—and the men who now fill the stations have produced a most favourable impression on the minds of their countrymen, and effected great changes on the

feelings and views of the idolatrous natives who are brought within their influence.

I sailed between Bankote and Bombay, the distance being some seventy or eighty miles. The latter is indeed a "good bay," with numerous isles dotting the glassy surface, and giving variety and scenic effect to the harbour. Bombay, itself, is an island verdant with oriental luxuriance, rocky though its surface be, and its shores present attractive landscapes to the sea-worn voyager. No sight is so refreshing to wanderers upon the watery waste as the green foliage of the shores and sloping banks within this harbour. The very wharfs, or bundas, were shaded and beautified by trees to the water's edge. We approached from the south, and came to anchor about midnight: during four hours we had perceived the light-house; and as we approached nearer, the waters assumed the serenity of an inland lake. When the morning light broke upon us it displayed the resplendent and truly oriental scenery of this enchanting bay. The islands from the entrance of the harbour to the northern passage, are Henery and Kenery, Colabah, Elephanta, Butcher's Island, Salsette, and Caranjah, which lie around Bombay. The island, on which is the seat of government, is six or seven miles in length, and one mile in breadth; but it is united to Colabah and Salsette by causeways or fordable straits. In Butcher's Island ships generally water, and Elephanta contains the cave temples, so perfect a monument of Asiatic antiquity.

The city of Bombay is ostensibly defended with a castle, gates, and fortifications; but its greatest security is good government. Under the direction of Monstuart Elphinstone, the tanks were enlarged, and supplies of water for the inhabitants more abundantly secured. No man could have been more popular as a governor than was Mr. Elphinstone. These arrangements for increasing the supplies of water, and his orders to admit the people to the freest access through the government grounds, and to his own presence, added to his popularity. His urbanity, courteous familiarity, and unaffected simplicity in all his intercourse, made him the idol of the people, and the object of eulogy to every visitor. I had the opportunity repeatedly of meeting at his table members of every branch of the service: the cornet, or the ensign, with the junior civilian was just as affably entertained as were gentlemen of highest rank or influence. When he was about to retire from the presidency, native princes, chiefs, and gentlemen, allies, and subjects, gave expression to their attachment by an address, in which they feelingly commemorated his abilities as a statesman, and his virtues as a private individual; and a subscription of several hundred thousand rupees, to found "Elphinstone professorships," for teaching the natives in Bombay "the languages, literature, sciences, and moral philosophy of Europe." Yet society in Bombay was in a strange and anomalous state during my visit: the military distinct from

the civil, and both separated from the legal profession; while the bench was in collision with the bar, and there were two parties in the church.

My intercourse was friendly with persons of all parties, having met in private society Sirs H. C—— and E. W—— of the judges; Messrs. W—— and S—— of the government council; Mr. F——, chief secretary, and several of the highest functionaries in the head departments of the government, as well as the officiating clergymen, one of whom is now the bishop of Bombay. I had the honour to enjoy the marked and friendly attentions of Colonel Sir J. M'Donald, the British envoy to the court of Persia. At his table it was my fortune to be a guest, in company with a khan of Persia, a nobleman sent from Ispahan, by the Shah, to render eastern honour to the British embassy. This Persian noble was escorted by a numerous suite, but his Turcomanee secretary and interpreter was the most interesting and sociable of his companions. Though they dined at table with the envoy and his guests, they fed from dishes which had been prepared for themselves. Pillau was a favourite mess, which they conveyed to their mouths by spoons, carved fantastically from apple wood; their use of the spoon was not natural, and seemed only a rare expedient. They had the restrictions of the Koran against wine, but none to restrain the most copious draughts of ale, of cherry-brandy, and noyeau. It seemed to their host no impolitic measure to provide for his mission a liberal supply of these

admired liqueurs. The envoy had pitched his tents on the esplanade, and contiguous to his tents had the khan encamped, which presented a novel scene. Colonel M'Donald's dining tent was a richly furnished saloon, hung round with scarlet cloth: the tent which served as a drawing-room, was so contiguous that we passed out of the one into the other, and equally complete with ottomans, sofas, &c. adapted to oriental luxuriance. We were told of the old khan, who, as a victorious soldier, had been ennobled on the field of battle; that his wardrobe contained a suite of apparel for every day in the year, and that to keep these in order was the province of his most favoured wife. Who, or how many, were the wives of his harem, we heard not.

Bishop Heber had left this presidency just before my visit to Bombay, where he had produced a strong impression on many minds. His wife had been with him, and mingled with all classes. The bishop was much employed in some cases of clerical discipline, in which little satisfaction was ministered to either party. I was told, by an officer of engineers, of a church which had been erected at the expense of the Company, and under the superintendence of one of their officers, that as it had not been built due east and west, the bishop refused to consecrate it by his episcopal benediction, and the usual formularies of his church. My gratification was, however, sincere, to find numbers of gentlemen who were partakers of the pleasures, and

influenced by the principles of true religion, and many more who evinced a benevolent interest in measures for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people around them. Great harmony prevailed between the good men of all parties on missionary work. The exertions of American missionaries had not been in vain; the benevolent men who were then labouring in Bombay from the transatlantic churches, were reckoned brethren by the chaplains English and Scotch, and the other *missionaries* from Scotland and England. I found here Gordon Hall; he who, with Nott and Newell, wrote the “Voice for Six Hundred Millions of Heathen.” He was a true American, and an eminent christian, an obedient disciple of Jesus, and a valiant soldier of the cross. I never met a more sterling character, or a more zealous missionary. I travelled with him part of the way on his last journey: he died on a missionary tour at Nassuck, a native town in Aurungabad; but though the appalling malady which carried him off, gave no premonition—he was not unprepared. He expired on the field of labour, and left India his debtor, while many christians mourned their loss. In the same band, too, I found the second wife of Harriet Newell’s husband, and a child of theirs, called *Harriet Newell*. The American mission had a good chapel, and an efficient printing press for printing the Scriptures and religious publications in the native languages. Their schools and itinerancies were conducted with great prudence and self-denial. Two of their



number had died before I reached the place, and three only remained : two of these have since been removed to a better sphere. But their successors, and all future missionaries, will have cause to remember the labours, privations, and zeal of a Newell and a Hall, a Nicols and a Graves, and their colleagues. I admired the female members of this mission quite as much as their male coadjutors. I had never met American women in such frequent intimacy before. Some of these had been contemporaries and correspondents with the Judsons, Newells, and Woodburys; and, with every feminine excellency, they exhibited minds of masculine energy, zeal of the purest consecration, and a generous enthusiasm, which bore them onward, in their voluntary exile, to labour, self-denial, and suffering, deserving the highest encomiums. I was happy to find their worth and society appreciated in the circles of European distinction. What I saw presented a striking contrast with the persecution and hostility experienced by some of the same band; when a mean jealousy, from political considerations and a despotic oppression, seized, imprisoned, and proposed to banish these American missionaries from British India, since they were, as spies, judged dangerous to the Company's power. Political animosity is as relentless as superstition.

Other missionaries have occasionally resided at Bombay. The Church of England Missionary Society had one agent stationed here at my first visit,

but he returned to England. He had been most diligent in preparing a translation of the Prayer-Book into the Mahratta language. The Methodist Missionary Society had several labourers, some occasionally, and others more permanently residing at Bombay. Here Dr. Coke's party landed, and hence they proceeded to Ceylon. The last member of this Society, who had occupied the island as a station, suffered in mind as well as in body. A friend of mine received, at the distance of two hundred miles, a letter from the missionary, entreating his correspondent immediately to hasten to Bombay to attend his funeral, for that he had that day expired to the great regret of his friends, and could not be interred till my friend should be present. The hypochondriac afterwards recovered health, spirits, and usefulness, in another and more salubrious sphere. The Scottish Missionary Society had also placed four of their missionaries under the direction of a committee at Bombay; and they sometimes came up to the presidency for counsel and cooperation. Since my sojourn there, these missionaries, with renewed accessions of strength, have become agents in carrying out the scheme of the General Assembly for Foreign Missions. One of those whom I knew, and others who have followed after, are now located on the island, and with zeal and efficiency are honourably carrying forward the measures necessary for extending the knowledge of the gospel, and subduing the people to the sceptre of the Messiah, whose right it is to reign. Their

conquests will be more permanent than the warrior's, and more honourable and beneficial than the acquisitions of the diplomatic or political agent, and their reward will be far more enduring.

I did not witness in any part of India such a mingled population as is to be seen in Bombay. From their enterprise and industry a stranger would be led to judge that the Parsees most prevailed, or had the greatest influence,—their names are so prominent, and so often met in trade as shop-keepers, merchants, and ship-builders: 'Homarjee,' 'Jemyjee,' 'Muntjee,' &c., with all such cognate appellations, are sign-boards over many shops in the bazaar. They are, however, only estimated at 11,000. They are fire-worshippers, the ancient *ghebres* of Persia, expelled, by Moslem intolerance, during the persecution of Shah Abbas, in the sixteenth century. The Mohammedan population are reckoned about 25,000, of whom many are of Arabian birth or descent. It is said there are here 4,000 Jews; so many, however, do not reside in the island. I met some of them, but they are not so marked as the Parsees. Many of them have enlisted into the ranks of the Company's army; and others are known as the Borrah merchants, who carry on an extensive trade with Guzerat and other northern ports. There remain the descendants of the Portuguese settlers, about 8,000, who are more prosperous in Bombay than their kindred in the colonies of their mother-country. About 160,000 Hindoos, from almost every

Indian nation, constitute the remaining population of this chief seat of the presidency. I need scarcely name the British residents, or specify how small is their number, except the military, who may be nearly 8,000 of all ranks throughout the whole presidency. The European inhabitants of the town do not exceed 1,000 altogether—merchants, civilians, and lawyers. Bombay used to be called a Scotch colony; most of its merchant adventurers, and many of its civilians, being from Scotland. The mixture of society with the diversified manners of the population—the Mahrattas, the Banians, Parsees, Guzerattees, Arabians, Jews, Armenians, Portuguese, Americans, and British, gave a singularly checquered aspect to the whole settlement.

Illustrative of the habits and relations of society, so mingled and gathered from so many divers nations, a scene occurs to my memory. A friend of mine, who had spent a few years, wandering with some of the wildest tribes of Arabia, and associating in their pursuits and domestic pleasures, (so far as *tent-scenes*, with Bedouin Arabs, encamped in the wilderness, can be termed domestic,) came to Bombay, still wearing the costume of the desert, in the Bedouin garb, and retaining the manners, which from policy as a wandering Arab he had assumed. He could speak the dialect of Arabia with fluency equal to his vernacular tongue: while his flowing beard, deep-tinged complexion, and grave exterior, gave him the repute of a lineal son of

Ismael. He proceeded to the mosque, and assumed the devout deportment of a follower of the prophet of Mecca, where he was hailed by mollah and mufti as a true believer in the Koran : he was even honoured as one of the purest and most distinguished of the tribes. One and another of ' the faithful ' drew near, and, saluting him, inquired for the welfare of their brethren in the desert ; what the prospects of ascendancy were to the Crescent ; and whether the green banner of Mohammed was soon again to wave upon the plains of India. Some of them, even more confidentially, began to divulge to him conspiracies and stratagems which had been laid against the English power in India, and to solicit his cooperation. He counted his beads, and answered them by some verse from the Koran, or Arabian proverb, by which he only increased the mystery of his character, and their confidence in his fidelity. He visited the Court of Justice ; and some of the functionaries, whose office was either to expound or administer Mohammedan law, again attracted by his Bedouin costume and manner, entered into conference, expressed their abhorrence of the unbelieving English, a desire for their expulsion, and ardent hopes that the time would soon come when the Crescent should prevail over the Cross ; while they earnestly inquired from him tidings regarding their brethren in the Happy Land. My friend felt himself already involved in misprision of treason, and was glad of the first pretext for a retreat. When, however,

his Moslem admirers saw him admitted to the most confident intercourse with their European superiors, and apparently as much at home with *them*, they thought they had caught a Tartar, or the devil. But he was as good an Arabian among English settlers as among the Mohammedans, except with his confidential friends. One gentleman, not in the secret, walking on the esplanade in company with a mutual friend, the accountant-general, and the *soi-disant* Arab, asked of the former, in good broad Scotch, ‘Wha is that Arab friend ye hae wi’ you?’ not supposing that the *Arab friend* was a true-born Englishman, understanding every word he spoke, and one who was destined to become the boldest reformer, and most unwearied opponent of the East India Company’s monopoly of trade and power.

The part which most attracted my notice was the bazaar, in which the merchandise, suited for each nation and tribe, was exhibited to the best advantage, while the several merchants occupied the rear, ready to answer the demands of customers, or to hold familiar converse with each other. The stores of cotton wool, which are piled in bales on the open esplanade, waiting for shipment, afford another feature of peculiarity to the place: the manner in which the *pressure of the screw* is here applied to diminish its bulk for stowage, is an invention of some merchant residing in Bombay, and shows great dexterity. The screw is worked by a capstan with eight bars, and to each bar thirty men

are appointed ; so that two hundred and forty work at each screw.

In the centre of the town is a spacious green, around which many large and handsome houses have been built : here stands the church and government-house. The other districts of the settlement do not show less appearance of comfort, and even wealth. I wandered more on foot in Bombay than I did in any other Indian city ; and was surprised with the number of dwelling-houses, two and three stories high, occupied by a comfortable and contented population. In my evening rambles I often heard the pleasing sound of the rebeck ; an instrument of three strings. The people had more social enjoyment and intercourse, and seemed better provided with domestic comforts, than in other cities ; while they were ensured in peace and safety by British authority. The residences of Europeans are usually situated in the suburbs, in the midst of most beautiful and picturesque views. The hill and dale into which the island is broken, clothed with groves of the ever-verdant cocoa-nut ; and the walls by which the gentlemen's villas are surrounded, give the whole suburbs the appearance of seclusion, wealth, and comfort. The residences of a few are situated even more remote. Malabar Point is a country residence of the governor, situated on a promontory of the island. The road to it lies from the fort by the esplanade toward the south, first passing through a cocoa-nut grove, and then along the face of a rock, over which a

way has been cut. To the right of this ascent is the burying ground of the Parsees, where the body is not entombed or burned, but left to decay, when the loosened bones fall into their place of sepulture—a pit covered by an iron grating. There is, near the point, a cleft in the rock, which is esteemed as the gate of heaven by many of the Hindoos. The aperture is considerably elevated and difficult of access, being surrounded by rocky projections, and in stormy seasons incessantly washed by the ocean billows. Many devotees resort thither, notwithstanding, to be purified from their sins, which they think is effected by passing, or rather wriggling as a serpent, through the consecrated hole. The ruins of an ancient temple are visible in its vicinity, and a Brahmin village, well supplied with the comforts of life, furnished by the profusion of idolatrous superstition; in the centre of it is a large tank with broad flights of steps leading down to the water. The prospect from Government House is commanding, and the surrounding scenery is beautiful and picturesque. I spent a day here with Colonel Sir J. M'Donald, who described to me the superstitions of the Hindoos connected with the sacred hole. To him nothing in the whole framework of Hindoo society, or even in the follies of their superstition was unknown; and with the greatest clearness and simplicity he could impart his information. There is another house in which the governor has occasionally resided. Parell was formerly a Portuguese church connected with a



monastery. It was purchased by a governor of Bombay, who added to it an upper story : it is now a commodious and spacious building. The verandahs are supported by lofty pillars, which surround the house ; the body of the former church serves as a magnificent hall, and the whole is finished in a style suited to a royal palace. The grounds and gardens are extensive and well arranged, producing the most delicious fruits and fragrant shrubs and flowers peculiar to oriental climates. European fruits have also been successfully cultivated. The house is situated at the foot of a hill ; on this hill, the flag-staff is raised ; and from it the harbour, the whole bay with its celebrated islands, and the surrounding country, are seen to the finest effect.

The dock-yard of Bombay surpasses any other ship-building establishment in India, and is equal to almost any other in the world for size and convenience. I walked in and around this splendid arsenal, where there is a dry dock capable of receiving three ships of the line at a time. There is a place contiguous, convenient to heave down several ships at once. There is also a rope-walk, where cables and all descriptions of cordage are manufactured, to which only the king's yard at Portsmouth is superior in all England. The workmen are protected by a covering from the severity of the weather. They have warehouses for naval stores amply supplied, together with large quantities of timber, whether for building or repairing, and forges for all kinds of smith's

work. The docks belong to the Company, but are entirely occupied by the Parsees, who are accounted excellent ship-carpenters, and are remarkably assiduous as well as skilful. They have every facility for success in the abundant supply of timber, which the exhaustless teak forests of Malabar provide, and the streams upon the coast easily convey. Many merchant-ships from 600 to 1,300 tons burden, and frigates, and some ships of the line, have been built at this dock-yard. The whole marine department is under as regular government and superintendence as are the royal arsenals at home. A gentleman trained in the Portsmouth dock-yard presided in the principal department, while the whole superintendence was in the hands of a long-headed Scotchman, whom I had the pleasure to meet at Government House, as well as in his own office.

I could hover about this presidency through many pages, visiting again Colabah and its barracks, as well as the many comfortable bungalows occupied by European residents. I could recall many reminiscences of hospitality and enlightened intercourse with countrymen; I might repeat friendly discussions held concerning the improvement of India, with Scotch as well as English chaplains, with medical friends and military opponents. I met one European, in *almost* supreme authority, who held that we were bound by treaty and honour to abstain from all attacks upon the Hindoo religion,

and to uphold it with every resource of the government. I conferred with another, in exalted rank, who evinced his partialities by defending the excellences, purity, and truth of the Moslem faith, while he deprecated interference with the creed of the *innocent Hindoos*. From another I heard the avowal that even were the British power to be shaken to its foundation in India, it was the paramount duty of Christians to labour to diffuse the doctrines of the gospel, and let the people hear the words of eternal life. But I should too long delay my reader; and shall therefore only detain him till we cross over to Elephanta, and look into the ruins of its cave-temples. A party of resident gentlemen made arrangements to conduct me to this ancient ruin, among whom I had the pleasure to number the two presbyterian chaplains of Bombay. One of the Company's judges from Malabar joined us, and our circle was enlivened by the presence of several ladies, who accompanied their husbands. We sailed in an open boat, sheltered by an awning, the distance a little more than five miles by water; refreshments varied and ample were carried along with us. The sail in the bay is pleasant, and the surrounding scenery most fascinating. Gharipore is the original name; but it has become known to Europeans by the name Elephanta. The occasion of this designation, received from the Portuguese, was a colossal statue of an elephant, which stood opposite to the landing-place. I saw the fragments

of the rock which had once borne this figure. The porphyry of which it was composed, had, however, yielded, either to the depredations of man, or the ravages of time. Cracked and mutilated, it had long sustained the fanciful appellation; but, when I looked on it, only a shapeless mass of bare rock represented the elephant of Gharipore. The island is about five miles in circumference, is well watered by springs, and produces a large return, for cultivation, of rice and other useful commodities. The jungle wood is of luxuriant growth; sheep and poultry are reared in abundance; venomous serpents are often seen, even within the precincts of the temple. In some of these caverns water accumulates from subterranean springs. A gentleman of our company, not aware that so large a supply of water could be procured, had his attention called to one of the caves to mark how admirably smooth was the floor: the water seemed the more like to an earthen floor, from the dust which continually fell upon the surface from the roof. His eager admiration led him precipitately forward, and he plunged at once, knee-deep, into the cold and unsuspected water. It was a good-enough and harmless joke, while so many were present, and with day-light. He might, however, have suffered a little more alarm had he been alone, and by night, in such a scene. We spent a day in these rambles over the island, and through the caves, or in discussing the merits of this monumental antiquity. None of us could reach the dates, the era, or the dynasty

connected with its erection ; but all were constrained to admire the patient industry and perseverance by which these porphyry rocks had been so deeply excavated, and those gigantic statues so maturely and mysteriously chiselled. The entrance to the principal cave is sixty feet wide, and eighteen in height ; the ceiling is supported by curiously carved pillars, in various rows ; and the walls adorned with sculptured figures, all cut from the rock, and, though fashioned, remaining in natural adhesion. The figures bore a proportion to the compartments in which they were placed ; and none of them appeared confined, or so near as to lose their effect. The dimensions of the caves may therefore be judged of, from the fact, that I stood upon the shoulder of the principal idol, and, with my outstretched hand, could only reach its crown. In an inferior chamber, to the right, the principal figure was sixteen feet high : such were the labours of Hindoo idolatry, and such their reward. Many of the pillars have broken off from the roof ; many of the images are defaced : the exfoliations of the rock are rapidly reducing the whole scene to confusion. The shrine has so long been forsaken by brahmin and priest, that time cannot tell *when* these idols were worshipped. It is not even the resort of pilgrims ; it brings no revenue to any altar, and provides no sacrifice for any god. Superstition has been left to go out here in obscure darkness ; and the pall of endless night has gathered over every trace which would lead to the origin,

or discover the devotion which consecrated the memorials of this cavernous temple—this ruin of abominable idolatry.

We left the island of Gharipore in safety, and on the same day returned to our friends. Every party, however, have not been able to say so much. Storms sometimes rise in the bay, and render, so long as they prevail, any intercourse between the several islands impracticable. I met a gentleman who was one of a party that had to spend the night at Elephanta without shelter, in dreary apprehension, and on short commons. They returned next morning to Bombay, thankful that the monsoon had not fairly shut them up among the lifeless tenants of the caverns. Another party suffered a more disastrous fate only a few years before my visit: two of their number were lost during the storm which had risen after they landed upon the little isle, and which they hoped to weather. Excursions of pleasure may thus become scenes of sorrow, and be associated with trials or difficulties which cast a cloud over all their attendant enjoyments. We were permitted to receive, and had cause then, as we have had many times since, to sing of mercy and goodness, though undeserved.

I engaged a passage for Cambay in a small native trading vessel, with liberty to land and spend a few days at such towns along the coast as claimed particular attention. The voyage was not agreeable, since we kept so close by the shore, and our native seamen, even with a fair wind, sailed only six hours

in every twelve, casting anchor whenever the tide turned against them. But we had repeated opportunities for marking the ports and observing the state of the people of the Concan and Guzerat. The voyage also did that for my constitution which no other means had yet been able to effect; an entire change in my system was produced, and the liver seemed to resume its healthy functions. The sail from Bombay to Tannah, in Salsette, was most beautiful; our channel was the back-water flowing between the island and the continent. A cool evening and a clear moonlight permitted us to watch every romantic winding of the water, or changing aspect of the rising woodlands, by which our shores were diversified. It often appeared that we were stealthily floating upon the glassy surface of an inland and untroubled lake. The prow of our vessel seemed alternately to be moving into a miniature and secluded bay, or turning again to some rich fringed and beauteously tufted islet, which had been cast up for moon-beams and gentle zephyrs to play upon, or where fawns and light gazelles should gambol. Even my friend Gordon Hall was withdrawn from his severer pursuits to stand and gaze with admiration upon the varying and paradisaic scenery. Our vessel appeared only to lap the water as she passed onward with a tide and a breeze so favourable as to give speed to our progress. Early next day we reached the fortress of Tannah. Salsette is twenty miles long and fifteen in breadth, but is reputed one of the most

fertile and populous isles of Asia. The Portuguese had held it and Bassien, at the mouth of the back-water in the northern Concan, for many years. The Mahrattas kept possession of them from 1740 till 1774, when the Company's forces took them, after a severe conflict. It is said the governor, who held the island for the Mahrattas, was ninety-two years old, and when summoned to surrender the citadel of Tannah, the only place of strength, answered, "*I was not sent here for that purpose.*" His courage and exertions were incredible, and his brave companions were inspired by his example, till they had sustained a bloody assault and he was slain in battle. Resistance was no longer available, and the place submitted to the conqueror. Tannah is still a garrison, but occupied only by invalid troops. I visited the old soldiers in their barrack, and heard their tales of hardship, as well as of guilt. I sought to direct their attention to brighter worlds, and make known to them the way. They heard me gladly. This had been the sphere of an excellent and faithful missionary's labours. Mr. Nichols, from the American Board of Missions, was stationed here, and, when he died, left his name precious among the people. In the centre of the island, and surrounded by unwholesome jungles, is situated the rocky mountain of Kenneri, remarkable for the extensive excavations which superstition prepared in ancient times. Each cavern forms an entire temple, and several of them are ranged in a line, but others are placed one above another. The figures



which adorn, and the inscriptions which were intended to declare the object of the excavation, are indeed wrought out, or deeply engraved on stone ; but none can decipher or tell their meaning. The chief cave was appropriated as a church by the Portuguese ; on the sides of which two gigantic figures stand erect, each twenty-five feet in height, their hands close to their bodies—a posture sustained by modern Buddhist figures in Ceylon. Many of the sculptures of this temple were defaced by the hostility of Mohammedans and Roman Catholics. There is one difference which marks the process of excavation here, as distinguished from the caves at Elephanta. I saw in the latter no artificial means of support for the roof ; but in the principal cave of Kenneri fine *teak* ribs seem to have been employed for this purpose, and are now almost gone ; so that the ceiling is left to bear its own burden. The side chambers on the right and left of the great cave are smaller, and apparently unfinished.

On the north-east point of Salsette, Gorabunda appears a lofty and attractive object ; said to have been a church, originally built by some Portuguese female devotee ; it is now a species of caravanserai, or choultrie, to which it had been set apart by the Mahratta conquerors—a purpose with which the English authorities are not now disposed to interfere. I landed here, and ascended by a steep and weary flight of stairs to the summit or peak of an elevated hill, from which we look down to the opposite continent, and have a full panoramic view of all the

country surrounding Bassien. The situation is commanding, and the church must have been erected with care and at great cost. A scene presented to us, when we reached the top, which was novel to me and characteristic of by-gone times. We met a native chief, of dignified and demure, haughty and reserved manner, coming forth from the church ; he hurried past in silence, and proceeded downward to the water side. His escort was composed of a motley and ill-assorted company ; some with short swords and shields, others with daggers or spears, and some with matchlocks, and others with bows and arrows, and ruder weapons of destruction : they had instruments for martial music ; but none sounded pipe or harp. A few of his retainers were burdened with camp equipage, or stores for supply. A dark scowl, a surly and suspicious glance of the fiery eye, some low mutterings unintelligible to us, and the hasty tread and gradually subsiding sound of their footsteps, formed our only interchange from them ; while we looked and thought only as those whose curiosity had been excited, and who had been abandoned to suspicion and perplexity. However, we met the chief afterwards.

As we approached Bassien we observed tents pitched on the plain without the walls, and several Europeans in social converse. They seemed near to our landing-place, and we were surprised when we reached the shore, to find ourselves at a considerable distance. They had, however, perceived us drawing toward land, and a messenger was

waiting to invite us to the tents of Burra Sahib. The gentleman who showed this attention was collector of the district, and his party consisted of an assistant and two friends, a civilian and an officer on a visit to them. We had never been known by name to one another, or held the most partial intercourse. I sent a note, with my address, and describing the circumstances of our party; the messenger was returned instantly, with a renewed and more urgent invitation, and a palanquin to convey one of our number to the encampment. The company was then more mixed, but the strangers were made to feel at home, and entertained as guests with the most cordial hospitality. The gentleman of highest rank had to proceed to another part of his district; but his assistant gave us an Irish welcome, and acted in such a way as to remove all feeling of restraint. All the three presidencies are distinguished by peculiarities of habit which are expressed by sobriquets well understood in India. The Bombay *ducks* are not less piqued upon the honour of their presidency, than are the Madras *mullagatanies*, or the Bengallee *qui hui's*. Our host was determined to prove to us Madrassesees not only the hospitality of his side, but also the culinary ability of his servants, and the stimulating condiments of their cookery: a good hot curry, a *cubeb*, was accordingly prepared for us, not a whit too fervid for our palate. Our friend, on the principle that "practice moves where precept fails," partook most largely of his own

cook's preparation ; but it was a little more than his mouth and throat could bear. It was a moving and *tearful* scene, and ended in a hearty and good-natured joke. However, while we were indulging our light humours within the tent, more serious matters were ripening without for a tragi-comic scene ; and at first our friend, the civilian's, careful vigilance was requisite, and then his paramount authority was put forth. We marked certain grave-looking personages taking counsel, and soliciting the deliberation of our host. We were then told the facts, and warned of the proceedings. The native chief whom we had encountered at Gorabunda was now in Bassien, and had taken possession of a house strong in itself, and defended by his motley armed escort, who stood watch behind and before : but he had violated the restrictions, and defied the penalties of the supreme court at Bombay. He was a Hindoo prince, and his territory was nominally independent of the British. I understood his brother to be the rajah of Surat, and an ally of the Company ; but this man had visited the presidency, either for pleasure or business, and while there had become involved in pecuniary embarrassments. Debts accumulated and creditors became clamorous. In order to secure a respite, he solicited two Bombay merchants to become his bail, and when he had pledged them as his securities, he hastened out of the island, and was escaping with his retinue, when I first met him at Gorabunda. The native merchants who had

become bail for him, applied to the court for an attachment, and despatched a messenger at arms in pursuit. This functionary reached Bassien while we were entertained at the tents of our host Mr. S. and, as a matter of prudence, sought the countenance of the Company's civilians. I understood it was not within their province to aid in the caption of the prince: while they were equally solicitous to avoid a collision between their *peon* force and his retainers, and also to aid the representative of the supreme court in securing the delinquent. It was, therefore, their policy to keep out of sight; but they allowed their civil force to exhibit its promptitude and efficiency. Great was their fear, lest the messenger at arms should overstep his limits or involve them; many, therefore, were the cautions given and repeated. He was an Irishman, voluble and ready-witted; and imbued with no small conceit in his own prudence. His replies were quite in keeping with his character: "I have been three years in the *sarvice*, and you may be *shure* I'll do it *prhudently*." What his strategy had been, or his negotiations, I did not hear; farther than that the peons, and all the strength of the collector's cutcherry, were arrayed and placed conspicuously, so as to muster with greatest and most imposing effect. The night was spent in uncertainty; despatches were often received by our host, intimating that the house was beleaguered and defended by the followers of the chief, and that he kept himself within barricades and closed doors.

I walked out in the morning, and witnessed the closing scene, when the curtain dropped on all his princely greatness. In my progress, from the shore to the village, I met the chief on one side of the road, and the messenger at arms on the other, proceeding toward the boat which was to convey the party again to Bombay. The prisoner walked in a *nonchalance* style, carrying his kuleean as if enjoying his smoke; only one or two retainers appeared to follow in the rear, but no *peon*, or Company's officer, was within sight. One tender and timid partner in his sorrows lingered as close as her ideas of decorum permitted; half shrouded in her cloth, haggard and woe-begone in her countenance, subdued and softened in her expression, trembling and shrinking in her manner, as if she feared to be ordered back by her lord, yet clinging as a tendril of most sensitive delicacy which could not leave her love:—and such is weak and faithful, suppliant and enduring woman;—such, too, often is her reward!

Bassien was a walled and fortified town, in which churches, mosques, and pagodas, were numerous, their architecture rich and gorgeous, with ornaments of every style yet visible. A small village had risen up in its suburbs, and the country round was fertile and well cultivated; but the town was a scene of desolation, such as I never elsewhere visited. At this fort, in the year 1802, the peishwa of the Mahrattas signed a treaty with the British, by which he became their vassal and pensioner,

subject to their control, and removable at their pleasure; and Bassien is a mournful monument of his transient glory. I walked round on the top of its walls, and marked its streets, squares, and public buildings; its ramparts and defences. But there was not now one human inhabitant of any tenement in the whole town; serpents, lizards, and frogs, there might be in myriads; and plants, shrubs, and trees, in profuse and wild luxuriance; but not a hand to subdue or prune, nor a footstep to be traced from wall to wall. In many houses, I saw trees which had grown up from the floors, and made a passage through rents in the ceilings; in others, the nettle or the prickly pear kept garrison against any human intrusion; but the whole was a monument of what had been—a city of the dead; a desert of houses; a sort of unentombed Pompeii, or an emblem of what Sodom might have been had not the Dead Sea engulfed it, or the liquid flames swept over its desolations. Such are the events of war,—such the judgments of an overruling Providence. Bassien might be held up as a mirror to human greatness, and a lesson to usurping man. “It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in, from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there; and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts

of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.”

I took farewell of the kind friends whom I had so incidentally met, and never saw them again; but a few years afterward read in an Irish paper the sad death of one of them. Mr. S. had gone to visit his friend Mr. T. They both went out to bathe, and Mr. S. sunk to rise no more; nor could his friend, who passed again and again over the spot, afford relief, though he could perceive the sinking form almost within reach, and observe him moving under water, as if with imploring attitude, looking up for help. No wonder that the bereaved associate should mourn for his friend many days! Few men ever gave such early promise of success!

We now sailed along the coast, and found the navigation of our Hindoo mariners dilatory and exhausting. By the time we arrived at Damaun, our water was consumed, and our live stock reduced. We were sick and tired of the confinement,—of the perpetual agitation and rolling occasioned by the ceaseless surf; we therefore made toward shore, but had neither chart nor pilot, and could not discover the channel. Our only alternative was to draw into shoal water, and lay the vessel to. Our sailors then took us upon their shoulders, and carried us through the surf to land, where we found ourselves on Portuguese territory. We were without passports or introductions, and knew not the terms on which our *allies* would receive such wanderers, habited as we were, and



destitute of interpreter or the knowledge of each other's language. It appeared expedient that we should inform the governor of our character and destination, our wants and our wishes. This we did first by a messenger, who speedily returned with a reply, that his excellency, Don Julian, &c. &c. would come and see us; we accordingly prepared for the visit of the governor. In a short time, he appeared with a train of attendants, such as might have suited a potentate of secondary rank. We plainly told him, in the Hindostanee language, who we were, whence, and whither we were proceeding; that we required water, and should have to remain within his territory during the night. The Don did not excel in courtesy or hospitality: most laconically he directed us to the other side of the river, where we might find a choultrie, &c.; and then taking a cheroot from his pocket, he lighted it at the lantern of an attendant, turned on his heel, and left us to our speculations:—in which he had not the honour to attain a very exalted place. Without much farther delay, we passed under the walls of the fort toward the river, were ferried across and came to the house of a half-caste Portuguese, who acted as postmaster for the British authorities in contiguous districts. He was most civil, and his wife, a perfect native, was most hospitable and attentive. She could speak no language that we understood; and all intercourse was conducted in dumb show. Yet with a consideration and delicacy which greatly raised her in our esteem, she arranged for bathing

the feet of her stranger guests, and provided a comfortable bed for us. We passed the night in peace, and awoke in the morning refreshed. Our surprise was great to hear, before we left our rooms, the voice of a Scotchman in a region so secluded and remote. We soon ascertained that he was an *involuntary* exile,—had not been faithful or prudent in his trust, and had made Damaun a city of refuge till better days should dawn. Two or three days prior to our arrival he had been put under arrest by the local authorities, for having omitted to salute, or uncover his head to *his excellency the governor*. This petty tyrant chose the morning of our visit to the settlement for crossing the river, and ordering a salute of guns to be fired to his honour. The slaves who crouched beneath his lash despised his pride; and his pretensions did not make us admire him the more. We understood that the Portuguese possessions lay along the river about ninety miles up its course, on a strip of land about three miles broad; that nearly thirty villages bowed to the supremacy of Damaun, and the revenue thence received was about three lacs of rupees, or 30,000*l*. There were a few merchant vessels and a frigate in the harbour of Damaun, when we sailed out from the mouth of its river. We had then a better opportunity of observing its appearance than when we entered. It lies on the coast of the province of Aurungabad, and looks well from the sea. The houses and churches being all white-washed, its exterior appearance is attractive and prepossessing.

There is nearly seventeen feet of water over the bar, so that the harbour is convenient for smaller vessels. Some of its merchants traded in slaves, sailing to the Mozambique for this inhuman purpose. We asked the price of a boy who served us, and understood his purchase money was about 6*l.* 10*s.* Ship-building is carried on with spirit and to some extent; for which the contiguous teak forests, as well as the position of the harbour, afford facilities; while the Parsee inhabitants, who are numerous, supply enterprising mechanics. These ancient ghebers have a temple in Damaun, in which they affirm the sacred fire of their worship has continued burning for twelve hundred years. So long a time is it, as they pretend, since they brought it from Persia. They have as much folly and presumption about their fire-worship as have the Hindoos about the avatars of Vishnu. Damaun was taken possession of by the Portuguese, in the year 1531, and has remained subject to their power till the present time; but it has not added to the prosperity or increased the wealth of its usurpers.

The south-eastern division of the province of Guzerat, from Damaun to the Nerbudda, lies low, and has few rocks or mountains in the whole length of it toward the shore. The soil is singularly rich and free; the black mould descends to the depth of five or six feet, with hardly a stone to be seen the size of a field turnip; presenting a striking contrast with either the western or the northern districts. The fertility of the region around Surat exceeded

any thing I had witnessed elsewhere. I passed through standing crops, where the grain rose to the height of six feet, and the stalk was so strong, that though the head of the corn was larger than my hand, it did not bend or yield to the weight. The wave of the field before a slight breeze was majestic and luxuriant. All sorts of grain, (except oats,) cotton, tobacco, sugar-cane, indigo, and gum, are the produce of this district. But we did not find the climate either healthy or pleasant; there is a heavy thickness in the atmosphere, especially when the sun has gone down, and before his rise, which rests as a dense fog, in the channel where rivers flow or marshes spread; whilst in the day time we are exposed either to a hot wind or an oppressive and stifling calm. In the rainy season the country presents a surface of thick mire, and in the dry months nothing but sand or dust meets the eye, except where covered with cultivation. The population of this territory is mingled, and generally destitute of the means of improvement. The Bheels, Bhattas and Dheras, the Catties, Coolies and Mewatties, the Charons and Grassias, form a strange and heterogeneous diversity; but many of them are in the rudest state of civilization. The Vaneeyas, or Banyans of Guzerat, the Jains, the Boras, and Parsees, are all distinct classes, and recall to the mind of the enlightened reader traditionary or historical associations of peculiar interest. The Parsees are the modern representatives of the ancient magi; the Boras are Jews in manners and

features, but Mohammedans in religion ; the Vaneeyas are the travelled merchants of western India, found in every mart and trafficking in all the commerce of the East ; while the Jains are the lingering fragments of some primitive sect, whose creed was simple and their habits inoffensive.

I entered the Tapti, a river sacred among the Hindoos, on Sunday afternoon. The sweep of the river, the cultivated and fertile fields on both banks, pleased us, and encouraged the anticipation that we should like the country. The afternoon had been on the water mild and favourable, whilst the frame of our minds was in a measure harmonized to the sacred purposes of the day. We were startled to hear *a salute of guns* from the Surat batteries. We reached the harbour of this long renowned seat of eastern traffic as the sun was setting, and were brought at once into the midst of a scene the most imposing and oriental of all my earliest dreams and associations. Along the water's edge we observed many solemn figures gazing in the attitude of profound admiration toward the descending luminary. Clothed in flowing garments of snowy whiteness, their feet uncovered, standing upon the fringed margin of the murmuring river, and each one isolated from all intercourse with his fellows, they seemed to have come forth to commune with the glorious orb, and to address their devotions to him before he should retire. They presented illustrations of unbroken and seemingly imperturbable abstraction ; and appeared to have attained the highest measure of

superiority to all sublunary things. I never saw a christian congregation exhibit more entire command over their passions, or the perceptions by which a sympathy is maintained with outward and visible realities. The intensity of their devotions might be thought to have perfectly absorbed all other apprehensions. They had brought garlands or posies of choice flowers, which each worshipper held in his lap, and after their forms of address or routine of petitions were completed, as it appeared to me, on the very eve of the sun's descending below the horizon, they cast the flowers upon the waters at three times, and having laved some water with their hand after the flowers, they made salaam to the west and retired. When I reached my friends, I ascertained that this was a company of fire-worshippers, who rendered such homage to the emblem of their divine principle. I was also informed that the day was a festival with the Hindoos connected with one of their deities, and had been ushered in by a change of the moon. In honour of this event had the battery guns been charged, and the salute, which I heard as I entered the Tapti, fired by English soldiers, under the directions of British officers, and at the expense of the East India Company. No one can justly blame the government for non-interference with idolatrous worship, to put it down by constraint or persecution, or for the most perfect protection to every Hindoo in observing the rites of his religion, where he neither robs nor murders : but who can commend the policy which would

identify government with the monstrous delusions practised in India ?

The castle of Surat was erected in 1543 under Sultaun Mohammed Shah, King of Guzerat ; and soon after became subject to the Emperor of Delhi. It was in those times a favourite port ; and the commerce of the Great Mogul from the gulfs of Persia and Arabia, as also for the coasts of Western India, was brought thither. From it Moslem pilgrims started for the Arabian shores to do honour to Mohammed's tomb : and Surat was thence denominated one of the gates of Mecca. The Portuguese were the earliest European adventurers who landed and obtained influence. The Dutch supplanted them. In 1611 the English traders were permitted to establish here a factory—a favour conferred on them by the moguls after urgent and protracted solicitation. It was their first foot planted on the continent of Asia. In 1620 they contended for ascendancy by naval conflict with the Portuguese, and, gaining the advantage, acquired fresh influence at Surat. In other parts of Guzerat, at Cambaya, Ahmedabad, and Goga, they obtained similar privileges. The Dutch contended with them in 1654, and suspended their trade at Surat ; and in 1664 they were compelled to encounter Sevagee, the Mahratta, and his forces. They resisted him with success, and were further rewarded by the blind mogul, who foresaw not their rising dominion and supremacy. In 1670 their valour was again tried by the same adventurer ; but they again triumphed.

In 1687 they were visited with the mogul's displeasure, and their factory was seized: but after they had flattered him by the most abject submission, an order for the restoration of their privileges was granted. They continued in possession of their factory; though the castle and the town became the object of fierce contest between the representatives of the mogul and the Siddees—the latter holding the castle, and the former the country; while the Mahrattas levied, or were entitled to, a species of black mail, called the chout. In 1758, the English interfered in the strife between these parties, and obtained possession of city and castle, promising that the mogul flag should always float upon the castle, and at the mast-head of their principal cruiser in the Tapti. In 1800 the nawaub of Surat resigned, as it was deemed fit by the English he should resign, the government, civil and military, with all its emoluments, powers, and privileges, to the East India Company: while they agreed to pay him and his heirs one lac of rupees annually, together with a fifth part of what should remain as surplus of the revenues after all expenses, &c. In the year 1796 Surat was computed, according to Mill, to contain 800,000 inhabitants. Fourteen thousand Parsees were said to dwell in the city, preserving their manners, and adhering to the religious rites of their ancestors. But although by some it be reckoned the largest city of modern India, and contains all the appendages of a fortress



and a garrison, it had not so imposing an appearance as some other cities through which I have passed. The gross population was not reckoned to exceed 200,000, and it has been since still farther reduced ; though I think the Parsees continued as numerous as formerly. The streets are so narrow that hackeries, or bullock carts, when they meet, have to draw back till they recede to an opening, on the right hand or the left, ere they can pass. They are in the dry season almost impassable for pedestrians from the dust, and in the wet season from the mud. At the end of each street gates had been set up, but they were now falling into ruin. The houses are, many of them, three stories high, their walls to the streets without windows, or any sign of animation, which give them all the appearance of so many dungeons or store-houses. The entrances are by a court-gate, within which is generally a square area, and the inner fronts of the dwellings are furnished with latticed verandahs, while upon the roofs they have terraces for retirement, on which the inmates may walk for exercise. The houses are generally so close together on the streets, that the sun does not shine upon the passengers who traverse from place to place ; but this extreme contiguity also prevents free ventilation, and makes fires in Surat so much the more dangerous. The burying-ground contained many memorials of Dutch families, who were speedily becoming extinct. There were also many venerable, but dilapidated places of worship : among which the Mohammedan mosques were most

conspicuous. I visited one which had a towering minaret two hundred feet high. I entered this without due caution, having omitted to take off my shoes before I traversed its floors. The keeper of the mosque ran after me, in the greatest alarm, requiring that I should show reverence to the sacred edifice. This rendered it to me a scruple of conscience, and I retired, rather than recognise the holiness of the mosque. The parts which I passed through were highly ornamented with the finest mosaic work; inscriptions were beautifully written in Arabic on the walls. The whole had the air of a decayed and deserted building, which had been once a celebrated temple. The Moslems, I concluded, were on the wane, and the horn of their crescent had ceased to fill or enlarge. The temple of the Parsees was reckoned of high repute, but no European had entered it. I saw part of its enclosure from the terrace of a lofty dwelling-house, but could distinguish no object which is worth being mentioned. There was no English chaplain or congregation to whom I was introduced, and I think there was no Episcopal church for even the Company's servants; though Bishop Heber had included Surat in his diocesan visitation. The trading interest of this port had declined, but cotton continued an article of frequent purchase and shipment. The natural phenomena around the city were monotonous and cheerless. When we rose in the morning, such a fog usually rested upon the river, from bank to bank, that the water

could not be seen ; but the whole appeared like the mist of a hoar-frost, before it has formed its fantastic shapes on the branches or twigs of trees, at home. We have sat shivering, clothed in flannel, at such an hour ; while, on the same day, before the meridian had passed, the loosest cotton garments were felt too hot and oppressive.

The civil government of Surat was vested in a chief, a collector, and certain other principal and subordinate functionaries ; John Romer, Esq. stood first, and Mr. Elphinstone was collector. The command of the garrison was reposed in the senior officer of the district ; but with either of these I had no intercourse. Servants of the Company, both civil and military, frequently resorted from neighbouring stations, either for a change of climate, or to make purchases suited to the wants of their more retired situations, which kept the society more lively and changeful. There was a station of the London Missionary Society established here, which has been upheld now nearly thirty years. One agent destined for this field had abjured his religious profession, and become a servant of the Company. Dr. T. died somewhere up the Persian Gulf. Another gentleman, who was sent from England to occupy the place of schoolmaster at the station, was induced to remain at Madras, where he first landed. One of the two who first settled at Surat, died after a few years of great fidelity and usefulness. There were three, two ordained preachers and a printer, missionaries

when I visited the city. Their labours were all conducted in the Guzerattee language. They had a printing-press in efficient operation, at which translations of the Scriptures, and copies of religious tracts, were multiplied for circulation. Many thousand pages of evangelical instruction had been thus scattered in the city and province. They had six schools for children and adults, containing 350 children, carefully and constantly inspected, in which much scriptural truth was taught. I visited some of these schools with the missionaries, and saw the examinations, and heard the faithful men striving to interest the parents of the children in the gospel for themselves, by earnest and hortatory appeals, and the distribution of tracts. Some of the schools were also occupied as preaching stations for the people. The same labourers occasionally extended the sphere of their labours, and sometimes took in Ahmedabad and Baroda. I found these humble and zealous Christians, men who rejoiced to labour and suffer; and they had both laboured and suffered for the cause of Christ. They had a single service for themselves, their families, and any Europeans who wished to engage with them, on Sabbath evening; when they preferred reading a sermon of some author for their edification, lest the preparation for the pulpit might tempt themselves to overlook the direct work of the missionary to the heathen. I found it profitable to join with them in commemorating a Saviour's love and sacrificial death; the season was

truly pleasant after our wide and weary wanderings. They had weekly a religious service, for the benefit of the teachers of their schools. They had a small chapel, connected with the mission-house, for native worship, where a good morning congregation attended. Their afternoon service was at one of their school-rooms, in another part of the city. They had a fund for relieving the poor and the stranger. They laboured well, and in such a spirit as might warrant the anticipation that ultimately they should be crowned with success: and I believe, that subsequently to my visit, they have, in pleasing instances, witnessed the beneficial result of their operations.

Two cities of some celebrity, Baroach and Baroda, are not far distant from Surat. The Tapti and the Nerbudda flow in a parallel direction toward the gulf of Cambay; their distance from each other, where they enter the sea, is about thirty or forty miles. Baroach stands on the banks of the Nerbudda, a little farther up the river than Surat. In 1572, this city was a place of great trade, and seemed to warrant its traditionary identity with the ancient Barygaza. Prior to its occupation by the British, it was two miles and a half in circumference, fortified in the oriental manner with high walls, which were perforated for musketry, and flanked with towers. Added to its natural advantages, these defences gave it all the strength common to Asiatic fortresses, so as to render it impregnable in the people's opinion. It was besieged

by a British force in 1771; the English general, Wedderburne, was killed under its walls. The beleaguered people were emboldened, and trusting to some tradition, that their town would never be taken, they fought with energy; but it was carried by storm in a few days. The mother of the nawaub braved all the dangers of cannon and bombs with her son, never quitting the object of her affections. They escaped together; and when pursued, she charged the prince, saying, "Go, seek succours or an asylum among your allies; I will retard the march of our enemies, and may, perhaps, escape them." Her pursuers, however, pressed upon her closer than she had hoped, and she plunged a dagger into her heart, to avoid falling into her enemies' hands. The prince did not long survive her. In consequence of some claim, by usurpation, which the Mahratta Scindia alleged, a division of this territory took place between him and the English in 1782; but in 1803 the latter power assumed over it the entire control. The houses are generally lofty, like those of Surat, and the streets narrow and dirty. Mosques and mausoleums in the city and vicinity are numerous, but dilapidated. The district around is fertile, well-cultivated, and populous, the inhabitants are orderly and industrious. Cotton is grown and manufactured; wheat, joaree, rice, and other grains, are produced; nuts, oil-seeds, shrubs and plants for dyeing, constitute, with the other produce, the principal exports of the country. The Nerbudda

is a sacred stream, and is reckoned to possess a peculiar property for bleaching cotton cloth the purest white.

The Guicowar, Futteh Singh, resides at Baroda, and is *nominal* ruler of the greater part of Guzerat. His Mahratta ancestry commenced their predatory incursions in the province about the beginning of last century; and in 1730 Sahoo Rajah confirmed the invaders in their conquest, and the several members of the family have succeeded, whether as brother or son, till the present time. The revenues of this reigning petty sovereign latterly have fallen into great confusion, and the British, of course *kindly*, interfered and undertook the management of his affairs. In 1818 the population amounted to one hundred thousand. The district is called Champaneer. The town is intersected by two spacious streets, which cross at the market-place, and divide it into four equal parts. The houses of the Mahrattas are mean hovels: ruins of the Mogul houses are yet visible, and show them to have been handsome. In the environs are several magnificent wells, with steps down to the bottom. *The only stone bridge in Guzerat has been erected near this city over the Viswamitra.* The fortifications of the place in 1780 consisted of slight walls, with towers at irregular distances, and double gates. During the war with Scindia and Holkar, in 1803, the native bankers advanced to the British army a crore and a half rupees, about 1,600,000*l.* They now enjoy the security and peace of British

dominion. I cannot say whether their advances were repaid; or if they have obtained an equivalent by the consolidation of a better and more equitable government.

The gulf derives its name from an ancient city, which by some is traced to the Camanes of Ptolemy; it is still called Cambay. The depth of the water in this gulf has been decreasing for two centuries. Its bed is only six miles broad, fifteen miles east of the town, and is left dry at low water: the tides rush in with amazing velocity, and rise with rapidity to the height of forty feet; ships can then anchor near Cambay, but the sea recedes as quickly, and the river runs almost dry, so that vessels are left aground in the mud; or, when attempting to sail out, if they take the ground, are immediately upset, to the risk of every life on board. I did not visit this ancient mart, so encompassed with perils, but the following is my information derived concerning it:—The city of ancient times is said to have been overwhelmed and buried in the sand. The modern city flourished as the seat of an extensive commerce; but declined with the decay of Ahmedabad, and in consequence of the subsidence of the sea. Cotton, grain, elephants' teeth, and cornelian, are its only exports. Cambay is supposed to have been, about the fifth century, the capital of the Western Hindoo emperors. When Francis d'Almeida landed in 1515, he saw the fragments of splendid buildings and temples, the ruins of an ancient city. Such



is the report of Osorio, a Portuguese writer. It was taken possession of by the army of General Goddard in 1780, but restored to the Mahrattas three years afterward. The British again resumed their dominion over it in 1803,—by *treaty*, such as the lion of the forest makes with his jackall. The houses are built either of stone or brick. A brick wall, nearly five miles in circumference, surrounds the town, which encloses three bazaars and four large reservoirs of excellent water. Of the houses many have underground apartments: in these the inhabitants concealed their females and valuable property during times of alarm. Extensive ruins of subterranean temples, and other buildings, half buried in the sand, are still visible in the south-east suburb. The temples are described as belonging to the Jains, and containing two immense statues of their deities; one is black and the other white. The inscription on the latter, the principal figure, is to Parswanatha, and dated 1502, in the reign of Akber; it was then carved and consecrated. On the black one is inscribed the date 1651.

The promontory of Western Guzerat is terminated by a small island, celebrated as an ancient fortress, which is a few miles to the south parallel of Surat. It is called Diu; is only six miles and a half long, one mile and a half broad, is nearly barren, and contains no water fit for use, but what is collected in ponds or tanks during the monsoon. The origin of its fame was a renowned Hindoo temple, which was reckoned one of the richest places of the

East; it is described by Mill under the appellation of Sumnaut. The Sultaun Mahmood of Ghizni had heard of the wealth which ages of superstition had accumulated; he was also aroused by the pride and contempt of the brahmins, who defied his power. For their chastisement, he undertook an expedition in 1024, and arrived at Diu in the following year: it is separated by a strait from the main land, and is fordable at low water. Here he encountered a large army collected by the alarm of the priesthood. The brahmins and guardians defended the sanctuary with all the obstinacy of enthusiasm or despair; but all resistance was vain, and the Sultaun, a fanatical Moslem, entered the temple. Exasperated by the sight of the gigantic idol, he aimed, with his iron mace, a blow at the head, which severed the nose from its face. Crores of gold, or millions of sterling money, were offered for the ransom of the deified image by the trembling brahmins. The Sultaun's answer to his omrahs, who counselled him to accept the bribe, declared that he valued the title of *breaker*, not *seller* of idols: he was a royal Iconoclastes, and gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow the belly of the image burst open, and forth issued a vast and incredible treasure of pearls, rubies, and diamonds, a sufficient explanation for the devout *liberality* of the brahmins, who wished to save their god; and a full reward for the zealous hatred which the emperor displayed toward idol-worship.

In other parts of the temple, immense stores of wealth were found by the conqueror, and all the faithful triumphed in the emperor's achievements.

Recent events give additional interest to this Ghiznividian monarch, and his renowned capital: and my reader will, for a moment, fall into the train of this sweeping conqueror, in whose mind the passion for war had fermented, till it became the very alcohol of ambition. Fourteen victorious invasions did he conduct into the bosom of Asia, from his far western fortress in Candahar, before he finished his last exploit among the Jaats. The son of Subuctagee, originally a Turkish slave, his first distinction was, as the successor of his father, the deputed governor of Ghizni, and servant of the Samanides. This was a line of princes, celebrated by Persian historians as eminent for their justice and learning, who had extended their sway from the Jaxartes to the Indus; yet the son of Subuctagee, the Turkish slave, asserted his independence, subverted their throne, and, having founded the dynasty of the Ghiznivides, was the first to bear the *Crescent* beyond the farthest limits, toward the south, of the Persian empire, and to lay the foundation of Mohammedan thrones in India.

The earliest expedition in which he turned his face to India, is dated in the year 1,000 of the christian era. He renewed his visit next year; met and defeated Gepal, the prince of Lahore. His vengeance was again, in 1,004, poured out on the head of a minor prince upon the Indus; and in

the following year, he encountered the confederates of Lahore and Multaun, in the pass of the mountains, when he drove the former prince into Cashmere, and rendered the other his slave. In a fifth expedition he chastised a rebellious satrap, Zab Sais, a renegade Hindoo; his sixth visit was paid on the following year, when the princes of Oojien, Gualior, Kanoze, Ajmere, Delhi, Calinger, and the Quickwars, joined their forces, in vain, to oppose him—the monarch of Ghizni triumphed. His spoil from temples and cities had been great; but his return in the following year was reckoned necessary to subdue the refractory king of Multaun, whom he carried as prisoner to his native capital.

Success does not quench the thirst of the conqueror; the greatest warrior will weep for new worlds. Fresh conquests were the cooling streams in which the sultaun of Ghizni delighted to lave. Tahnesir, a city famous for its brahminical sanctity, and contiguous to Delhi, attracted his cupidity; he spoiled it, and proceeded to Delhi; and having demolished the idols, he gathered up the riches which superstition had hoarded, and marched homewards. Yet again he returned to Lahore, and overran Cashmere; nor was his ambition satisfied. In 1018, Kanoje upon the Ganges, a hundred miles south-east of Delhi, was doomed as his prey. Three months were spent in the march from Ghizni, and “seven mighty streams rushed across the intervening space.” A passage through the mountains, by Cashmere, was forced, and the

rajah, surprised and alarmed, submitted. Merut, Mavin on the Jumna, Muttra and Agra, bowed to his subjugating sway. The booty accumulated, for incalculable had been his treasures, tempted Mahmood to project improvements on his native fortress. He built a mosque, so beautiful and magnificent, that it was called the *Celestial Bride*; and, as an ornament, "struck every beholder with astonishment and pleasure." In its vicinity he founded a university, which he provided with a large collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural and artificial curiosities. Funds for the maintenance of students and the salaries of teachers were munificently endowed.

Mahmood resumed again the toils of war; and one expedition followed another, till he had run his course and established a dominion only equalled by English conquerors in the same lands. The tide of conquest has now, however, rolled back; and soldiers enrolled in those cities, which he desolated eight centuries since, and armed by a power which did not then exist, have marched through the same passes, trampled on the plains on which his military glory was immortalized, and cast down the strongholds of his pride, and the fortresses of his strength. Candahar has been traversed, Cabul has been occupied; and Ghizni has been stormed, her gates shattered, and her majesty laid low, even with the dust. Where is now the spirit of Mahmood, or the prowess of his warriors?

The interest cherished for this region of classic ground in the romance of eastern warfare, is now reflected by the rising sun of a modern Ghiznvide, Shah Shooja, carried upon the rolling tide of English and Hindoo conquest to the throne of Candahar. His triumphs have been achieved by troops who rendezvoused from the same cities which the first Ghiznvide captured. The British army, not so many as 30,000 troops, has penetrated these regions; and having subdued the surrounding country, has placed a prince tributary to English power on the throne, while only 191 men have been killed and wounded. Thus far the policy of Lord Auckland has succeeded; and the colonial territory of Great Britain, and the influence of her counsels, have been extended. But the philanthropist sees another object of attraction. The historian Mill has said, "the northern provinces of India, Cabul, Candahar, Multaun, and the Punjab, appear from the days of Darius Hystaspes to have followed the destiny of Bactria, Chorasan, and Transoxiana." We may now reverse the dependence, and attach the destiny of the eastern provinces of Persia to Cabul and Candahar. Will Britain, or her ally in those countries, follow the example of Mahmood? Will they encourage learning in proportion to their superior knowledge and facilities? Will England spread the wings of her protecting power over the christian missionary, that he may enter upon these fallow and untrod fields? Will christian churches prove themselves

as zealous for the religion of truth as the Moslems were for the mosques of Mohammedan imposture? There is not a missionary in Persia,—in the eastern provinces of her ancient empire,—in all the provinces to the west and north of Delhi,—in the Punjab,—on the Indus, or toward the Jaxartes,—in Cabul or Candahar. No Bibles are circulated; no schools yet, of christian character, have been instituted; and no religious tracts in the languages of the people have been prepared. It is known that idolatry, in its foul forms, is practised at the court of Lahore, as well as in the neighbouring regions. A few weeks before these conquests, *eleven females* were consumed on the funeral pile. Yet the chiefs of the Punjab made so many applications to the political agent on the frontier to procure an English education for their children, that the government has found it necessary to attach a schoolmaster to his establishment. The tide of literature is even rolling back from India to Persia, and the supreme government lately sent a large supply of English books for the use of the king of Persia's military seminary; the students of which are represented to be actuated by a strong zeal for European learning.

Will not the devout Christian trace a merciful providence in the dispensation by which these countries are brought under British supremacy? The merchants of India and Great Britain will be awake to the stirring interest of these events.

*Manufacturers and traders, with a lynx-eyed*

vigilance, already contemplate the openings for woollens, cotton prints, hardware, and whatever will take the market, remunerate enterprise, and reward the application of capital. On the rolling tide of the Indus, on every river of the Punjab for a thousand miles inland, we may anticipate the rapid navigation of steam employed to carry the manufactures of England, and bring down to the sea-coast the produce of these many lands. The markets of Candahar, Cabul, Herat, and Bactria, will assuredly be open to British enterprise; and Persia will receive her supply from the same stock. Multaun and Lahore will be but resting-places for the sons of commerce. We regard these watery highways of eastern regions as opening safe, accessible, and expeditious channels for our expanding and pervading traffic. Shah Shoojah is the puppet of English policy, and if he respects not, and gives not security to our traders, that they may pass to the north and west, Ghizni and Cabul will not shelter him, but he must then follow Dost Mahomed. We have here then a free course for trade, benevolence, and knowledge; and, as we feel confident the merchant will not be slack in profiting by the occasion, we hope the agents and messengers of truth and mercy will hasten to present their treasures more valuable than gold or precious stones. Let Mahmood be an example to the modern conquerors of Ghizni;—let them remember the *Celestial Bride*, and its kindred universality. Let it be a condition of British protection



to the authorities in Cabul, that European literature and the schoolmaster's labours shall be extensively and freely patronized. Let these fields, white for the harvest of instruction, be speedily occupied by efficient teachers. Let the advocates of learning and promoters of christian missions occupy in faith and zeal. The spoil of the merchant and the booty of the manufacturer must adorn the *Celestial Bride* of Moder Ghizni,—must furnish libraries and museums for the youth and studious disciples of truth in Candahar. Let the images of wood, silver, and gold, or the delusions of Islamism, be driven to the moles and the bats, before the light of knowledge, and the weapons of wisdom and reason. Thus will a greater and more beneficent conqueror than Mahmood adorn Ghizni with new trophies, and make it, as the place of his feet, glorious, where righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins; so that it shall be known as the place of the Redeemer's rest, and a habitation where his honour shall continue to dwell.

In 1615, the Portuguese obtained possession of Diu, but they acquired not spoils so abundant, nor were they such image-haters as Mahmood. They instantly commenced fortifying the island, and rendered it in ten years impregnable against all the powers of India; so that it became a place of extensive trade and intercourse, and was the harbour in which their fleets were laid up during the winter. Their power fell into decay; it was plundered by the

Arabs of Muscat in 1670. It has ultimately sunk into insignificance, and has now no commerce or influence in those seas.

I sailed past this place on my route to the presidency, which we reached in safety without any incident deserving a record. Circumstances afterwards rendered my return to England expedient, and I sailed in one of the Company's chartered ships. Our voyage was long and wearisome. I have no inducement to recite the events of that tedious pilgrimage over the waste of waters for six long months. But as we touched at St. Helena, and the incidents of Napoleon's death are still fresh in the island, I shall give an account of my visit to the prison in which he died, and the tomb in which his ashes were laid.

St. Helena was discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, on St. Helen's day; they stocked it with different kinds of useful animals. The Dutch took possession of, and kept it till 1600, when the English attacked and subverted their power; after which they held it for seventy-three years. The Dutch seized it again by surprise, and attempted to hold it in their own hand, for which purpose they fortified the only supposed landing-place; but the English had discovered another small creek and a pathway up the rock, which two men could climb abreast. They reached the top of the rock by night with such secrecy, and so confounded the Dutch, that they laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. This creek has been since

fortified by a battery of large cannon placed at the entrance, so that now no regular approaches or sudden surprise can be expected to succeed for the capture of the island. Excellent water for ships can be had in abundance, and provisions, fresh and suitable, may be procured at rather a high price. The climate is not unhealthy, and the air of the place is pleasant to Indian voyagers. The temperature is moderated by a continued sea breeze.

A series of violent and perilous storms, which lasted for six weeks, thwarted our progress, and buffeted and tossed us as we passed over the latitudes, and within sight of the lofty mountains of Madagascar; we were, therefore, inclined to welcome any port, and embrace the most desolate shore with gladness: yet my heart recoiled from the aspect of St. Helena, as a most inhospitable and forbidding island. Viewed from the sea, along its whole circumference (twenty-eight miles) it exhibits only an immense wall of perpendicular rock, varying from six to twelve hundred feet in height. It stands alone in the ocean, twelve hundred miles from any land, and seems to have been cast up by some submarine convulsion as the furnace lava of a great volcanic combustion. Most bleak and dreary is its general appearance. It carried to my mind a stunning and appalling effect. It seemed not a *habitable* portion of the world's dominion, but the cineritious incrustation; the singed and barren surface of some spot on earth whose end had been to be burned, and which having

borne briars and thorns, was rejected, and was nigh unto cursing. I could not restrain my thoughts from conjectures as to the influence its appearance would have on the mind of Buonaparte, when he first *looked* upon its rocky casement as the wall which should enclose his wanderings, and secure the world against his future ambition. I asked, 'Was nature commissioned to bring from her deepest recesses this basaltic creation, to be a prison-house for him who had made kings tremble, and then cast them down; who had played with crowns and sceptres, and then placed them on the heads and in the hands of his minions or flattering parasites; who had divided empires or joined kingdoms together, as whim and caprice inspired him, and had shaken the institutions of antiquity, convulsed the orders of society, and set at defiance the opinions and the arms of the world?' The contrast with all this was the position of the captive who trod the decks of the *Bellerophon*, and was now constrained to stretch out his hands that others might guard him and carry him whither he would not.

There are only four small openings in the rock, which, as a natural bulwark, surrounds the island; and through these openings the scene is pleasingly changed and diversified. Verdant and beautiful patches of ground intermingle with the rocks; while on the summit, a plain, 1,500 acres in extent, spreads out the lap of fertility covered with vegetation, and capable of every species of culture. The loftiest eminence, called Diana's Peak, and

rising to the height of 2,700 feet above the level of the sea, is situated in the centre of the island. One of the little straths, down which a silvery streamlet flows, is called James Town: on its beach is a place for ships lying-to, and whence passengers may land with safety. To this place we passed, after the interchange of successive signals between the ship and the shore, and while we were under a battery of cannon which could have sunk us in a few minutes. James Town is entered by an arched gateway, and by a handsome parade—where the public offices are kept, and one of the governor's houses is situated. The principal street contains about thirty houses, well-built, and neat-looking. The English population, besides the soldiers, artillery and infantry, amounted to nearly three hundred. There were several respectable Jews. We staid at the house of one where we were most suitably entertained, but the charges were high. Mr. S—— had made a fortune of 80,000*l.*, gone to England, where he lost it in speculations, and returned to his former employment of hotel-keeper. There had been slaves; some of them introduced as convicts, even from islands in the Indian Ocean; and others as captives from the African continent. Some were of fair complexion. I conversed with a few of them, and found it was common to let them engage with their several employers, who would pay for their work; while the slave undertook to bring to his *owner* a certain sum monthly. If I well remember,

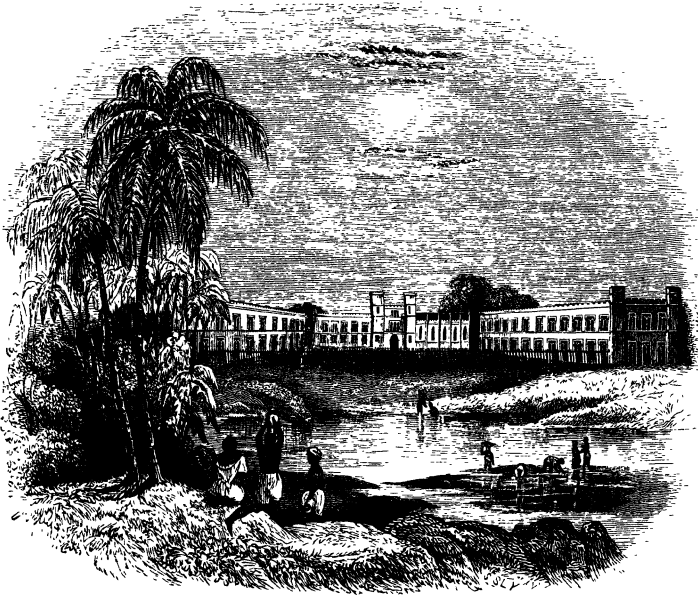
their numbers were about fifteen or eighteen hundred slaves. It had been resolved by a meeting of the inhabitants, under the auspices of the governor, that all born in and after the year 1823, should be free, and the others should be encouraged to purchase their freedom.

The importance of St. Helena arises from its position as a place of refreshment for vessels returning from the East, and from its connexion with the history of Napoleon Buonaparte, who was confined, died, and is buried here. He arrived on the 17th of October, 1815, and died on the 5th of May, 1821. He first resided in one of the houses which Mr. S—— kept for voyagers, and then removed to the farm-house, where he died. I walked to see the places consecrated to history by his sojourn, his death-bed scenes, and the repose of his dust. The ravines and broken interstices on the surface of the island, with the elevated hills and green patches which nature had produced, or art had prepared, rendered the walk not unpleasant, and gave variety to the scene. The room in which the downcast emperor lay a-dying was narrow, and must have been close and heated — a sad and touching contrast to the salons and suites of chambers at the Tuileries, or at Fontainebleau; I think it was scarcely more than twelve by fifteen feet. What a humbling lesson on the *moral* of martial or political greatness! The pride of this man would not stoop to accept other apartments, while his haughty and domineering conquerors would not

suffer him to indulge certain frivolous partialities ; and thus their splenetic strife wrestled for a victory on the threshold of the grave. The walk to his tomb is chequered with many melancholy associations. Even there, in the dust of the narrow house, we see the contention of ascendant power and irritated ambition. No *name* is recorded upon the stone which covers the emperor's bones. The English authorities would not designate him by titles with which they had contracted treaties and formed a short-lived peace. How sordid such paltry hostility ! The tomb looks greater, nameless though it be, than if the most gorgeous mausoleum had been reared, and inscriptions of high encomium had been lavished upon the fallen monarch. The silent and footless scene is full of meaning—the brook, or rather spring, murmuring and refreshing, from which he was wont to drink, carries a memorial in its ceaseless flow of the low-laid soldier ; will his name be as long remembered as its refreshing current shall continue to irrigate the little vale ? The weeping willow, which droops over this grave—will its root still vegetate to provide a shadow for his dust and a shelter for the pilgrim, who, to many generations, will tread this mysterious spot, and inquire for the relics of the mighty dead ? Are its drooping branches an abiding emblem of French sorrows, Gallican sympathies, and republican disappointments ? The book which records the names of visitors from every region of the earth—which contains the bitter

denunciations of his admirers against the authors of his calamity; and the moral reflections, the poetic eulogies, and superstitious prayers of the various parties of discordant sentiments and hostile politics, who have been drawn to his tomb, is but an epitome, a microscopic view, of what separate biographers and national historians shall have written concerning the emperor of France.





BISHOP'S COLLEGE CALCUTTA

#### EDUCATION AND THE ENGLISH.

A PEOPLE cannot be enlightened unless they have been generally educated: though they may be partially educated and yet not enlightened. The knowledge of *letters* and the knowledge of *things* do not always go hand in hand. Words serve to express principles; but the literary symbols may be possessed without the discrimination of mental phenomena; so that the school and the alphabet may not always indicate the presence of learning

and intelligence. Erudition also, and metaphysical acumen, with the most abstruse speculation, have been attained, when a sound philosophy, a pure and righteous code of ethics, and an equitable and liberal political economy have been resisted or set aside. Scholars, poets, and priests, have not always been the friends and advocates of justice, truth, and liberty. The academic hall, the groves of Parnassus, and the consecrated cloisters, have often been the nurseries or the hiding-places of arbitrary power, of erroneous doctrine, and spiritual despotism. That a "little knowledge is a dangerous thing" has been chanted till the distich has passed for a proverb, though the most learned men have often become the greatest heresiarchs, and those who professed themselves wise have turned out the most palpable fools. A superficial knowledge of language or of books is, therefore, not sufficient for the cultivation of the mind, and a learned and recondite literature may be possessed by a few without producing any moral elevation in themselves or of the general community. The application of these remarks to India, and their justice in reference to its people, will presently appear.

*The Hindoos are not literally an uneducated people. The village school is found in the most rural districts, and the sacred college is connected with almost every celebrated temple of brahminical idolatry. Endowments for educational institutions have not been confined to pagodas, or destined only for the preparation of their priesthood; neither*

are they only to be traced to the enlarged liberality which enlightened intercourse with English scholars might inspire, or to the ambition of only wealthy and pretended patrons of literature. From time immemorial lands have been assigned by municipal authorities as the schoolmaster's portion, or for the maintenance of the poor scholar; while in more recent times estates of great extent and value have been set apart, by private bequest or generous donation, to provide instruction in sciences, the languages of antiquity, or in general philology. In the presidency of Madras, a statistical "return to government in 1826" specifies schools, in number 11,758, colleges 740, and the attendance of Hindoo scholars at the former 146,011, of whom 3,313 are females, and at the latter 3,805; besides 13,561 Mussulman children, and 26,963 who receive private tuition at home; so that the proportion of the population in the Madras presidency is represented as one scholar to every five persons. These schools are for the most part supported by the people whose children are sent for education. The rate of payment varies in different districts, or according to the circumstances of the parents; the lowest being charged  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per month, and the highest 8s.; while the average fee among the poorer classes is 9d. monthly. In some of the provinces the endowments have been alienated, as charter or foundation schools in England have been; but a few remain administered in accordance to the devises of their patrons. In Tanjore 77 colleges

and 44 schools are supported by the rajah ; in Salem 20 teachers of theology and one Mussulman school are yet maintained ; so also are 28 colleges and six Persian schools in Arcot. At Rajamundry 69 teachers of the sciences are endowed with land, and 13 receive allowances in money. At Trichinopoly seven schools, and one college in Malabar, continue to be upheld ; while at Nellore several Brahmins and Mussulmans receive each 1,467 rupees (146*l.* 14*s.*) *per annum*, for teaching the Vedas and the Arabic and Persian languages.

The returns from various districts in Bombay present farther illustration of the Hindoo and Mohammedan provision, and desire for, and mode of conducting popular education. Ahmedabad, Surat, Kaira, the Concans, Baroach, and Kandiesh, have respectively reported 84,—219,—141,—92,—154, and 189 schools ; total 879 schools, with an aggregate attendance of between 20 and 30,000 scholars. These are of native origin, and appear under native control. They are located, some in cities, some in townships, and others in villages ; they are held, some in private dwellings, and others in temples ; most of them give only the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, being only elementary ; while a few are reckoned superior for educating Moollas and Pundits. The manner of remunerating the teacher varies, as well as the amount, in the several districts. The more general practice in Ahmedabad is for each boy to present daily about a handful of flour ; three shillings are paid

when the boy has become perfect in his first fifteen lessons ; when an accurate knowledge of the alphabet is acquired, a similar sum ; again when he is able to write ; so also when able to cast up accounts ; and when he can draw out bills of exchange ; and, finally, when he is about to leave school, a sum from two to ten shillings is usually paid. The office of schoolmaster is in this province generally hereditary. In Surat the source of emolument is in flour, cash, and service-lands ; each master receives in the city about 60 rupees (6*l.*) annually, in grain and money, for fifty boys. In Kaira boys of respectable families give half a rupee, or one shilling, on first entering the school, and send their teacher on days of ceremony a meal of grain and ghee, or butter ; they also sometimes beg for him from respectable visitors. When they quit the school in the evening, they present a handful, or the quarter of a pound, of grain to the master ; and when they finally retire from his instructions, they make him a present of from five to ten shillings. His income may thus sometimes reach 10*l.* annually. Very inadequate payments in money and grain are made by the children in the Con-cans ; the teachers have generally not more than from ten to twelve shillings monthly. In Baroach the allowances vary from 3*l.* to 7*l.* annually, the remuneration being rendered by the parents in regular money payments, in a daily portion of grain, and in gifts, according to the progress of the scholar. The schoolmaster's salary in Kandiesh

is all derived from the scholars, and does not average more, it is supposed, than 4*l.* annually.

Mr. Montgomery Martin exultingly exclaims, "Let us no more hear about the schoolmaster being cribbed, cabined, and confined in the East India Company's territory." We might say, after the Bombay specimen, that the crib is indeed but scantily supplied; and if he be not "cabined and confined," it may be because feeling no peculiar attractions in his employer's crib, the schoolmaster has gone abroad to seek for more abundant and hospitable fare. Truly there is little need to muzzle his mouth during his daily toil in these western provinces. Yet it is but proper to observe that 10*l.* per annum are deemed rather a comfortable supply for a Hindoo in the British cantonments. It is not improbable, moreover, that many of the teachers are provided with the village endowment; which they may cultivate during intervening hours, or holiday seasons. While, since the returns to which we have referred were made to inquiries of government, the more *knowing ones* may have had an eye to farther grants from government, and a hope that poverty would plead more eloquently than efficiency. We should be disposed to doubt the ability or faithfulness, the qualifications and zeal, of a teacher whose labours went unrewarded, and whose pupils did not soon perceive the propriety of honouring one who had communicated the richest benefits connected with social intercourse. The laws of the Hindoos give the highest place to

the teacher, and lay the scholar under obligations of servility and contribution, which would not suffer the master to lack whatever is good. "As he who digs deep with a spade comes to a spring of water, so the student, who humbly serves his teacher, attains the knowledge which lies deep in his teacher's mind." "Let him carry water-pots, flowers, cowdung, fresh earth, and cuscus grass, as much as may be useful to his preceptor." "In the presence of his teacher, let him always eat less, and wear a coarse mantle with worse appendages; let him rise before, and go to rest after, his tutor. Let him not answer his teacher's orders, or converse with him reclining, nor sitting, nor eating, nor standing, nor with an averted face; but let him both answer and converse, if his preceptor sit, standing up; if he stand, advancing toward him; if he advance, meeting him; if he run, hastening after him; if his face be averted, going round to front him, from *left* to *right*: if he be at a little distance, approaching him; if reclined, bending to him; and if he stand ever so far off, running toward him," &c. &c. &c.

To form and distinguish the letters of the alphabet, drawing them with the finger or a stick in the sand, are the initiatory steps towards reading and writing; this we believe is a pretty general attainment among Hindoos. To their religious doctrines some of the brahmins have added very crude speculations concerning the intellectual and moral worlds; these they denominate philosophy. With

the middle classes, shopkeepers, tradesmen, and artificers, education ends at ten years of age; when reading, writing on the palm leaf, and the simplest rules of arithmetic, may have been acquired. The Frenchman Anquetil Duperron describes with great *naïveté*, and most correctly, a school scene in a Mahratta village. “The scholars, in two rows, sitting upon their heels, traced with their fingers the letters or words upon a black board, covered with white sand; others repeated the names of the letters in the form of words. For the Indians, instead of saying, as we do,  $a—b—c$ , pronounce the symbols thus:—*a wama; b anama; k anama, &c.* The master seemed to pay but little attention to the recitation of his class; but preferred to strike the backs of the poor children with a long rod. In Asia that is the place which smarts: and passion is, unhappily, too common in these countries: study is that which, of a surety, their masters sacrifice to vengeance.”

Mr. Mill justly remarks, “If the Hindoo institutions of education were of a much more perfect kind than they appear to have ever been, they would afford a very inadequate foundation for the inference of a high state of civilization. The truth is, that institutions for education, more elaborate than those of the Hindoos, are found in the infancy of civilization.” With these observations we may, nevertheless, contrast the testimony of a Hindoo writer, the Seer Matakhareen. “There were in those times at Azimabad numbers of persons



who loved science and learning, and employed themselves in teaching and being taught; and I remember," he says, "to have seen, in that city and its environs alone, nine or ten professors of repute, and three or four hundred students and disciples; from whence may be conjectured the numbers of those that must have been in great towns and in the retired districts." These were Mussulmans, whose study was the koran and its commentaries—the Mohammedan religion and Mohammedan law. But what are they, or what is the Sanscrit with its Vedas, its poetry, fabulous or traditional, its stories of Hindoo gods, or legends of their kings, as moral and intellectual means in the operations necessary for elevating and enlarging the mind of a people? The average number of students attending the superior schools, denominated colleges, in the Madras presidency, is six to each; and the proportion of those who make proficiency in Sanscrit studies may be conjectured, from the fact, that ten or twelve years are required to become fluent readers and competent grammarians. But the truth is, most of these colleges are only pagoda-schools, where young brahmins are trained to become functionaries in their worship. A smattering of Sanscrit will suffice, if they acquire a facility in the details of their idolatrous ceremonies. This is a study in which the greater their progress, so much the more are they depraved, the greater is the perversion of their mental powers, and the more are they alienated in their affections from truth and virtue. The

amours of their gods which they celebrate ; the courtesan prostitution which they witness, the deception which they see practised upon a blind and deluded multitude, and the ridiculous mummary performed as worship, must prove rank and luxuriant weeds and nettles, briers and thorns, to choke any seed or principle of truth, which may be found in Sanscrit writing. But in reality, what do we find is the effect which native literature has produced ? Has it inspired a love of liberty, of truth, or of justice ? Has it strengthened their intellectual powers ; or nourished the fruits of righteousness, of benevolence, and peace ? Is their social system,—walled and barred by the divisions of caste :—or is their domestic intercourse,—where woman is only a menial, a slave, and a victim of passion, the indigenous growth of their literary culture,—a demonstration of wisdom, or an evidence of the beneficial tendency and the enlightening influence of their educational institutions ? A shrewd observer and competent witness, Dr. Buchanan, affirms, in the 166th page of the sixth volume of Asiatic Researches, that “no useful science have the brahmins diffused among their followers : history they have abolished ; morality they have depressed to the utmost ; and the dignity and power of the altar they have erected on the ruins of the state and the rights of the subject.”

So far, however, as I have discovered, the Hindoos have manifested no indifference to the advantages of education : they have evinced the strongest desire to attain, and a zeal in the pursuit which

indicated a deep sense of the value of instruction. The educational philanthropist is not required, even in rural districts, to use stimulants to excite attention, or to beat up for scholars that his school may be filled: while Hindoo youth show more than an equal aptness in receiving instruction with the youth of other nations. I think they may be said to possess a peculiar facility in acquiring the learning to which they have access. Nor do I imagine, that there is so great a want, in the remote districts, or among the unassisted native communities, of scholastic institutions, as there is of a good system of education, the elements of correct learning and the means of useful information. There are districts of which I cannot speak so favourably:—the Ghoonds, the Koolies, the Beeloochees, and the Muggs, will appear exceptions, with many others among one hundred millions of idolaters or followers of Mohammed. But there is verge and room enough for the corps scholastique, in which to display their enterprise, their love of letters, and their ability to “rear the tender thought, and teach the young idea how to shoot;” to become the benefactors of unnumbered millions of mankind.

The English authorities ruling over India might have been expected to be more engrossed in the acquisition and consolidation of conquest, or in their pursuits as merchant adventurers, during the earlier stages of their power, than in inquiries about education, or efforts to promote it. Yet men there

were whose tastes and acquirements prepared them to enter cordially into such associations, as had for their object the development of oriental literature. Halhed and Colebrook, Sir William Jones and Sir James Mackintosh, Sir John Malcolm and Mr. Erskine, Richardson and Wilkins, Wilson and Shakspeare, Wilford and Gilchrist, Vans Kennedy and Trevellyan, with many others, have filled up the succession of oriental scholars, or acted as patrons of literary institutions. To many of them the Asiatic Societies and the Royal Society have been indebted for the accumulated stores of varied learning deposited in their archives, or published in their journals and researches; while a stimulus was given by them to other, less known but not less indefatigable labourers, in the same work. In 1801, the government required returns from their servants respecting the morals of the people and the state of education; though I do not find that any general measures were adopted till after the year 1813, when parliament included it as a term of the renewed charter, that 10,000*l.* per annum should be devoted to Hindoo education. Isolated acts of government had, however, preceded this measure.

In the year 1781, Warren Hastings, as governor of Bengal, founded *the Madressa*, a Moslem college at Calcutta. Buildings were erected for its use at an expense of nearly 6,000*l.*, which, at first, he disbursed from his own resources, and afterward obtained leave to repay in full from the govern-

ment treasury. 3,000*l.* annually, from lands, were applied for its maintenance. Persian and Arabic were the languages studied; Mohammedan law was taught the students to qualify them as officers in the courts of justice. The branches of instruction taught, were subsequently classified; grammar, rhetoric, oratory, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, law, and the theology of the koran, were prescribed as branches by a government committee. The salaries of the officers varied from 500*l.* to 36*l.*: while the students were allowed, some as much as 20*l.*, and others as little as 8*l.*, annually. From the year 1794 to 1818 inclusive, the gross expenditure was nearly 50,000*l.*: the total charges for the first buildings, and a re-erection in 1823, 21,628*l.*; and for support till 1835, from its foundation, 135,220*l.* Two hundred scholars of the institution were publicly examined, on the 15th of August, 1821, in the various branches of science taught in the Madrisa. The study of Arabic, Mohammedan law, and mathematics, was then extended, and a medical class instituted. An English class was formed in 1828, when skeletons, anatomical models, and surgical works were provided. Examinations were now held in arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid; in philosophy and medicine; in Arabic, logic, and rhetoric. All applications for law-officers under the Bengal government were to be accompanied by certificates from the college; and a preference given to those who had acquired the English language, and pro-

duced testimonials of good conduct. The number of students in 1830 was ninety-nine. Perhaps this smaller number was better instructed; at least, a greater expenditure was incurred for them individually; while other institutions had increased and competed with the Madrissa.

Jonathan Duncan, Esq., resident at Benares, established in 1791 the *Hindoo Sanscrit College*, in that ancient capital of brahminism: his avowed object was to employ, beneficially, a surplus, which the revenue yielded above their estimated amount. Beginning with 1,400*l.* in the first year, it was augmented to 2,000*l.* in the following years; and in 1834, its revenue amounted to 2,600*l.* The receipts of the Benares Sanscrit college till 1834, were 96,000*l.* The avowed object of this institution was to preserve and cultivate the laws, literature, and religion of the Hindoos in their sacred city. The course of studies prescribed for its students, comprehended theology, ritual, medicine including botany, &c., music, prosody, grammar, sacred lexicography, poetry, logic, ethics, philosophy, law, history, metaphysics, mathematics, and mechanic arts. Besides the scholars on the foundation, and a certain number of poor children who were to receive instruction gratis, the institution was open to all who were willing to pay for instruction: 162 scholars had monthly allowances in 1834; besides thirteen pundits or professors, and a librarian, with a European superintendent and secretary. In 1824, the number of scholars had

been 271. The rajah of Benares, and other natives of rank, have from time to time made donations to the support of this college. Fort William college was begun in 1800, with the primary design of qualifying the Company's European servants to fulfil their duties among the people effectually. The knowledge required from them of the native tongues, as taught in this institution, gave a stimulus to native studies, and set a value upon oriental learning. It provided an extensive establishment of learned natives, attached to the college; some of whom were employed in teaching the students, others in making translations, and others in composing original works in the oriental languages. Dr. Claudius Buchanan asserted, that "Lord Wellesley founded the college of Fort William to enlighten the oriental world; to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia; and to confirm in it the British power and dominion." Dr. B. himself says, "In its dignity and extent, I perceived a radical revolution in the European character, the future civilization of India, and the foundation of an ecclesiastical establishment."

Popular education was, however, overlooked; and no means were employed to improve the subjects and system of instruction pursued by native teachers, either by the literary servants of the Company or any of the supreme rulers in India, till another class of men engaged in the benevolent undertaking. Christian missionaries first gave an impetus to the zeal of all parties in the popular

education of India. Their enthusiasm did not at first, perhaps, possess the discrimination which such a work required; but they meant well, and their energies were directed to the right point. In this enterprise, much chagrin and disappointment were at the commencement experienced. At the three presidencies, schools under missionary superintendence, for the orphan or neglected children of European descent, or of christian profession, met with a ready patronage and cordial support from official and mercantile gentlemen; but the efforts of the same men among the native population were often regarded as Utopian, or even dangerous. Till 1813, the government did not sanction the residence of Protestant missionaries from Britain within the Company's territory. The devoted men who first advanced on the field of christian missions, sought refuge within the possessions of the Dutch or Danish governments. At Serampore, and in Chinsurah, near Calcutta, some of the first educational institutions for Hindoos were established. A great moral victory was however gained by the friends of education and christianity, in the controversy which was excited prior to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813. Truth prevailed; enlightened and liberal considerations triumphed; and not only was liberty afforded to christian teachers of every name to go forth and seek the elevation and conversion of the Hindoos, by schools and preaching, but the Company's government was enjoined to



devote 10,000*l.* per annum to the purposes of education. The sinister and hostile predictions of a "Scott Waring," a "Twining," and others, were over-ruled, and have not been verified. The several missions in India, under the auspices of English, Scotch, and American societies, Baptist, Congregational, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Presbyterian, severally in their order of time, entered upon this sphere of philanthropy with earnestness and vigour, with diligence and emulation. But they encountered great difficulties from the want of proper persons to act as schoolmasters. They employed native teachers, whom they paid and superintended; whose plans they modified, for whose books they substituted portions of the Sacred Volume, and whose conduct before the children they strove to regulate by salutary counsels and moral restraint. The knowledge of native-trained teachers was extremely limited; many errors mingled in their opinions; they were rarely influenced by good principle; all their prejudices and predilections were in favour of idolatry, and of a literature based upon, polluted, cramped, and distorted by a polytheistic theology; while the system of their teaching was characterised by no enlarged or philosophic view of the human mind. So far as they had any object, it was to obtain their salary with the least possible trouble, and to counteract any apparent religious design of their patrons. They required the vigilance of an Argus, and the powers of ubiquity in their inspectors.

Their muster-roll was no index of the state of their school, and the catalogue of their school-books and requisites was no guarantee for the extent and character of the daily lessons. The greatest destitution, moreover, prevailed of elementary works fit for the youthful native mind, or calculated to impart profitable instruction. It could not reasonably be expected that missionaries, only a few years in the country, should be able to compose with idiomatic fluency and precision, works suited for Hindoo youths; few, if any, of the native literati were qualified by knowledge, principle, or inclination for such a task; and none of the Company's linguists rendered assistance for many years. At various missionary stations, however, not only did qualified persons begin to rise up; but perhaps a more rational and palpable mode gradually developed itself in the preference given by many intelligent natives for English education. These means appear to the considerate mind so plausible, and to the experimentalist so practicable, that some self-denying men might fear it as a snare to their idleness, or shun it as an occasion for calumnious imputations among men who would not give credit to their motives. At every station which I visited, the English language was pursued by Hindoos of all castes with the utmost avidity; for this purpose the brahmin did not refuse to read the New Testament, or commit portions of its sacred record to memory. Parental prejudice, and priestly intolerance, could not quench the thirst for this know-

ledge. But not a few of the missionaries at first perceived not their own vantage ground ; and because they thought many of the boys attended such schools, “merely desirous of learning English that they might obtain situations in public offices,” they rather discountenanced native schools, in which that language was chiefly taught.

The effect of this universal attention to native education by missionaries, on the minds of the secular authorities in India, though not acknowledged in words, or perhaps appreciated by the parties themselves, was seen in the measures of government. In the year 1816, the missionaries of Serampore opened boys’ schools for Hindoos, and devoted 300*l.* to their support as a commencement. Two years afterward, the Marquis of Hastings employed one of their number, as an agent of government, gradually to introduce schools in the country of the Rajpoots ; and when 1,200*l.* had been expended for this purpose in 1820, he took the whole expense of these schools on government ; which continued at the rate of nearly 400*l.* annually. At Chinsurah, an extensive system of educational operations was commenced by Mr. May, a missionary, in which he received liberal countenance from the local Dutch authorities ; that possession was transferred under British rule, and these schools were provided with funds from government to the amount of 720*l.* per annum. The Bengal government continued likewise to support elementary schools at Allahabad, Cawnpore, Saugor,

and Bhagulpore: to which more than one thousand pounds were annually applied. In 1821, a Sanscrit college was planned for Calcutta; in 1824, a college was founded at Delhi, for Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit; about the same time, another college was instituted at Agra for Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hindée; and more recently a Mohammedan college has been established at Hooghly, under the superintendence of a government committee. The Hindoo Sanscrit college at Calcutta was designed in lieu of institutions projected for two other districts: since the presidency was more accessible to all parts, and gave facility for European superintendence, 12,000*l.* were appropriated to the erection of the buildings, and 3,000*l.* are yearly applied for its support. It contains ten pundits, or professors of grammar, rhetoric, logic, literature, algebra, law, medicine, and theology, with two librarians. Thirty students have had a salary of about 10*l.*, and seventy about 5*l.* annually. In Delhi, the government ascertained that the ancient endowments for schools were in a state of ruin and neglect; that the circumstances of even the respectable classes did not admit the expense of educating their children; while many old colleges existed which might be rendered available for that purpose, and some persons were able to give instruction; *therefore*, it was resolved to establish the Delhi college out of funds partly derived from government, partly from an existing endowment, and partly from a fund levied in the city. The income

made sure to it, in recent returns, was 1,680*l.* per annum. It employed four Arabic instructors, five Persian, and one Sanscrit, and educated three hundred students, who received a monthly allowance: the attendance of scholars fluctuated according as their stipendiary grants were increased or diminished. Certain lands had been constituted an endowment applicable to the maintenance of schools and seminaries of learning at Agra. The annual rental yielded, was nearly 1,600*l.*; and till 1822, this revenue had been allowed to accumulate, when it amounted to 15,000*l.*; the interest of which, with the rent, gave 2,000*l.* yearly. The committee to whom this statement was submitted, recommended that this institution should be conducted on a more liberal footing than the existing government seminaries; that besides the languages, whatever was most useful in native literature should be taught, freed as much as possible from its lumber, and not confined to studies connected only with peculiar classes. The introduction of European science, and the English language, was not recommended: but Hindoo and Mohammedan law, government regulations, and arithmetic were added. 4,250*l.* were expended in building apartments, and 1,600*l.* yearly were spent in its support; seven principal teachers and five assistants were employed for Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, and arithmetic; and seventy-three stipendiary students; besides about one hundred and thirty who received no allowance. The Hooghly college has been

founded in the bequest of a Mohammedan, who lived in that town. The principal had accumulated in 1831, to the sum of 74,700*l.*; and the interest, 3,735*l.*, is to be annually devoted to the maintenance of a Mohammedan college. All these matters were subject to the superintendence of a "General Committee of Public Instruction" at Calcutta, formed by the Bengal government for promoting education and improvement of the morals of the natives of India. At their disposal, the 10,000*l.* annually appropriated by government, were placed. The opinions of the men who at first composed the committee deserve notice.

It was natural that when government regulations, affecting the education of the people, were to be adopted, the most experienced and literary of their servants should be chosen to superintend the proceedings. Men learned in the native languages, who had spent many years in the pursuit of such knowledge, and who had thereby acquired their importance and official distinction, were likely to value oriental rather than European studies, as suited to the people. Such persons have become fixed in their habits, and obsolete in their ideas. There is a sort of aristocracy in their literature; a "privileged class who are by birthright" or patronage "teachers and expounders of literature, religion, and law." It is therefore with them "a case of necessity, and almost all that a government could give, or the people accept through such a channel," when "a seminary is instituted for the

higher classes," in which oriental literature, Mohammedan and Hindoo, shall be taught. "The *most influential* class," with these old Indians, are synonymous with, or rather superior to "the most enlightened of the Hindoo population:" every other interest must be put in abeyance, must be made to defer to what would be reckoned "an acceptable boon by the *learned and brahminical caste*." And since the only way to propitiate them is to place within their reach "the cultivation of Sanscrit," "tuition in European science must be held neither amongst the sensible wants of the people, nor in the power of the government to bestow!" There is, as these obsolete linguists anticipate, "a prejudice against European learning" among their contemporaneous pundits, which is "not very near extinction;" any attempt, therefore, to present the produce of western intellect, so as "to enforce an acknowledgment of its superiority, could only create dissatisfaction." And because they had supposed, or perhaps heard rumours of this learned brahminical hostility, they concluded that "the actual state of public feeling remained an impediment to any general introduction of western literature and science." "The Committee has therefore continued (till 1835) to encourage the acquirements of the native literature of both Mohammedans and Hindoos in the Institutions," the Madressa, and the Sanscrit College of Benares, "which they found established for these purposes. They have also endeavoured to promote the activity of similar

establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanscrit college of Calcutta and the colleges of Agra and Delhi," &c. The duties assigned to, or assumed by, this committee, were sufficient to clothe them with the most despotic control : they superintended the various native colleges and seminaries established, supported, or assisted by the government of Bengal ; and received the reports of their periodical examinations, directing the course of study pursued at each ; they received and audited their monthly bills in most cases, and paid their several appropriations to them ; they received from government the sums payable to the various colleges and the general education fund, and disposed of surplus funds in account with the government agents, or in particular securities : to them were sent, and they decided upon, proposals for composing, translating, editing, and passing through the press, works likely to be useful to the colleges ; and they procured and furnished such books as were required. This committee is still the channel of all correspondence with government on the subject of native education ; and furnishes an annual report of the proceedings of the different colleges, drawn from the reported examinations ; as well as accounts of the printing and distribution of books, and the state of the funds. But it is now constituted of other elements.

A contrast with these views and proceedings is presented in the origin and prosperity of the Vidy-



alaya or Anglo-Indian college. This institution owes its foundation to the intelligence and public spirit of a few opulent native gentlemen, with the co-operation of certain English friends of western literature, who associated together in 1816, and subscribed a capital of 11,317*l.* to establish a seminary for the instruction of the sons of Hindoos in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences. It did not *originate* with government, or its committee. But through unpropitious circumstances it sunk into comparative inefficiency; its funds diminished, and its more sanguine friends apprehended premature decay. The native managers were inspired with confidence by the appointment of the committee of which we have spoken, who had been called into operation under the authority of a despatch from the Court of Directors, to attempt to introduce “improved methods and objects of study.” Assistance was granted, on condition that the secretary to the “Public Instruction Committee” should be appointed visitor of the college, to the amount of 360*l.* per annum—enough for house-rent—out of the Education Fund. Henceforward, the Institution sustained a direct dependence on government, and is commonly known as the Hindoo College. On it now nearly 3,000*l.* are yearly expended in teaching English literature and science, apart from religion, through the medium of the English language. In order to secure the continued attendance of the more promising pupils, government endowed a limited number of scholarships. This

is an expedient which succeeding years proved quite unnecessary: a growing popularity attends its progressive operations; a select library of books and some additional philosophical apparatus were sent from England; and it is still reckoned decidedly superior to every other institution. Its success appears to have shaken the constancy of some of the old Indians who idolized the Sanscrit: they say, so long as such a number, all *respectably* connected, "can be trained in useful knowledge and the English language, a great improvement may be confidently anticipated in the intellectual character of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta." They appear, moreover, to have felt the "want of adequate instruction in the higher branches; the present preceptors (at the time they reported) not being equal to conduct young men far beyond elementary knowledge;" they even acknowledge the defectiveness of the means for raising "the standard of native instruction, and imparting a knowledge of European science and literature; and the difficulty of attempting to do so by translations into the native languages. They therefore proposed that a "distinct English college should be established, with the sanction of government, for the admission of a certain number of the more advanced pupils from the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges, for gratuitous instruction in literature and science by means of the English language."

In the Hindoo college the number of scholars rose from 196, in January 1826, to 372 in the following

year, and 437 in 1828—of whom 100 received gratuitous education. Every succeeding year they have continued to increase. This “Instruction Committee” began to attach an English class to the older and oriental colleges. To the Madressa, a head-master, at a salary of 240*l.*, and his assistant, 120*l.*; to the Calcutta Sanscrit College, a head-master, 240*l.*, assistant, 70*l.*; to the Benares Sanscrit College, two masters, 200*l.*; to the Agra College, a head-master, 120*l.*, and a writer, 50*l.*; and to the Delhi College, a head-teacher, 240*l.*, an assistant, 170*l.*; monitors and *native* assistants, 60*l.* Such were the arrangements made prior to the movement which more recently took place under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck, to which I shall hereafter refer.

I have carried forward this rapid summary without turning aside to contemplate other proceedings of a not less important character, that I might not interrupt the continuous survey which it was expedient to exhibit. There were elements in operation in other quarters, which it would scarcely be presumptuous to conjecture, had an influence on the opinions or reasonings of men in office and power. During the period over which we have glanced, some missionary institutions were assuming a form, and acquiring a consolidation, which promised permanency, and extended usefulness. The first of these was the *Anglo-Chinese College*, at *Malacca*, founded by the generous liberality of *Dr. Morrison*, the first stone of which

was laid on the 10th November, 1818. Morrison and Milne were colleagues in this work: the money, influence, and general design owed to the former their parentage; but the development of principle and the detail of the operation came from Dr. Milne. One of their principal designs in this catholic enterprise was to open the literature of the western world to the pupils in the Malacca College. The English language was to be taught to every student, and thus an entrance was to be administered into the consecrated stores of Anglican christian theology; whilst British and European sciences were to shed their genial rays upon all who sought to know these sources of wisdom and truth. The prospectus of this institution was early and widely circulated among the literati and functionaries of Bengal. The Serampore College was first suggested in the year 1818, but the building was not begun till 1820. The bias of the venerable and indefatigable founders of this institution was towards *oriental* literature. I do not see any prominence given to European science, or to the English language, as a medium of instruction, or as a means of general information, in their *plan*; though it is well known they had a class for English in the college. They proposed to give a superior education to the children of christian natives, in the doctrines and precepts of the sacred Scriptures; in *Indian grammar*; in the *Sanscrit*, as the source of all the philological knowledge possessed by the Hindoos; in chronology, general history, astronomy, geo-

graphy, and chemistry. They specially desired to provide a body of native christian labourers, who, excelling in a correct grammatical knowledge of their own tongue, should possess a connected knowledge of the system of divine truth. They hoped that in a few years a body of learned native Christians would be formed of the highest class, as judicious linguists, in the *original* tongues, as well as their own, for completing or improving translations of the Scriptures. They cherished the prospect that hereby natives of weight would be induced to assist the diffusion of Christianity by their influence and support, by being allowed to enjoy the advantages of Serampore College. The professors of the college, it was expected, would naturally sympathize with the students whom they had trained. I would not misrepresent the designs of these eminent and devoted men; but I think they had a greater partiality for Sanscrit than for English literature, and I imagine it would not be difficult to account for this attachment. The Bishop's College, Calcutta, is more fitted for ecclesiastical purposes than general literature, and I should conclude is more designed for the reception of students of European extraction than for Hindoos. Native languages are taught, to qualify the missionary for his office, rather than as the language in which he is to receive instruction. On the bank of the river Hooghly, three miles below Calcutta, the foundation stone was laid on the 15th of December, 1820. Bishop Middleton was

the projector and founder, but 5,000*l.* each were contributed by the four societies—the ‘Propagation of the Gospel,’ the ‘Christian Knowledge,’ the ‘Church Missionary,’ and the ‘British and Foreign Bible Society.’ A “King’s Letter” solicited a collection in all the churches of England and Wales, and 45,000*l.* more were gathered. The three Church Missionary Societies have besides appropriated, one, 6,000*l.*, another, 1,000*l.* for several years, and the third, 1,000*l.* annually, for the regular maintenance of the students. It is placed under the immediate direction of “The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel;” but the statutes are so framed as to afford opportunity both to the government in India, and to the religious societies connected with the Church of England, of obtaining, under certain regulations, the benefits of the college for such students as they may place there. It has a college-council, composed of the three professors, one of whom is principal; the bishop of Calcutta is visitor. Four missionaries are attached to it, besides teachers of the native language.

The American missionaries arrived in Ceylon during the year 1816, and obtained permission to locate themselves in the district of Jaffna. They early devoted themselves to educational labours, and printed, in 1823, the prospectus of a college. Their operations had led the way to such a plan from their *boarding-school* establishments, which latterly assumed the name of the Missionary Seminary. They reasoned thus:—India has been subdued to

a foreign power, principally by *native* troops; their indolence and moral weakness having been superseded by early and exact training: so the extended provinces of Satan's empire may be made to furnish materials to aid in their own subjugation to Christ; but for this purpose, and to render them generally efficient, they require mental discipline as well as piety; a thorough christian education, both intellectual and moral, is necessary, since their own course of instruction forms in them no strength of character. Indeed it is necessary to enlist in the work their energies of body and mind, and their native feelings, so directed; since foreign labourers are few, and ill able to bear the heat of the climate, have so little knowledge of the customs, religion, and language, or ability to assimilate and sympathize with the habits and predilections of the people. Their principal object was to prepare native preachers, schoolmasters, and other assistants in the work of missions, which they apprehended would otherwise be very slow among the millions of the East. They wished to raise up and employ qualified translators and writers, able to transfer the treasures of European literature and science into the native languages, as well as to enrich them from the stores of christian devotion in English. True science they accounted an efficient means of exploding false philosophy and superstition: but the whole fabric of idolatry, the absurd systems of Hindoo geography and astronomy, and their stupid fictions in natural science, rest upon

one foundation, which demonstration and experiment could easily overthrow; the extension of true science would, therefore, undermine the fortress of error and delusion, and give scope for erecting the temple of God on its ruins. The American missionaries, with these views, proposed the establishment, on a liberal scale, of a christian institution, for the instruction of Tamil and other youth in the literature of Ceylon, and also in the English language and the elements of European science, which was to have been called the Jaffna College. They had one hundred lads at five stations of their mission; many of whom were so advanced in their studies as to require tuition of a higher character, suitable apparatus, and the more special application of a competent teacher. Funds were provided in America; devoted men, though citizens of another nation, were eager to occupy the sphere of usefulness, and become the means of elevating the principles and improving the character of British subjects, and a field was already white for the harvest. But national jealousy interposed; the local government acted upon the ignorant prejudices of authorities at home, and checked the expansive benevolence of American Christians. The plan of the college was published, but not permitted to be developed. The school has gradually increased, and is denied the more highly sounding title of a *college*; and the *éclat* of professorships is withheld from its teachers; while the fuller and more efficient application of the prin-



ciples and resources which it would have called into action, has been prevented; but experience in the Mission Seminary has only confirmed the theory propounded for a Jaffna College. I am happy to have learned that Sir R. Wilmot Horton had so clear a discrimination of character and such generosity of disposition, as to appreciate and advocate the merits of these philanthropists. The secretary for the colonies, some fourteen years ago, had enjoined that no future additions should be made to their mission; and, after this injunction was eleven years in force, Sir R. W. Horton obtained its removal. Can we wonder that the government of China and Japan should exclude from their borders christian missionaries? The printed plan of the college was not without its uses: it was well written and forcibly reasoned, and commended its principles to the judgment of many friends of education in India: seed was sown, by means of its circulation, which ultimately germinated, and grew to fruitful trees. The principles which they advocated will yet fill the continent of India.

In Madras there has always been a greater disposition in the natives to acquire and use the English language, than I think has existed in Bengal. There has, too, been less pretension in the Madras civilians, or other public men, to oriental learning and deep reading in the dead languages of Asia, than among the literati of the eastern presidency. There has been less manifested of an *esprit de corps*

with the Sanscrit brahmins, and less confidence in native languages as depositories of wisdom and truth. Beschi and Fabricius, Du Bois and Rottler, were erudite scholars in the spoken, rather than in the obsolete tongues of India. Sanscrit was not passionately studied at Madras, as far as I knew, among our most distinguished linguists. The natives in all ranks coveted earnestly a fluency in the English tongue; and the value of English, as a medium, was more readily appreciated in such circumstances. The origin and apparatus of the college at Cottym, has already been sketched: it takes rank in chronological order prior to the foundation of the Anglo-Chinese College, having been founded in 1815. The first and efficient patron who exerted himself to secure its stability and resources, was Colonel Munro, who persuaded a Hindoo princess, the Rannee of Travancore, to grant 2,000*l.* and a piece of land for its endowment. The institution was intended only to benefit *Indo-Syrian youths*, candidates for ecclesiastical offices in the provincial church, which had so long existed in Travancore; we might, therefore, class it only as a *secondary* seminary. Yet so important was the English language, in Colonel Munro's opinion, for their progress and improvement in study, that one of the special advantages provided in the Cottym College, was an English teacher; and it was marked out as a branch of education which aspiring and intelligent youths would appreciate and embrace. Some circumstances, the development of

character or of principles, have proved unfavourable to the efficiency of this college. Gentlemen appointed to high office, and who joined it with lofty expectations, have retired with seeming disappointment. Two English gentlemen are, however, still in "charge of the college," and a course of proceeding, different from that previously pursued in the mission, has been adopted by the corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society, with the sanction of their president, the bishop, at Madras. I hope this change will leave the Syrians, as much as possible, and as far as Scripture requires, to the unfettered exercise of their judgment and the liberty of conscience; while Europeans are assiduous in opening to them the sources of European literature, and in providing such instruction as will expand, enlighten, and elevate the minds of the Syrians.

Bangalore was occupied as a mission station for the Mysore country, in the year 1820, by the agents of the London Missionary Society. After various experiments, and an examination of conflicting opinions, by one of the earliest missionaries, he and two others were convinced that a seminary, on an enlarged scale, whose operations should embrace the people who spoke the Canarese, the Tamil, the Teloo-goo, and Hindostanee languages, might be established with advantage and efficiency in this eastern Montpelier, which might scatter its blessings and strew its rewards from Cape Comorin to Delhi, from the Malabar to the Coromandel coasts. The

senior agent had soon after his arrival commenced a course of lectures on theology, delivered to natives. General schools were at first undertaken, but speedily superseded by one institution for more select pupils; which should be conducted, as well as superintended, by combined and concentrated effort. A boarding-school for youths, and an academy for adults, rose simultaneously as the natural product of the plans adopted. Additions were gradually made to the subjects of study; while the number of pupils increased, in the school, between twenty and thirty, and in the academy twelve—young persons of promising ability, and with a character for consistency and application. English and Sanscrit, besides the vernacular tongues of the surrounding countries, were taught by competent instructors. Some of the pupils received regular instruction in the original languages of sacred Scripture, and made creditable progress. The patronage of friends and the steady progress of the operations and plan, induced the missionaries to contemplate further enlargement, and a more comprehensive designation for their institution. They drew up a development of their principles, and a detail of their projected additions under the title, “A Plan of a College,” which it was proposed should be called “The Mysore Mission College.” They specified the professorships which they deemed immediately requisite, to be one each, for languages and historiography, for moral philosophy, for mathematics and natural philosophy, and for sacred theology :—

they contemplated, also, without delay, a medical professorship. From Madras to Bombay, the plan received the warmest approbation of many friends, and the assurances of cordial support. But circumstances entirely of a personal nature, into which we cannot here enter, prevented the consummation of the plan. The essay of the projectors was, however, published in Bangalore, in 1826, having been printed at the American press, Bombay. Copies were forwarded to the authorities and other gentlemen interested in the question of education. In the two western presidencies several hundreds were circulated. Gentlemen who have since occupied the highest offices, second only to the governor-general in Bengal, were more than generally acquainted with the principles of the measure, and were able to judge of their probable adaptation to the state of our Indian fellow-subjects. I mention this not only because it may be gratifying to the feelings of some whom I highly esteem, but because I think, that though the scheme was rendered abortive at the particular station, the efforts of the gentlemen may not have been lost in the general cause of education, or be without influence in more recent movements for the intellectual and moral amelioration of the people of Hindostan. The seed sown may not have been as water spilt upon the rock. The principles, then, whether wisely or prematurely advocated, and for the first time definitely promulgated, and by argument and illustration elucidated, applied, and made practical, have germinated, and

are bearing fruit on the highest places of the field. The government abroad, and literary authorities at home, have embraced and enforced the wisdom and utility of the same sentiments. The writers of the plan of "The Mysore Mission College" distinctly avowed their adoption of English, and showed their reasons of preference for it as a medium of instruction to Hindoo youth of advanced classes and promising attainments. I quote their opinions, because they seem to me important.

They affirmed that Sanscrit and all the cognate dialects did not contain any works which might be generally employed to enlarge the mind, or could be characterised by general utility, while the labours and talents of missionaries would never "be sufficient to translate the works of other men into these languages, or compose works in them to meet the deficiency. A department in the seminary is thus rendered necessary for the study of that language which of all others is best supplied with works of wise and good men, and in which are writings most calculated to advance the interest of general learning and moral improvement. As it would be folly for Europeans to attempt imparting a knowledge to Hindoos of their own language, when natives much more qualified could be found; and as the natural tendency of every thing which has been acquired, except religion, is to deteriorate when it passes from one to another; so a knowledge of the pronunciation and power of the English language would deteriorate in the hands of one who had not acquired

it as a first element of his nature. Our plan would be liable to serious objections did we not provide against this result ; we therefore consider that it is necessary an English teacher of the English language should always be retained in the institution.

“ This arrangement is doubly enforced by the principle we have adopted, which requires that the English language shall be the ultimate medium of all public instructions embraced by the system, and which, so far as our experience goes, has been proved the most efficient for the successful issue of our efforts ; nor do we imagine the justness of our views stands upon mere individual practice. There is an important truth which should not be overlooked in the plan of education, viz. ‘ language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known.’ ‘ Every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning,’ and when this is the case, as in India, the language of some nation which has been most industrious after wisdom, ought to form a principal branch of study in such an institution. Without the charge of predilection for our own country, we think we are justified in asserting that Britain stands unrivalled by any ancient or modern nation in the study of universal knowledge, and that through the English language India will receive from her conquerors and legislators an intellectual treasure far more valuable than all she has in her power to give in exchange.

“ As the natives in India appear never to have

risen above a semi-barbarous state, their languages are at present better calculated for popular subjects than for learned discussions. An elevation of mind will speedily be produced by the spread of knowledge. General explanations on subjects of inquiry will soon prove unsatisfactory. Vague terms will awaken doubts and occasion much misunderstanding and error. If teachers are only furnished with indefinite symbols, where their language from its barrenness is unable to give better; if the knowledge they obtain be little more than what can be derived from translations already made, or which may be yet made by foreigners, we feel persuaded that the check to intellectual and moral improvement will be incalculable. We must look to the authorized public teachers for the formation of correct habits of thinking, and it is therefore necessary that the knowledge they receive should be through a medium more definite and correct than their own tongue is, or can be, for a considerable period. With strict propriety we may assert that the natives of India are unable, with precision, to abstract or generalize on moral subjects, if they know only their own language. The philosophy of mind and theology are subjects unknown to them, except by the translations of foreigners into their dialects. To naturalize these important sciences, natives themselves must be able to secure them an introduction in a native costume. The European, as it regards correct and extensive knowledge in literature and philosophy, is soon convinced of his great supe-



riority over the Asiatic, who is comparatively well-informed, but whose knowledge is confined entirely to those branches which have been cultivated by his more learned countrymen. If, from a desire to benefit his fellow-immortals, the western philanthropist seeks to impart his rich stores, through the language of the people, which we shall suppose him to have acquired, two great difficulties meet him in the very vestibule ;—he is unable to discover terms properly to convey his meaning in his newly-acquired language, and he cannot use to the best advantage this imperfect medium. He is not familiar with the shades of meaning which phrases assume :—shades, which, more than the proper meaning of separate words, give life and distinctness to discussion, and which are nicely discriminated by their intuitive association, acquired from early habits and conversation, uninterruptedly free among themselves, and accessible only to few, if indeed to any, besides natives. The translations made by foreigners will, to a certain degree, receive a tinge from that difficulty and restraint which a language but partially known and a paucity of proper words will impose.

“Translations made by a native who understands the English tongue, will possess both an ease and vigour which will rarely, if ever, be found in that of foreigners ; because his mind has received an impetus in the acquisition of the language, and its powers are expanded by the great increase of useful knowledge. His free conversation with his countrymen not only discovers his superior attainments,

but also gives him an opportunity of hearing the variety of their remarks clothed in their own language, and observing how their mistakes may be rectified. He sits down to write full of hopes that he is about to bestow a valuable treasure upon his countrymen and friends; while the translations to be made are of the works which have most interested his own mind when deriving solid profit from their perusal.

“ These remarks are applicable to speaking in the language; and surely the habits of thinking are likely to bear proportion with the correct medium through which we receive our knowledge. A knowledge of the English tongue and its authors, therefore, appears to hold a place of the first importance in a plan for the intellectual and moral elevation of the Hindoos. The English language will not only prove a more correct medium of giving public instruction to the students, but it will facilitate their progress in useful knowledge. All the Indian languages have been for so many ages the vehicle of every thing in their superstition which is morally debasing or corrupting to the mind, and so much is the grossly impure structure of heathenism wrought into the native languages, that the bare study of them often proves injurious to the mind of a European. If, therefore, they are still adopted to convey moral truths to the mind of the student, his progress in that important branch of knowledge must be greatly retarded. Early associations in the use of terms will always be

more powerfully perceived by the man of application than by such as are accustomed to think more loosely, to receive rather than impart knowledge.

“ When nations have arisen from a state of gross ignorance and barbarism to that of civilization and learning, it generally has been the effect of imitative energies. The leading characters in such a mighty reform have always considered the acquisition of the language of some highly-polished and well-informed people the first step of mental and national elevation.

“ Those who are appointed, in the providence of God, to become the harbingers of great moral changes among a people, are bound to consider well what is most likely to impede the progress of such transitions, that they may carefully avoid hinderances, and adopt those measures which are likely to ensure speedy success. A language, in which knowledge of every kind that is useful to man has been conveyed for ages, is best calculated to supply a nomenclature to, and enrich such as are deficient and poverty-stricken, to become a standard by which the people, advancing from a state of wretched ignorance, may settle disputes, remove many difficulties, and prescribe boundaries to their own indefinite languages. The English appears, in these respects, equally as important, if not more so, to the moral improvement of India, as the Latin was to Europe at the Reformation. Students who are preparing for the ministry of the gospel are characters of great importance in christian lands,

but of much more importance in heathen countries. The acquisition of the English language by them may be considered one golden link in the chain of operations now actively carried forward for the rapid subjection of the nations to the yoke of Christ. Whilst the memory of the student is improved by mastering the English, his views are enlarged, and all his mental powers are invigorated, and the key of a valuable treasury, stored with extensive, useful, and necessary knowledge, is put into his possession. If, by diligent application, he is able to adorn his mind with valuable intellectual furniture, and should the truth in its saving power sway his heart, may we not reasonably anticipate that it shall yet be found he has been prepared of God to become an enlightener, a moral instructor of his countrymen—a light to shine in a dark place?

“The advantages conferred on the institution itself, by adopting the English as the ultimate medium, are great. All the energies and knowledge of the European professors will be concentrated to form the character of the Teloogoo, the Canarese, the Hindostanee, and Tamil pupil. The different departments allotted to each professor are still confined to the improvement of the same character. Thus all the solid advantages of the college are secured to every student, who will have the benefit of receiving his education from all who are officially engaged in the institution. The death or removal of European professors, after it has been

established for a short time, will not seriously interrupt the progress of those branches taught by them, because natives will grow up and be able, *pro tempore*, if not altogether, to supply their place, and European successors, when they arrive, will be able immediately to commence the engagements of the class."

At Madras a "School-Book Society" had continued in operation, pursuing the same object with a similar society at Calcutta. A few of the more accomplished linguists at the presidency were members and coadjutors. Translators and examiners in government departments undertook the direction or superintendence of some of its special objects, and several of the college moonshees were employed in the subordinate proceedings. The design was not merely to prepare or select elementary works for Hindoo instruction, but also to infuse into the native languages the knowledge and scientific resources deposited in European literature. Compendious catechisms on geography, astronomy, grammar, &c. were in demand, and Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, and other popular digests, were translated into Tamil, to supply the means of instruction to the more inquisitive Hindoos. But I well remember the difficulties and slow progress of such works. The Europeans, ostensibly employed on these specific objects, were of course much more engaged in their official departments as servants of the government, so that they were sometimes glad to assign their translations to any

mere literary, and even incompetent, hack among the unemployed moonshees. Men were thus entrusted with such translations who most imperfectly knew the English language, and had no enlightened acquaintance or sympathy with the sciences, no understanding of their principles or their technicology, and were therefore unable to transfer from one language to another the meaning of their authors. I have seen one of these inferior agents of the "Madras School-Book Society" passing from one European acquaintance to another, soliciting explanations, and trying to decipher the meaning of passages of Joyce's Dialogues, book in hand, and the rough manuscript of his translation as its companion, while the ostensible translator, and the gentleman who seemed responsible, and in whom the society reposed their confidence, might be a judge in the Sudder Adawlut, or secretary to the college council. The society was, therefore, not so efficient as could have been desired, and the conviction was forcibly conveyed, that it was necessary to impart extensively, among the Hindoos, a correct knowledge of the English language, as well as of European sciences. It might, indeed, excite inquiry why so few of the Madras natives possessed a grammatical acquaintance with the English, and a fluency in its speech, since so general an ambition existed among them to acquire it, and so many schools, under European missionaries, had been maintained for the last hundred years. It may, however, be replied, that

the thirst for English among the natives of Madras has been excited chiefly from the desire to be qualified for some office that would secure gain, or at least employment; and the schools supported by the “Society for promoting Christian Knowledge” were conducted, for more than seventy years, under the direction of German or Danish missionaries, to whom the English was a foreign and a learned language, and who, therefore, had no facility in imparting the knowledge of it. A change, however, was effected under the junior societies. The London Missionary Society’s agents established a school for English, which was attended principally by brahminical youth. A central school for the instruction of teachers was also commenced in 1823, under the most favourable auspices. Among the branches of knowledge embraced by its projectors, it was proposed that the pupils “be instructed in the English language; in the elements of geography and astronomy; also in the outlines of general history; the principles of chemistry; and that they be made acquainted with the plan of education adopted by ‘the British and Foreign School Society.’”

Principles were developed, and experience was gained; but changes occurred among the conductors, and the central school ceased its operations. “The School-Book Society” were led to contemplate more vigorous exertions for gradually removing the impediments which obstructed the free literary intercourse between Europeans and

the natives of India. In an Appendix to one of their Reports they urgently recommended a system of instruction in English as the means of effecting a salutary change on the intelligence, moral character, and liberality of the Hindoos. "The English language," they remarked, "has become so extensively useful in India, that it is considered as indispensably necessary for the governed as the Indian languages are to the governors. It not only enables them to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the various enlightened European nations, of which the people of India have, at present, but very faint ideas, but what is more important, it opens to them the inexhaustible treasures of the literature and science of Europe, so well calculated to enlighten the understanding." At this time the government of Madras presented to this society a donation of 3,000 rupees (300*l.*) It was during the effective and clear-sighted administration of Sir Thomas Monro that this proof of sympathy and cooperation was afforded to the "School-Book Society;" and we may, not hastily, conclude, that not only did the governor know, but also strongly approved, of the mode recommended for elevating the native character by the managers of that institution.

The inhabitants of Bombay differ in character and pursuits *toto cælo* from the native citizens of Madras. They have much more commercial enterprise, far more intercourse with Europeans, their minds are in a much higher measure liberalized and



enlightened, and their relish for European luxuries, refinement, and knowledge, exceeds in an eminent degree any similar taste among the people at Madras. A native Education Society was founded at Bombay in 1815, composed of natives and Europeans in nearly equal proportions. Its measures have, through successive years, continued to be distinguished by energy and liberality : the funds contributed, in some years, being as much as seven or eight thousand pounds. During the year 1826, their chief school at Bombay contained 595 boarders, of whom 228 were girls ; while its day-scholars were 740, of whom 472 were natives. Their operations were extended to other towns and districts in the presidency. They sent forth from their institution in 1829, 44 pupils, of whom 32 were Mahrattas, 5 Guzerattees, and 7 Europeans, to enter upon literary occupations, for which they had been qualified. In 1830, their committee reported 25 ready to assume the functions of schoolmasters in the provinces of the Deckan, the Concans, and Guzerat ; of these, 14 were Guzerattees and 11 Mahrattas. Their stations for employment were selected by the society, in which the government employed them. They possessed an accurate knowledge of their own language, and had made such progress in the higher branches of the mathematics as to be able to rank as teachers of them. In the year 1831, 250 boys had been conducted in this seminary, through a course of study in the English language, and 50 had left it

with what was deemed a competent knowledge of it, besides an acquaintance with geography, mathematics, and geometry. The scholars in the Mahratta branch amounted to 954, and in the Guzerattee to 427; and the number of the society's general schools was 56, containing each nearly 60 boys; or a total of scholars between three and four thousand. The boys who made the greatest progress in the English schools, it was observed, were the Hindoos, chiefly through their perseverance and regularity. Mohammedan boys seldom entered the institution as pupils. More recently, the pupils in the English language at this seminary have been limited in number to 100. An Engineer college has been founded at Bombay, where, soon after its formation, 86 students were educated and maintained. The government contemplated giving increased facilities for diffusing the English language, and aided the missionaries at the presidency in establishing an English seminary for the natives. At Poona, a Hindoo college was also established for extending the knowledge of the English language, European sciences, and other branches of native instruction. The government of this presidency were forward to promote plans of education: they had issued in 1828, inquiries to their provincial officers, respecting the *number of scholars in each school, the number of schools, the mode of conducting education, and the relish evinced by native youth for printed literature*, and measures consequent on such informa-

tion had been so promptly taken, that Sir Lionel Smith, who was then commander-in-chief, affirmed in 1831, " Education is in such extensive progress, that I hardly think it could be more extended. Education is also going on in the Deckan : the encouragement given by the government consists in a very liberal establishment, under the direction of an officer of very great attainments in the native languages." The judges of the Fouzdar Adawlut (the supreme criminal) court recommended what they thought the most likely means to promote and improve the education of the natives : " a gradual extension of schools on an improved plan, either by affording the patronage of government to native schoolmasters, on condition of their improving their system ; or by the establishment of new schools in populous places, at the expense of government ; and the gratuitous distribution of useful books, such as books of arithmetic, short histories, moral tales, distinct from their own false legends ; natural history, and some short voyages and travels ; occasional and well-timed public examinations, accompanied by liberal rewards for proficiency to the scholars : which coming from the government, would prove its interest in the proceeding, and its disposition to encourage such beneficial measures." But the anxiety of the Hindoos to obtain a knowledge of the English language, has far exceeded official arrangements. There are private schools at Bombay, in which hundreds of native youths are studying the language

of England at their own expense ; in which they have made respectable proficiency.

The question of " Education and the English " was acquiring prominence, and exciting attention in the several provinces of India, when the Rev. Alexander Duff, a missionary from the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, arrived in Calcutta. The opening of his mission, about 1828, was marked by a most vigorous and well-directed effort to secure the attention of the natives, and communicate to them an enlightened and liberal education. His indomitable perseverance and steadiness of purpose, his ardent zeal, his generous and benevolent ambition, and fervid eloquence, which have recently shone forth in Dr. Duff's visit to the land of his fathers, rendered him a fitting champion for the cause of English education among the Hindoos, and insured him a marked progress in the esteem of his pupils, and a conspicuous place among the advocates for the utility and expediency of employing the English language as the medium for introducing general knowledge and general science among the people of Hindostan. His views are the more entitled to consideration, as he may now be regarded in the character of representative of the church of Scotland mission, and the committee of their general assembly, with which he cooperates. He is the organ of many enlightened and judicious men. He answers the question, *What is education in its highest and noblest sense ?* by declaring that it

denotes *the improvement of the mind, in all its capacities, intellectual, moral, and religious*. But though it were merely a question of *intellect*, this can only, he conceives, be cultivated by the inculcation of truth. Well, then, he inquires, will oriental literature bear the test and supply this aliment? With some scruple he rejects the satire of Ferdusi, as applied to the vast ocean of eastern lore, but which was first spoken in allusion to imperial splendour: “the magnificent court of Ghizni is a sea, but a sea without a bottom, and without a shore: I have fished in it long, but have not found any pearls;” yet with little hesitation he expresses his opinion, that “in spite of occasional truths, beauties, and excellences, oriental literature is throughout impregnated with a great deal more of what is false in principle, erroneous in fact, and, by consequence, injurious in moral tendency.” He undertakes to demonstrate, that in the choicest works of Hindoo literature are taught ‘things frivolous and useless; false chronology and history; false geography and astronomy; false civil and criminal law; false logic and metaphysics; and false morals and religion. That the foulest blemishes pervade the entire mass, or rather constitute the main part of its ingredients, while real or supposed excellences may be characterised as isolated, thinly strewn over the vast surface, like rare islets of verdure scattered over the great African desert; and that the universal literature of India cannot produce a single volume that is not studded with

error, far less a series of volumes that would furnish any thing bearing the most distant resemblance to a complete range of accurate information in any conceivable department of useful knowledge.' The analogical reason drawn by some from the use of the Greek and Roman classics in European schools for the study of Indian classics, he thus exposes.—In Britain, the Greek and Roman classics form but a fraction of a collegiate course ; and their injurious impressions may be (he says are more than ?) neutralized by another and a higher species of teaching ; and while both teacher and taught know and acknowledge that the religion of Saturn and Jupiter is false—a dead and obsolete mythology, they regard its doctrines, precepts, and ritual, as possessing no divine authority. Whereas in the Sanscrit and Mohammedan colleges nothing, except the niceties and subtilities, the extravagant legends, and worse than fantastical speculations of the Indian classics, has been taught ; while there is no other principle in operation, in the school or at home, to neutralize the evil or counteract the pernicious influences of what is false. The religion of Brahma is still a living religion, fraught with malignant energy, and operating with undisputed sway on the understanding and the conscience of millions : while its *classical* repositories are studied, not as mere *literary* productions, but as *divine* scriptures : works that either issued directly from the mouth of Brahma, at the time of creation, or were written subsequently under his immediate

inspiration. Every thing contained in them is regarded as sacred truth, every thing enjoined in them as sacred law, having the signature and stamp of divinity; while they have been taught and expounded in government institutions to heathen youth by brahmin priests, whose duty, profession, and interest have been, to maintain their authority as imperative and supreme in science, law, morals, and religion.

He sets aside the vernacular languages as utterly incapable of representing European ideas; they have no words wherewith to express them. The selection, therefore, must be made, either of the Sanscrit or Arabic on one side, or of the English on the other. The two former are no more living or spoken languages in India, than Greek and Latin are now in Great Britain; but are dead and unknown to the vast majority of Hindoos, as much as any foreign tongue that can be named. The choice, therefore, is not between two indigenous, living and spoken languages, and a foreign tongue, but between two unknown, eastern languages, destitute of a cultivated and enlightened literature, and a western language, unknown, but spoken by all in authority, and enriched by stores of wisdom and truth. The time and labour of a native of India demanded for mastering the Sanscrit, will be prodigiously greater than are required for acquiring its western competitor. "The Sanscrit language," said the late rajah, Rammohun Roy, "is so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition;" but the

tenth part of such a period will suffice for an intelligent native youth to overcome every obstacle to a fluent and facile use of the English tongue. Let the time and labour required for each be equal, which of the two will form the most valuable instrument for communicating the knowledge possessed by Europeans? Which will best answer the purpose of education? When the difficulties of Sanscrit philology have been surmounted, what knowledge will it convey to the student?—only a few scraps and fragments of remote antiquity—here and there a withered or fading leaf which appear on drooping and sickly plants, exotics in a foreign soil. Let him expend a fraction of the same toil in acquiring English, and he is at once presented with the key of all knowledge—all the really useful knowledge which the world contains: he is admitted to the storehouse of a literature which supplies a complete course of sound information, unmixed with error in every branch of inquiry, literary, scientific, and theological. The continuance of English, then, as the medium of literature and science, to the select youth of India, is evidently desirable, until the spoken, living dialects of India become ripened by the copious infusion of expressive terms for the formation of a new and improved national literature. *Things*, not *words*; knowledge, not mere speech; must be taught in order to insure a decided change in the notions and feelings of the people: a *smattering* of English throughout India is to do little good,—a know-



ledge of it sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life (such as copying letters and keeping accounts) is quite compatible with gross ignorance and inveterate superstition,—such superficial acquirements diffused through the mass, can do little good; if instruction be attenuated to “a thin unsubstantial vapour, that it may be spread over the largest possible surface,” it will be only a flimsy, though delusive pretext. But the object of the advocates of the English medium is everywhere to encourage the pursuit of it; and in central stations, of great concourse, to condense it in a solid, permanent form, in bodies favourably circumstanced for its preservation, like the Anglo-Hindoo college at Calcutta, in which it is sought to impart “an English education of a high description.” The object of such patrons of occidental literature among our eastern fellow-subjects is expressed by Bacon, in his quaint comparison of learning and water:—“The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects; the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven or the springs of the earth, does scatter and lose itself in the ground, except it be collected into some receptacle; so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish into oblivion if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed as universities, col-

leges, and schools for the receipt and comforting of the same."

That the grand effect of such a plan of education, fairly and honestly administered, will be the demolition of the superstitions and idolatry of India, can be substantiated by indisputable facts. When young men have completed a course of "high English education," they discover that the truths of our history, chronology, and science, generally come into constant and fatal collision with the opposing errors in their own theories. No system can long resist palpable truth in the minds of men. The shasters, therefore, when their abounding errors are demonstrated, are stripped of their divine authority, and the mythology, which is upheld solely on the credit of these sacred books, sinks into annihilation. A few statements, illustrative of the practical truth of the views just advanced, follow, as the testimony of native Hindoos, the most competent witnesses in matters of fact on such a question:—"I sent my son to the Hindoo college to study English; and when he had risen to the fourth class, I thought he had made some progress in English knowledge; I therefore forbade his going to the college (any longer), for I have heard that the students in the higher classes of the college become *nastiks*" (sceptics in Hindooism). This communication appeared in a Bengal native newspaper. But the father had been too late in his preventive policy,—the son was then a candidate for Christian baptism. The

editor of the "Enquirer," another native paper in Bengal,—who was once a brahmin, is now a Christian, and received his English education at the Hindoo college,—has put on record his testimony in the clearest terms. "The Hindoo college, under the patronage of government, has, as indeed it *must* have, destroyed many a native's belief in Hindooism. How could a boy continue to worship the sun, when he understood that this luminary was not a divinity (devatah), but a mass of inanimate matter? How could he believe in the injunctions of such shasters as taught him lessons contrary to the principles inculcated by his lecturer in natural philosophy? The consequence was, that Hindooism was battered down. No missionary ever taught *us*, for instance, to forsake the religion of our fathers. It was government that did us this service," (through the efficient operation of the educational system). Another newspaper, edited also by a native, the "Reformer," the organ of a large and educated class of Hindoos, contrasts, according to the views of his party, the fruits of ordinary missionary operations with those realized by the Hindoo college, in the following strain:—"Has it (the college) not been the fountain of a new race of men amongst us? From that institution, as from the rock from whence the mighty Ganges takes its rise, a nation is flowing in upon this desert country to replenish its withered fields with the living waters of knowledge. Have all the efforts of the missionaries given a tithe of that shock to

the superstitions of the people which has been given by the Hindoo college ? This at once shows that the means they pursue to overturn the ancient reign of idolatry is not calculated to insure success, and ought to be abandoned for another which promises better success." I shall farther recite a short paragraph from Dr. Duff. "Like the laws which silently, but with resistless power, regulate the movements of the material universe, these educational operations, which are of the nature and force of moral laws, will proceed onwards till they terminate in effecting a universal change in the national mind of India. The sluices of a superior and quickening knowledge have already been thrown open ; and who shall dare to shut them up ? The streams of enlivening information have begun to flow in upon the dry and parched land, and who will venture to arrest their progress ? As well might we ask with the poet—

‘ Shall burning Etna, if a sage requires,  
Forget her thunders, and recall her fires ?  
When the loose mountain trembles from on high,  
Shall gravitation cease while you go by ? ’ ”

I have not heard of any movement among the admirers of Lord William Bentinck, to raise for him a monumental pillar at Calcutta, or in Westminster Abbey ; or of any project by which it might be attempted to perpetuate the memory of his wisdom and virtue. I do not always believe the eulogies of *cold* smooth-faced marble ; neither

do I account every note of the clarion trumpet of fame as melodious, or true to nature, however musical or elaborate. It is not always for good and great men that their contemporaries erect mausoleums, or consecrate shrines; yet “the good which men do, lives after them,”—*they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.* I doubt not it will be so with “HONEST *William Bentinck*,” and therefore I ask no false marble, or piled heaps of chiseled stone, to adorn his memory. He has done more, ten thousand times, for mankind, than the hero of the Nile or the conqueror of Waterloo. I fear I dishonour the sacred dust of the man whom I so admire, by the comparison:—the lustrations of the one are immortal,—the echoes of the others are carried on the breath of popular applause. Garments rolled in blood, and banners, stained and ensanguined, waving on the gory field, will be the shrouds of a Nelson and a Wellington; but Madras and Sicily, Naples and Bengal, will bring peaceful trophies around the bier of this “noble Bentinck.” Widows in thousands saved from the burning pile, and spared to educate and bless their orphan offspring, will pour the generous tears of a pure and hallowed gratitude upon the undecayed and ever-green laurels which shall adorn his memory. Not by selfish ambition, but by a benevolent and philanthropic wisdom, he seized immortality by the “fore-lock,”—he placed himself between the wings of the olive-bearing dove; or, perchance, rather of that angel which

was seen to “fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on all the earth, and to every nation and kindred and tongue and people.” Where do we find missionary operations conducted on evangelical principles, except where the English language is known by the preacher, and the knowledge of it desired by the people to whom the herald of peace has been sent? But Lord William Bentinck has identified his name, his influence, his policy as a statesman, with the extension of the English language. Well do I remember the sinister and sarcastic rumours circulated at the time of his departure for India, concerning a pious relative, who, it was surmised, was to accompany his lordship in his official capacity. Report would have it, that this gentleman, or his lady, had provided a large assortment of religious tracts to convert the natives of India—that boxes had been filled with these *dangerous nostrums*; and therefore influence was used by the Leadenhall sovereigns to prevent the meditated crusade. Perhaps these boxes had, like Pandora’s, been opened, and exposed to the winds. But one sweet and potent balsam remained to cheer and bless, to illumine and refine—Lord William Bentinck carried out the determination to rule the millions of India for their moral and political advantages, and the authority to employ what means he considered conducive to the ends of such a government. He fixed upon the ENGLISH LANGUAGE, and set it in its own place among the elements of

Hindoo regeneration. He was not rash and fickle, but deliberate and determined. He matured his measure, and established it.

To promulgate the following document, was one of the last public acts of Lord William Bentinck's administration in Bengal.

“FORT-WILLIAM,

“*General Consultation, 7th March, 1835.*

“The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, (the Government Committee of Public Instruction) dated the 21st and 22d January last, and the papers referred to in them.

“1st. His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education, would be best employed on English education alone.

“2d. But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council, to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in Council directs, that all the existing professors and students at all the Institutions, under the superintendence of the Committee, shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly

objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effects of such a system can be, to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that, when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

“3d. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; his Lordship in Council directs, that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

“4th. His Lordship in Council directs, that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of ENGLISH LITERATURE, AND SCIENCE, *through the medium of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE*; and his Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed)

“H. T. PRINSEP,

*“Secretary to Government.”*



To show at what rate the committee to which this letter was addressed had been inclined to patronize oriental literature, it is stated, they applied, during ten years, 20,000*l.* for printing or purchasing Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian works ; they voted 6,500*l.* for the same object, which yet remain to be appropriated ; and had resolved to print, in his original, Avicenna's most celebrated works. — This was an Arabian writer of the eleventh century, styled the prince of Arabian philosophers and physicians, by his admiring contemporaries : but who was in fact a licentious, intemperate, though precocious scholar, whose profound study of philosophy had not taught him good morals, or his speculations in medicine, the art of preserving his own health from the effects of intemperance. To publish the works of this obsolete and empirical philosopher, the committee had resolved to devote some two thousand pounds, when Lord W. Bentinck interrupted their dreams and extravagance. The committee had been modified in character, by an infusion of new blood in 1834, when the change enacted by parliament passed upon the Indian government : but there still remained so much of the old nature in its constitution, that modern principles of education could only count upon an equal moiety ; while the elder seers tenaciously adhered to their Sanscrit veneration. Parties so nearly balanced, stood parallel ; similar to a recent parliamentary division relating to education at home. Lord

W. Bentinck destroyed the equilibrium ; he cast his weight into the scale for reform, and made it kick the beam. The contest had formerly seemed so undecided, that the seniors hoped the value of the doubt would be conceded to them—that vested prerogatives, and use-and-wont would preponderate in favour of their opinion. When therefore the order in council was issued, consternation filled their minds ; and the sides of their oriental Parnassus shook with convulsive alarm, as if *Jupiter-tonans* would confound the snowy Himalayas in his rage. From the banks of the Ganges to the halls of Oxford, and from the pagodas of Benares to the colleges of Germany, one loud, bitter, and mournful wail was heard for the precious relics of Hindoo antiquity, the unfathomable mysteries of Sanscrit philology, the untold and undiscovered riches of post-diluvian science and theology. An avatar of Jones, Colebrooke, Halhed, and Wilkins, might almost have been prognosticated, or a metempsychosis of some beydanti sages, so as to give us a conference between the living and the dead on this crisis of oriental literature. A conclave of the Hindoo immortal and famous Nine, Loomus, Makiendee, Byass, Ashootaman, Bul, Hunwent, Bibeecken, Kirpacharij, and Purrisram, and of all the Gooroos, of celebrity past, present, and to come, with Abulfeda and Hafiz, Avicenna and Ferdusi, Averroes and Sadi, Abulpharajius and Abulwafa, under the presidency of Brahma and Mohammed, should long ere this day have been

convened by the joint influence of our German and oriental savans, to proclaim the infallible wisdom contained in the Sanscrit, Persian, and Arabic literature; and to set forth, with due authority, an *Index Expurgatorius* against all Anglican *nastiks* and European *giaours*, and their poisonous writings, introduced under the auspices of science and philosophy. The effect of this educational and literary reformation, has undoubtedly been most propitious to an extended sway of the mother tongue of Britons and of sound literature and science among the millions of Asia. Education has derived a new impetus, philanthropy a new impulse, and truth a new force; which, with knowledge as the lever and intellectual liberty the fulcrum, will move onward and upward, with gigantic strides, the generations of men; when they shall occupy the place in the scale of being, and shine in the brightness of wisdom and benevolence, enriched with the rewards of virtue and peace, and clothed in the spoils of reason and research. The resolution of Lord W. Bentinck has brushed away the dust and cobwebs of many dark ages.

Lord William Bentinck found an efficient and cordial coadjutor in the Right Honourable Thomas B. Macaulay, who sustained, in the new system, the office of president of the General Committee of Public Instruction. The progressive and exalted eminence attained by this statesman in the political world, and the honours heaped on him as a public servant, do not more distinguish him than do his

profound and philosophic dissertations in literature, or the just, discriminating, and enlightened disquisitions of his parliamentary oratory. Before his departure to India he had laid his country under obligation for his services in behalf of constitutional liberty, and of the reputation of puritanic patriots. English letters had been enriched by his research and eloquence in critical essays, and the lessons inculcated in our national history had been developed by his senatorial labours. He had held deep converse with the sages of ancient days, and had drunk copious draughts of English freedom from their pure and generous fountains. Therefore was he able to appreciate the enjoyment derived from well-selected literary stores, and to speak of the happy oblivion into which distressing events are often cast by the ministrations of knowledge. "I feel this more strongly than perhaps others may," he confessed on a recent occasion, "arising from peculiar circumstances in the history of my own mind. For I can say that, as far back as I can remember, books have been to me dear friends; they have been my comfort in grief, and my companions in solitude; in poverty they have been to me more than sufficient riches; in exile they have been my consolation for the want of my country; in the midst of vexations and distresses of political life, in the midst of political contention and strife, of calumny and invective, they have contributed to keep my mind serene and unclouded. There is, I may well say, no wealth, there is no power,

there is no rank, which I would accept, if, in exchange, I were to be deprived of my books—of the privilege of conversing with the greatest minds of all past ages; of searching after the truth; of contemplating the beautiful; of living with the distant, the unreal, the past, and the future. Knowing, as I do, what it is to enjoy these pleasures myself, I do not grudge them to the labouring men, who, by their honourable, independent, and gallant efforts, have advanced themselves within their reach; and, owing all that I owe to the soothing influences of literature, I should be ashamed of myself if I grudged the same advantages to them.”

True learning is generous, and the wisely learned hate monopoly. Literature, like “charity, is twice blessed; it blesses him that gives, and him that receives. It stands at the corners of the streets, and calls to the sons of men; it addresses the simple ones, and tells them that wisdom is better than rubies, and all the things which may be desired are not to be compared to it.” Such also is the principle of Mr. Macaulay. He was, therefore, one of the ablest and most strenuous coadjutors of Lord William Bentinck in promoting the extension of English and European literature among the people of Hindostan. He reasoned cogently, and, with singular felicity, established the claims of Anglican learning. The following paragraphs are ascribed to his pen.

“How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated

by means of their mother-tongue ; we must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate ; it stands preeminent even among the languages of the West ; it abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us ; with models of every species of eloquence ; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled ; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature ; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade ; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which, three hundred years ago, was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all : in India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class ; it is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government ; it is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East ; it is the language of two

great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia : communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects."

It has been a corroboration of the wisdom and policy of this measure, that other eminently qualified judges have advocated the same opinions. Sir Charles Metcalf knows India well, and his judgment is entitled to the highest respect. It was auspicious for the interests of European literature that he immediately succeeded Lord W. Bentinck. His opinion of Sanscrit and Arabic lore will be gathered from his reply to the Asiatic Society, who had solicited government assistance, in the publication of certain works in these languages. "The government," he observed, "having resolved to discontinue, with some exceptions, the printing of the projected editions of oriental works, *a great portion of the limited education fund having hitherto been expended on similar publications to little purpose but to accumulate stores of waste paper*, cannot furnish pecuniary aid to the Society for the further printing of those works; but will gladly make over the parts already printed, either to the Asiatic Society, or to any society or indi-

viduals who may be disposed to complete the publication at their own expense." Lord Auckland carries his views into farther operation, and gives the best of all assurances that he approves of the measure. He *has built at his own expense* a handsome school-house in the government park at Barrackpore, and has established in it a large English school, which he often visits to watch the improvement and direct the studies of the pupils. As another sign of the times, I feel sincere pleasure in noticing the work of C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, on the education of the people of India. Had I sooner seen that valuable volume it would have facilitated my own inquiries. It will gratify every enlightened friend of education by its generous, expansive, and philosophical principles and illustrations.

The patronage by government of the English language has already produced the most surprising results among the Hindoos, from the lines of the sepoy battalion to the palace and courts of princes. Schools have been established, and libraries provided for native regiments: it is a new figure in military tactics; but these soldier seminaries may become the nurseries of knowledge, and prove extensively advantageous to many others. Two hundred thousand sepoys, with their wives and children and camp followers may be instrumental in diffusing a literary leaven through the whole mass. I believe, in many instances, these schools for the troops will be found efficiently conducted.



I have occasionally instructed or examined the son of a brahmin only seven years of age, in his English lessons, and found him able to read "Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric," and give the meaning of the sentences in two or more native languages. His father was a servant of the Company, and subordinate to one of their political residents. The king of Oude has been induced to establish an English school at Lucknow, and placed it under the control of an English officer. Lord William Bentinck had adopted English in his correspondence with a chief in western India, Fyz Mahomed Khan. The consequence was, that Kishenlall, one of his adherents, engaged an English tutor for his two sons, to qualify them to act as secretaries to his prince. A demand for English tutors and secretaries speedily followed from others. Native princes already offer large salaries for English secretaries and teachers; and the most abundant employment is readily procured for any one competent to teach. The solicitude of the native princes, on the Indus and in the Punjab, to procure English education for their sons and retainers, has been so urgent, that the Company's diplomatic agent, employed among them, has found it wise and conducive to his success to attach an English instructor as part of his establishment for the education of young native chiefs. Prior to the year 1835, when Lord W. Bentinck's resolution was issued, there had been established ten colleges or seminaries, in which English was taught under the patronage of the government.

During that important year seven new institutions for English were established in Calcutta, Jugger-naut, Meerut, Ghazeepore, Patna, Dacca, and at Gawahati, in Assam. An English class was also added to all the preexisting native colleges in Calcutta, Benares, and Delhi. In 1837 six others were commenced at Ruj Shahi, Jubbulpore, Hos-hungabad, Ferruckabad, Bareilly and Ajmere. During the years 1838 and 1839, thirteen more have been established. So that now the government institutions for English, under the direction of "The Government Committee for Public Instruction," in Bengal, are in number *forty*; besides the institutions at the other presidencies, whether public or private, of a missionary, or generally of a mere literary character. The sum distributed by this committee, from various sources, for English education chiefly, is about three lacks of rupees (30,000/.) There are about eighty zillahs or provincial districts under the Bengal presidency. It is the purpose of the friends of education to establish in each a normal seminary to serve as a fountain of instruction for the district. The half of the work has been done. But they act on the principle of aiding, rather than wholly supporting; they serve, therefore, by this to develop the resources and disposition of the natives. They act, too, as a stimulus to native enterprise, and secure a large measure of cooperation; so that a much greater amount is expended on education than is granted by government. Many wealthy natives are

ambitious of being regarded as patrons of literature; and donations of two or three thousand, and sometimes as much as ten thousand pounds, have recently been given by baboos and rajahs, by Parsees and Mohammedans.

It may afford some criterion of the present state of literature in India if I glance at the number and constitution of the academic and literary seminaries in Calcutta, and mention some of the features of the principal institutions in the upper provinces. The printing establishments at the presidency, and in its vicinity alone, will help the judgment of an interested inquirer. It will be observed as a new character in the modern era of oriental learning, that natives of India, whether Christians by profession or not, have been associated in the same committees, and as directors, with the most eminent Europeans, for the management of educational institutions. The general committee of public instruction consists of thirteen European and four native members. The Hindoo College has three native governors, two European visitors, six native and two European directors, seven European professors and head masters, four European and seven native assistants; besides moulavies and pundits, secretary, cashier, and accountant. I mention the college of Fort William as employed to decide on the progress of civilians in oriental languages, rather than to impart instruction. Bishop's College, besides European professors, retains four native teachers; but no native

Hindoo has any part in its government, in its syndics for translation, or control in its printing establishment. The superintending committee for the Madressa consists of six Europeans only. The Sanscrit College has three Europeans and two native gentlemen in committee. The Hooghly College has three Europeans, as a principal, a professor, and a head master. The Calcutta School-book Society, under the highest patronage, has a committee of fourteen, equally divided between natives and Europeans, besides secretary and depositaries. The Calcutta School Society is patronized by the governor and a judge, with a committee of four Europeans and seven natives. Fourteen other schools and colleges in the provinces enumerate their office-bearers; among whom I find nearly eighty Europeans as teachers, professors, secretaries, superintendents, and committee-men, with fifteen native coadjutors. The oriental seminary at Calcutta is established for the education of Hindoo youth in English literature and sciences, and is conducted by two head masters and three assistants; the teachers are native and English. The Union School is under the patronage of the Calcutta School Society, with a committee of two English and two native gentlemen. La Martinière is an institution founded by a munificent bequest of General Martin. It is conducted on principles analogous to those adopted by the Irish Board of Education, and is managed by governors, *ex officio*, including the members of council, the judges, and

the bishop, and three others annually chosen. The Armenian Philanthropic Institution has an Armenian and an English department ; in the latter five, and in the former two teachers are under a committee of four Armenian gentlemen. The Hindoo Benevolent Institution, with a Bengalee auxiliary, called Patshalla, has a managing committee of six Europeans and five natives ; besides visitors, examiners, and proprietors, two superintendents, and eight teachers, all natives. The Parental Academic Institution has one head master, a patron, visitors, secretary, a surgeon, and a committee of fourteen gentlemen. The Calcutta High School, with a management wholly clerical, employs seven European masters and a secretary. A Free-school Institution, under the exclusive patronage of the Episcopal Church, has nine civilians and five clergymen in its management ; the male and female department having each four teachers. The Benevolent Institution, founded by the Serampore Missionaries, supports two schools, with two masters, a mistress, and a secretary. The Catholic Charity Schools have one female and two male teachers. The Serampore College does not require either specification or description in this place. Its character and influence in the field of missions, and within the Christian Church, will be duly appreciated by every friend of literature and religion in India. There are nine printing establishments at Calcutta for English purposes ; but many native writers avail themselves of the facilities which

they afford for periodical or occasional publications. Eight native establishments give designation to the *native press* of Calcutta. The proprietors of these last, with one exception, are all natives of India; and from these establishments numerous periodical works are daily, weekly, monthly, and annually issued. Such are the elements of literature, and such the prospects of education in India.

But I cannot close this survey till I have glanced at the means and progress of female instruction among the Hindoos. Till missionary operations had been carried forward to some extent, few females in India were blessed with the advantages of education. Some licentious companions of the pagoda brahmins, and the nautch girls (women whose occupations were similar to those of operadancers,) were the only known exceptions to the universal ignorance of Hindoo women. Hence the ability to read was an attainment represented as discreditable, and a stain upon the reputation of a woman's purity. Reading was reputed as only ministering to evil passions. They might, therefore, conclude, since "ignorance was bliss, it was folly to be wise." The Serampore missionaries took the lead in educational efforts among the daughters and mothers in India; and Mr. Ward's visit to England in 1822, and his letters addressed to the ladies of Liverpool, excited the attention of the British public on this matter. The missionaries at other stations, and of other societies, were zealously contending against native prejudices,

pride, and domination ; and, by experiment, proving what could be done, and showing to the natives the more excellent way. It continued, indeed, a question, with many sincere friends of the people, whether special and separate efforts should be made, or whether their condition could be improved till the minds of men were more enlightened and expanded. Yet it cannot be questioned but judicious measures for improving the females would also have an influence on their husbands and brothers. The British and Foreign School Society commissioned Miss Cook as their agent to Calcutta, who entered upon her work with energy and resolution, and found among the residents the most generous sympathy and cooperation. The Marchioness of Hastings patronized the work, Lady Amherst lent her measure of influence, Lady Bentinck aided generously in promoting the design, and the Misses Eden, sisters of Lord Auckland, give all the weight of the governor-general's connexion to the same cause. General schools, central schools, and orphan asylums for Hindoo females, have successively risen and prospered in and around Calcutta. The system has been diffused over India, on the banks of the Ganges, in the higher and western provinces ; at Burdwan, Cawnpore, Benares, Gorruckpore, Allahabad and Futtehpore ; and in various places under the Madras and Bombay presidencies. Thousands of Hindoo females are now under instruction, and make as decided progress as any of the other sex. The

introduction of science, or the higher branches of education, has not been attempted ; but in most instances English classes have been established, or separate education in English has been imparted to the scholars : a most wise and beneficent arrangement, whereby the young women may be enlightened, as well as qualified to fill situations in the households of Europeans with advantage and satisfaction. Prejudice and long-established custom were likely to operate on the minds of the wealthier and higher class of Hindoos, both to restrain their liberality, and withhold their daughters. Yet reforms always move upward, and though the poorer members of the community be more accessible to benevolence, and generally the earliest recipients of popular benefits, individuals among the more opulent and aristocratic ranks often become efficient coadjutors. Though few, there have been some Hindoos of distinction who have perceived the value of female education, and especially such as have been brought into familiar and friendly intercourse with English families, and have mingled in the society of European ladies. With timidity, perhaps, and hesitation, yet with inward pleasure, they have not only witnessed, but countenanced, the attempts made to instruct the female children of poor Hindoos. There are many rich natives, on whom fashion and flattery exercise paramount influence ; especially what is fashionable among the Company's higher servants, and on which the supreme government bestows its patronage.



*The favourable manner in which female education* has been espoused by the functionaries of government, has operated powerfully among the higher ranks in India. The children of nominally christian Hindoos, orphan children, and the daughters of needy or menial natives, were first made partakers of education in mission schools, under the domestic superintendence of the wives of missionaries; and often with the parental care of adoption. The result was, that when their progress was discovered, and their improvement and superiority over uneducated females, however highly connected or wealthy, was established, the pride of the Hindoo was touched, and his ambition excited. He gave his money, that he might be numbered among the *honourable* patrons; and employed teachers for his own daughters, that he might receive the applause of the leaders of fashion for his liberality and intelligence. The first scholar who attended Miss Cook's (now Mrs. Wilson's) instructions was of humble parentage; and to secure her continuance, it was required that the teacher should sign an agreement that she would make no claim on the child hereafter for having educated her, but would give her up to her parents when they desired. In 1822 eight schools for girls were formed in Calcutta. In the following year they increased to twenty-two, containing 400 children; and a public examination was held in June. The second examination took place in December, 1824; when five hundred children were present. Eighteen

months later the foundation stone of a central school was laid in the corner of Cornwallis-square, to which a retired native chief, the Rajah Boidanath Roy Bahadur, contributed 20,000 rupees (2,000*l.*) His ranee, or princess, afterwards received instruction in English from Mrs. Wilson; and visited the central school to mark the progress of the children; of whom nearly two hundred attended in the year 1829. The number in this institution had increased in 1836 to nearly 300, besides the daily common schools and the orphan asylum.

Attempts have been made to bring native ladies of rank into the intercourse of English ladies; the breaking down of prejudice and bashfulness is, however, of slow progress. During my residence at Madras, visits of ceremony, and even entertainments, passed between the begum and bebes, or ladies of the nawaub, and the ladies of Sir T. Monro and Sir A. Campbell: amusing and ludicrous incidents occurred, which required a large measure of restraint and politeness on the part of the guests. I borrow the following sketch, conveying, as I believe it does, much truth of description, and correctly illustrating the uneducated state of Hindoo females. Only a lady could have delineated the scene, since none else would have been permitted to witness the figures in the group, ornamented or unadorned as they are described.

“A message was sent by the bebes, to say that they would put on all their jewels and richest attire, hoping that the English ladies would do the same.

The hour fixed for the visit, which had been the subject of much arrangement, was five in the afternoon. The gateway, by which we entered to a very large house, was narrow and shabby, leading into a spacious quadrangle, the centre of which was occupied by an open stage, raised upon pillars, for a place of exhibition on days of worship or amusement ; from the galleries which encircled the house, both above and below, many doors were seen leading to the different apartments of the numerous inmates ; next to those appropriated to the females, was a small room furnished partly in the English style, into which we were shown. We had to wait for some time before any one appeared. At last children without any clothing, though some were seven or eight years old, came in, but ran away as soon as we attempted to speak, or to touch them. A little girl, however, soon returned, accompanied by one of the bebes. Others, at different distances, followed. We were astonished at the degree of timidity, betrayed by extreme awkwardness ; some approaching with fingers in their mouths, some leaning against the wall or furniture, and others rudely thrusting forward to satiate their curiosity, none venturing to speak, or even to offer a salaam. The legitimate wife, or head bebee, was soon distinguished ; a beautiful woman, as fair as many Europeans, and of the sweetest expression of countenance, graceful in form and manner. Addressing ourselves to her, we discovered that the group of women and chil-

dren (about thirty women, and as many children) that surrounded us, were relations of her husband, either by blood or marriage, and occupied one side of the building, the other being allotted to the men. The elder women would not venture to come near us, bidding us to keep at a distance, saying that they feared we should destroy their caste; the younger soon threw off their restraint, and began to pull our dresses about, closely examining all that we had on. They asked so many questions about our clothes, our habits, our manner of eating, especially of our marriages, and the degree of intercourse that European ladies were allowed to have with their husbands, that we were at a loss to reply, and had the greatest difficulty to suppress the noise occasioned by their all speaking at once, and in the loudest possible tone of voice. We were pained beyond expression with the frivolousness and impurity of their minds and conversation. Their better feelings being roused, the bebes one and all confessed that they had never been taught otherwise, 'but they were willing to learn to read or work like the English ladies; for, as they had nothing to do all day long, it was their custom to be idle, and to talk about foolish things.' On taking leave of them, they begged that we would come again, and bring them books, pictures, and dolls. In this interview, and afterwards, when they received notice that strangers would accompany us, they were dressed in sarees of the most transparent muslin or gauze, with gold and silver

flowers, completely exposing the person, and were loaded with a profusion of ornaments of gold, silver, pearls, and diamonds ; but when we unexpectedly called upon them, they were in the opposite degree neglected, the children running about without the slightest covering, so that the approach was any thing but pleasant. The bebees' apartments, which we afterwards visited, were dark and uncomfortable, in a state of great filthiness, with narrow gratings for windows. They took pleasure in showing us their jewellery, which was kept in the same state of untidiness ; and speaking of their husbands, they seemed to appreciate them only by the number and value of their gifts."

The extent to which a knowledge of English, and an assimilation to Anglican literary habits, prevailed in the eastern provinces prior to the movement under government auspices which we have described, may be judged of from the numbers of English and native newspapers which had been started, many of which were conducted by and for the natives of India. In the year 1814 only one newspaper existed at Calcutta : including this first, there were five periodicals in 1820, among which flourished Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*, circulated over India generally. They had increased to thirty in 1830, monthly, weekly, and daily, besides quarterlies and annuals. Four years later, they were thus enumerated by Mr. M. Martin : in *English*, eight daily, four political and four commercial, papers ; three political journals twice or three

times a week ; and ten weekly, three political, four commercial, two literary, and one official ; six were published monthly, and four quarterly ; besides six which appeared as annuals. These thirty-seven were all issued from the Calcutta press ; but fourteen native periodicals were also published, weekly, twice or thrice a week, or daily, nine of which were in Bengalee, two in Persian, two in Bengalee and English, and one in Bengalee, Persian, and Hindostanee. In the Upper Provinces, in Delhi, Meerut, Agra, and other districts, in Bombay, and Madras, thirty other periodicals, native and English, were conducted with various talent and success. It would be satisfactory to be able to mark the onward course of this literary current, but changes and new streams pass on with a rapidity which defies our pretension to any correct analysis of oriental enterprise on this new field of conquest.

The demand for English literature has rapidly strengthened, is increasing, and cannot be restrained. To each of the forty institutions in Bengal for promoting the culture of English and European learning the committee have found it requisite to annex a good library. The appetite for reading we know grows by what it feeds on ; and therefore of making many books there is no end. This is no cause of regret or complaint. Entertaining and instructive books have been procured from America as well as England ; contracts have been entered into with booksellers for a regular supply ; 2,000*l.*, the donation of one native patron, Rajah Bejai

Govind Sing, have been appropriated in aid of such public libraries. The natives are cherishing a taste for libraries of English works. I have seen a Brahmin more pleased to display his literary treasures than native women ever were to show their jewels. I have found in his private room, where he was gratified to entertain his English friend, a select and well-bound library, containing works of history, of travels, and of philosophy; Reid and Stewart's works in company with Locke and Bacon. My friend valued these writings not for their appearance; he studied the science of mind, and discussed metaphysical subjects with intelligence and research; his pride consisted in *knowing* the things which were the theme of his authors; works on mythology and antiquity afforded him amusement, and occupied much of his time. This man was not a Christian, but an enlightened heathen; he was not possessed of large wealth—he might be reputed one of the middle classes. I have also met a Mohammedan of quite as cultivated a taste for letters and books, though not so enlightened or philosophical in his studies; he had more wealth, and expended it in employing secretaries, and furnishing an extensive library with splendid and costly works. There are many such natives in all parts of India; and let the present growing taste prevail for only a few years, and the consequence will be, that the largest market for European literature, and the most profitable field for English bibliopoles, will be found in British India. The

enterprise of British commerce will soon discover the channels in which capital may more freely flow, and by which they may obtain the best returns. I have confidence in the demands and profits of trade ; that they will naturally, and without ephemeral stimulants, secure a seasonable and economical supply of English literature for Hindoo readers. But the friends of literature may do much by countenancing and contributing to the resources of educational institutions, by supplying and directing the proper application of such mechanism as is most subservient in diffusing a knowledge of the English language. I have no doubt that a more decided encouragement of this language at the seat of every protestant mission would tend to advance the establishment of evangelical truth.

There is the widest scope for the enlightened and zealous schoolmaster abroad. Men complain because there is no war, that there is a superabundance of hands, and there is no demand for professional men. It is the greatest mistake ; there is a war—of principle, between light and darkness, truth and error, and legions of professional men are required to fill the ranks—many are required to run to and fro, that knowledge may increase. And why should not the schoolmaster go abroad on a generous and high-minded crusade ; on an adventure not more perilous than the merchant or the tradesman often undertake ; while his superior acquirements should inspire him with confidence in the value of his



commodity, in the triumph with which truth's progress shall be crowned, and in the conquests which a benevolent wisdom must achieve against all the combined powers of folly and crime? Many of the schoolmasters who have started in India came out in the ranks; and almost all have prospered, though imperfectly qualified for their task. Let a new order of men go forth, and they will find openings in India, where enterprise, assiduity, and skill, will obtain a reward equal to their ambition, and where they may become the benefactors of thousands and tens of thousands.

The multiplication of printing-presses, no longer obstructed by law or authority, will be essentially serviceable in the same cause. A national literature is yet to be created; and printed books are comparatively few in India. Printing has not been in operation among the Hindoos; their native literature has been *transcribed* by the style, or copied by the reed. The new modelled and christianized, the scientific and historical literature of 200,000,000 has yet to be printed; and all the elementary processes prepared and furnished in unnumbered thousands; for the village school, the academic and collegiate hall, as well as for the family group and ornamental libraries of the rich and noble. The great majority of the Hindoo population may not have acquired facility in reading even their own language, far less English; yet many feel a pleasure in, and derive profit from the engagement. True knowledge is valuable for

its own sake ; and growing numbers of inquirers will speedily evince a desire to possess, if they find it within their reach, the precious pearl. It gives a weight to character and a superiority to the possessor, which are soon perceived, and readily acknowledged by those who are less privileged. Men of correct information and enlarged conceptions, increasing in number, will very soon give a decided tone to public opinion, and such a general and powerful direction, that where useful knowledge is rendered accessible to the many, whose means are limited, a great and rapid moral improvement in society may be reasonably expected. Why should not societies be formed expressly for the purpose of fitting up and supporting missionary printing establishments ? The benefit to be realized might be incalculably great. The principal object of such associations would naturally lead them to direct their attention to works which they think best calculated to forward their designs, in promoting the highest interests of men. Any expensive, but truly beneficial publication, which they might deem of great importance to translate for the spread of science or christian knowledge, would be made known among scientific, benevolent, educational, or religious societies ; and the aid contributed by those who were willing to share the expenses connected with such an undertaking would not only lessen the burden, but ensure completion. The liberal soul, which devises liberal things, will not look upon this project as chime-

rical, considering the advantages derived already to literature and education by the efforts of the Society for Diffusing Useful and Entertaining Knowledge. But such fountains of instruction are especially deserving the patronage and support of missionary institutions : they are sweet springs of vital and refreshing efficacy in the waste wilderness, more precious than the wells which Isaac's servants digged in the valley of Gerar, and for which his herdmen strove. The servants of Christ and of his Church should be quick to discern the signs of the times, as philosophers discern the face of the sky ; and prompt to place themselves as watchmen round the wells of salvation, that the sources be not polluted, or the streams rendered impure and noxious : such is the care, and such the vigilance required for the printing press. With great eloquence and propriety did the poet of Weston Favel apostrophize this mighty engine of universal light and wisdom :—

“ How shall I speak thee, or thy power address,  
Thou god of our idolatry, the press ?  
By thee religion, liberty, and laws,  
Exert their influence, and advance their cause ;  
By thee worse plagues than Pharaoh's land befel,  
Diffus'd, make earth the vestibule of hell ;  
Thou fountain at which drink the good and wise ;  
Thou ever bubbling spring of endless lies :  
Like Eden's dread probationary tree,  
Knowledge of good and evil is from thee.”

It is, therefore, no presumptuous or needless warning ; neither was the counsel misplaced or

inappropriate, which I have read and would here repeat to the promoters of christian missions, and their foreign representatives, as servants of the Church. Let these agents take their “stand in the highest and most commanding position to which God, in his holy providence, is inviting them. Elementary works, and every other which issues from these presses, under the superintendence of men in whom are the fear and knowledge of God, should all be made to subserve the great cause of our holy religion : leaving other productions to advance as their weight may be felt, either through the progress of general knowledge, or as the artificial excitement occasioned by speculative men may increase the demand.”

The world is, every day, subject to changes in its moral aspects and relations. These the statesman and politician assiduously watch ; the manufacturer and the merchant anticipate and prepare for transitions of a far inferior and more evanescent nature ; but the Christian and the philanthropist pursue a merchandise more precious than the ruby or the diamond, than the golden wedge of Ophir, and conduct negotiations concerning a kingdom and a dominion, whose sceptre shall have universal sway, and whose duration shall be for ever and ever. Why should not they then, with vigilance and solicitude, contemplate and eagerly seize the incidents and changes of a moral character, which may transmute the appearance and pursuits of the world ? It is unsuited to the dignity and principles,

the confidence and resources of the Church, to be thrown into a ferment of apprehension and uncertainty, of perplexity and indecision by the convulsions or revolutions, the new demands or necessities of the world: she should always be prepared to facilitate, and move onward with the progress of useful knowledge, or the new impulses of mind and opinion. When the spirit of inquiry is generally aroused among a people, she should be prepared with means, ample and appropriate, with which to endow her agents who wish properly to direct and answer its demands, or by which inquirers may be enabled to attain unto, and rejoice in the truth. The direction of the spirit of inquiry is the prerogative of no mere philosopher or moralist; it is an important talent, committed, in the ministration and diffusion of the word and ordinances, to the Church, which the Lord has given to her members and ministers, to occupy diligently; that when he comes he may receive it with usury. “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,” is his command; while his gracious promise assures her of his presence,—“Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.” If this talent be neglected, or if the servant hide it in a napkin, then, not only is an opportunity of benefiting the world lost; but leave is given to interested, ambitious, or misguided aspirants to intrude their supply of notional errors, or philosophy falsely so called; which, meeting the wants and appetites of

awakened and anxious minds, operates as a poisonous food, that will corrupt, or at least become a substitute, for more wholesome nutriment ; which vitiates the taste, and powerfully retards all moral improvement. How is the demand in heathen countries, which is daily increasing, to be effectually provided with a salutary supply, without a sufficient number of well-directed printing establishments ?

Let the communities of Christians who have entered on the godlike work of missions, on the principles of the Divine oracles, take the lead, occupy their legitimate position, and exercise the control which truth is sure always to impart ; and they will wisely and safely direct public opinion among the numerous sections now rapidly emerging, in augmenting myriads, from heathen ignorance. Let “ all the winds of doctrine be let loose, if so be truth is in the field we fear not the issue : ” but be sure that *truth* is there, clothed in her own pure, invulnerable armour ; no false helmet, no strange mail, no unproved sword, no greaves of brass, or ponderous shield of unethereal temper, but the panoply in which she has ever conquered, by which she has been mighty, through God, in every contest through which she has passed. Yet it seems as if the flippant and demoralizing age of infidelity were near a close, or had come at least to anility and dotage. The mumblings of toothless age, or the momentary glimmerings and hallucinations of superannuated folly, may now and again give symptoms of a protracted existence ; but the greatest number of scientific and literary

characters which will be raised up from among the natives of Hindoostan will, there is great probability, and so much the more likely if Christians be wise and faithful, be rationally convinced of the truth of Christianity, and constrained to admit its importance ; though all may not be sincere believers in Christ Jesus their Saviour. The instrumentality of such auxiliaries may be made subservient under the auspices of a well-regulated press. Let every advantage be improved by the christian church ; for every one who is not against her, is for her ; every lover of truth is a friend to his species, and will prove a helper in advancing the cause and triumph of justice and wisdom over the whole world. Though the chief aim of Divine mercy is to make men wise unto salvation, which gospel truth alone can effect ; yet we are taught to value and think on “ whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report.” Let the press be made instrumental in demonstrating what is the virtue and what is the praise of these things, and it will help to raise up a host of faithful soldiers, who will go forth to the destruction of ignorance, error, and crime, and prepare a people for the service of the Lord.

THE END.





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